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BRITISH BIOGRAPHY;
OR,
An ACCURATE and IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIVES and WRITINGS
OF
Eminent Persons,
IN
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND;
From WICKLIFF, who began the REFORMATION by his
WRITINGS, to the PRESENT TIME:

W H E T H E R

STATESMEN,
PATRIOTS,
GENERALS,
ADMIRALS,

PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS,
LAWYERS, OR
DIVINES.

I N W H I C H

The several Incidents and remarkable Actions of their LIVES, and the Particularities of their DEATHS, that could be collected from HISTORY, FAMILY MEMOIRS, and RECORDS, are related; a Catalogue and Specimen of their WRITINGS given, with occasional Remarks; and their CHARACTERS delineated with Freedom and Impartiality.

V O L. VI.

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L O N D O N.

M,DCC,LXX.



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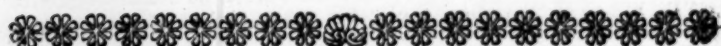
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The Life of Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH.

THIS very learned Divine was son to Dr. Ralph Cudworth, Rector of Aller, in the county of Somerset, where he was born in the year 1617. His mother was of the family of Machell, and had been nurse to Prince Henry, eldest son to King James I. His father dying (a) when he was only seven years of age, and his mother marrying again, his education fell under the care of his father-in-law, Dr. Stoughton, who was very solicitous to cultivate his promising genius. In 1630, he was admitted Pensioner of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; but he was not matriculated as a Student in the University till July 5, 1632. He applied himself to all parts of literature with great vigour; and, in 1639, was created Master of Arts with great applause. He was soon after chosen Fellow of his College, and became an eminent tutor there, and had at one

A 2

time

(a) Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH, our Author's father, was at first Fellow of Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge, and afterwards Minister of St. Andrew's church in that town, and at last Rector of Aller, and Chaplain to King James I. He died in 1624. Though he was a man of genius and learning, he published only

a Supplement to Mr. William Perkins's Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, of which, as well as several other Works of that Divine, he was Editor.—Dr. Birch's Life of Dr. Cudworth, prefixed to his Edition of the *Intellectual System*, P. 6.

time eight and twenty pupils; an instance scarce ever known before, even in the largest Colleges of the University. Among these was Mr. Temple, afterwards the famous Sir William Temple. Not long after, he was presented to the Rectory of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, worth three hundred pounds per annum.

In 1642, Mr. Cudworth published "A Discourse concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper." It was printed at London in 4to. with only the initial letters of his name. Bochart, Spencer, Selden, and other eminent Writers, quote this Discourse with great commendations. The same year likewise appeared his treatise, intitled, "The Union of CHRIST and his Church, by R. C." printed at London in 4to.

In 1644, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, upon which occasion he maintained at the commencement the two following theses: I. "Dantur boni & mali rationes æternæ & indispenfabiles;" *i. e.* the reasons of good and evil are eternal and indispensible. II. "Dantur substantiæ incorporeæ sua natura immortales;" *i. e.* there are incorporeal substances by their own nature immortal. Hence it appears, that even at that time he was examining and revolving in his mind those important subjects, which he so long afterwards cleared up with such uncommon penetration in his *Intellectual System*, and other Works still preserved in manuscript.

In the same year, 1644, he was appointed Master of Clare Hall in Cambridge, in the room of Dr. Paske, who had been ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors. In 1645, Dr. Metcalf having resigned the Regius Professorship of the Hebrew tongues, Mr. Cudworth was unanimously nominated on the 15th of October by the seven electors to succeed him. From this time he applied himself almost entirely to his academical employments and studies, especially that of the Jewish Antiquities. And we find the following passage in a manuscript letter of Mr. John Worthington's, afterwards Master of Jesus College, dated May 12, 1646. "Our learned friend Mr. Cudworth reads every Wednesday in the schools. His subject is *Templum Hierosolymitanum*." When his affairs required his absence from the University, he substituted Mr. Worthington in his room. On the 31st of March, 1647, he preached before the House of Commons at Westminster, upon a day of public humiliation, a sermon upon 1 John, ii. 3, 4. for which he had the thanks of that House returned him on the same day. This sermon was printed the same year at Cambridge in 4to. (b)

In 1651, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Though the places which he now held in the University were very honourable, yet he found the revenue of them not sufficient to support him; for which reason he had thoughts of leaving Cambridge entirely, and indeed actually retired from it, though but for a short time. This appears from two manuscript letters of

Mr.

Mr. Worthington's; the former dated January 6, 1651, in which he writes thus: "If through want of maintenance he (*R. C.*) "should be forced to leave Cambridge, for which place he is so "eminently accomplished with what is noble and exemplarily "academical, it would be an ill omen." In the letter dated January 30, 1654, is this passage: "After many tossings, Dr. "Cudworth is, through GOD's Providence, returned to Cambridge, and settled in Christ's College, and by his marriage "more settled and fixed." For upon the decease of Dr. Samuel Bolton, Master of that College, in 1654, our Author was chosen to succeed him, and married the same year.

In this station Dr. Cudworth spent the remainder of his life, proving highly serviceable to the University, and greatly promoting the interests of religion and learning. In 1657, he was one of the persons nominated by a Committee of the Parliament to be consulted about the English translation of the Bible. Our Author had a great share in the friendship and esteem of John Thurloe, Esq; Secretary of State to the Protector Oliver and Richard Cromwell, who frequently corresponded with him, and consulted him with regard to the characters of such persons in the University, as were proper to be employed in political and civil affairs.

When King Charles II. was restored, Dr. Cudworth wrote a congratulatory copy of verses on the occasion, which was printed in the collection published at Cambridge in 1660, in Quarto. In 1662, he was presented by Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, to the Vicarage of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, to which he was admitted on the first of December that year. In 1678, he was installed a Prebendary of Gloucester; and the same year, with a view of stemming that torrent of irreligion and Atheism that prevailed after the Restoration, he published at London, in Folio, his very learned and famous Work, intitled, his "True "Intellectual System of the Universe: the first part, wherein "all the reason and philosophy of Atheism is confuted, and its "impossibility demonstrated." The Work met with great opposition from some of the Courtiers of King Charles II. who endeavoured to destroy the reputation of it when it was first published. In this Work the following positions are laid down as the fundamentals or essentials of true religion. 1st, That all things in the world do not float without a Head, or Governor, but that there is a GOD, an omnipotent understanding BEING, presiding over all. 2dly, That this GOD being essentially good and just, there is something in its own nature immutably and eternally just and unjust, and not by arbitrary will, law, and command only. And 3dly, That we are so far forth the masters of our own actions, as to be accountable to justice for them, or so as to render us guilty or blame-worthy for what we do amiss, and deserving of punishment accordingly.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the great merit of this Work, it has been censured by several Writers : it has been objected, and indeed not without reason, that Dr. Cudworth has given too favourable a representation of the sentiments of the antient Heathens. His opinions have been also thought not quite agreeable to the received notions concerning the Trinity. The celebrated John Le Clerc expressed his wishes, that some man of learning would translate the *Intellectual System* into Latin; but this design, though resolved upon and attempted by several persons in Germany, was never executed till the year 1733, when Dr. John Laurence Mosheim published a Latin translation of Dr. Cudworth's Work in two Volumes, Folio. In 1706, there was published at London, in two Volumes, in 4to. an Abridgment of the *Intellectual System*, by Thomas Wise, B. D. Fellow of Exeter College in Oxford, and Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond. In the Introduction Mr. Wise styles Dr. Cudworth's book "the" "vallest Magazine of Reasoning and Learning, that ever singly" "appeared against Atheism."

Dr. CUDWORTH died at Cambridge on the 26th of June, 1688, and was interred in the chapel of Christ's College. He was a man of very extensive learning, excellently skilled in the learned languages and antiquity, a good Mathematician, a subtle Philosopher, and a profound Metaphysician. He embraced the mechanical or corpuscular Philosophy; but with regard to the DEITY, intelligences, genii, ideas, and in short the principles of human knowledge, he followed Plato, and even the latter Platonists (c). Bishop Burnet having observed, that Dr. Whichcote "being disgusted with the dry systematical way of" "those times, studied to raise those who conversed with him to a" "nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of a" "deiform nature; and, in order to this, set young students much" "on reading the antient Philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and" "Plotin, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine" "sent from GOD, both to elevate and sweeten human nature;" tells us, that "Dr. Cudworth carried this on with a great strength" "of genius, and a vast compass of learning;" and that "he" "was a man of great conduct and prudence; upon which his" "enemies did very falsely accuse him of craft and dissimulation." And the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury, Author of the *Characteristis*, styles him, "an excellent and learned Divine, of highest" "authority at home, and fame abroad."

In 1743, a second Edition of the *Intellectual System* in English was published by Dr. Thomas Birch, with an account of the Life and Writings of the Author, to which we have been greatly indebted. Our learned Author left several posthumous Works, most of which seem to be a continuation of his *Intellectual System*,
of

(c) Birch, as before.

of which he had given the world only the first part. One of these was published by Dr. Edward Chandler, Bishop of Durham, at London, in 1731, under this title, "A Treatise concerning eternal and immutable Morality." In the Preface to which the Bishop observes, that Dr. Cudworth 'lived in an age, when the disputes concerning *Liberty* and *Necessity*, mingling with the political schemes of the leaders of opposite parties, helped to cause strong convulsions in the State, and to spread no less fatal an influence upon the principles and manners of the generality of people. For debauchery, scepticism, and infidelity, as he complains, flourished in his time, and grew up, in his opinion, from the doctrine of the *fatal Necessity* of all actions and events, as from its proper root. Such a belief, upon whatsoever grounds or principles maintained, as he conceived, did serve the design of Atheism, and undermine Christianity and all religion; as taking away all guilt and blame, punishments and rewards: and plainly rendered a day of judgment ridiculous. And he thought it evident, that some in those days pursued these notions, in order to that end. These sentiments disposed him to bend much of his study this way, and to read over all the antient Philosophers and Moralists, which he did with great accuracy. He then set himself to gather and answer all the antient and modern arguments, for the necessity of all actions, which had been maintained by several persons, upon very different grounds. And many of his collections of this kind still remain, as so many monuments of his copious reading, judgment, and industry.'

He distinguished three sorts of Fatality; first, Natural, or Material; secondly, Theologic, or Divine Fate; and thirdly, the Stoical Fate. 'These two last hypotheses of Fatalism were but lightly touched in his *Intellectual System*, because he intended to give them a more particular and more ample consideration: however, ill health, a short life, or other reasons we know not, hindered him from finishing what the world earnestly expected, and no one that survived him was able to supply. It is probable, that foreseeing the length of the Work, and some of the hindrances, that afterwards fell out to retard and defeat it, he thought it best to contract his undertaking, and to treat in smaller Volumes of those points that he judged to be most material and principal in this controversy.' In this view he drew up this treatise, wherein he proves the falseness of the consequences with respect to natural justice and morality in GOD, which are deducible from the principles of those that maintain the second sort of Fate, denominated by him *Theologic*. And thus it may be reckoned to be a sequel in part, of his first book against *material Fate*. Had it come abroad as early as it was written, it had served for a proper antidote to the poison in some of Mr. Hobbes's and others Writings, who revived in that age the exploded opinions of Protagoras and other antient

‘ antient Greeks, and took away the essential and eternal discrimination of moral good and evil, of just and unjust, and made them all arbitrary productions of Divine or human will. Against the antient and modern patrons of this doctrine, no one hath writ better than Dr. Cudworth: his book is indeed a demonstration of the truth of the contrary opinion; and is drawn up with that beauty, clearness, and strength, as must delight as well as convince the reader, (says our Prelate), if I may judge of the affection of others, from the effect it had on me. It will certainly give a just idea of the Writer’s good sense, as well as vast learning.’

Dr. Cudworth had several sons, who probably died young; but he left one daughter, *Damaris*, who was second wife to Sir Francis Masham, of Oates, in the county of Essex, Baronet, by whom she had a son, Francis Cudworth Masham, Esq; one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery, and Accountant-General of the said Court, and Foreign Opposer in the Court of Exchequer. This Lady had a great friendship for Mr. Locke, who died at her house at Oates, where he had resided for several years before. She was distinguished for her uncommon genius and learning; and, in the year 1696, published at London, in 12mo. without her name, “A Discourse concerning the Love of GOD.” It was translated into French by Mr. Peter Coste, and printed at Amsterdam in 1705. Lady Masham lies buried in the cathedral church of Bath, where a monument is erected to her memory with the following inscription:

‘ Near this place lies Dame Damaris Masham, daughter of Ralph Cudworth, D. D. and second wife of Sir Francis Masham, of Oates, in the county of Essex, Bart. who to the softness and elegance of her own sex, added several of the noblest accomplishments and qualities of the other.

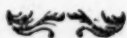
‘ She possessed these advantages in a degree unusual to either, and tempered them with an exactness peculiar to herself.

‘ Her learning, judgment, sagacity, and penetration, together with her candour, and love of truth, were very observable to all that conversed with her, or who were acquainted with those small treatises she published in her life-time, though she industriously concealed her name.

‘ Being mother of an only son, she applied all her natural and acquired endowments to the care of his education.

‘ She was a strict observer of all the virtues belonging to every station of life; and only wanted opportunities to make these talents shine in the world, which were the admiration of her friends.

‘ She was born on the 18th of January, 1658, and died on the 20th of April, 1708.’





JOHN THURLOE.

The Life of JOHN THURLOE.

JOHN THURLOE was son of Mr. Thomas Thurloe, Rector of Abbots-Roding, in the county of Essex, where he was born in the year 1616. He was brought up to the profession of the law, and afterwards recommended to the patronage of Oliver St. John, Esq; a person of great eminence in that profession, and successively Solicitor-General to King Charles I. and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; by whose interest Mr. Thurloe, at the beginning of the year 1645, was appointed one of the Secretaries to the Parliament Commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge (a).

In 1647, he was admitted of Lincoln's-Inn; and in March, 1648, made Receiver, or Clerk, of the Curfitor-fines, worth at least 350l. a year, under the Earl of Kent, Lord Grey of Werke, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and Bulstrode Whitelocke, Esq; Commissioners of the Great Seal. Though his attachments were entirely on the side of the Parliament, yet with regard to the death of King Charles I. he declares himself, that he was altogether a stranger to that fact, and to all the counsels about it, having not had the least communication with any person whatsoever therein. However, after that event, and the establishment of the new Commonwealth, he was diverted from the prosecution of his employments in the law, and engaged in public business.

In March, 1650-1, he attended the Lord Chief Justice St. John and Walter Strickland, Esq; Ambassadors to the States of the United Provinces, as their Secretary; and after his return with them to England, he was, in 1652, preferred to the office of Secretary to the Council of State; and upon Oliver Cromwell's assuming the Protectorship in December, 1653, he was appointed Secretary of State. The following year he was chosen one of the Masters of the Upper Bench of the Society of Lincoln's-Inn; and, in 1655, had the care and charge of the postage, both foreign and inland, committed to him by the Protector. In 1656, he was chosen Member of Parliament for the Isle of Ely; and in April, the year following, received the thanks of the Parliament for his care and vigilance in detecting the plot of General Harrison, and others of the fifth-monarchy-men, and for his many other services to the public. On the 13th of July, the

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same

(a) *Vid.* Birch's Characters of illustrious Persons, Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. and Floyd's Bibliotheca Biographica.

same year, he was sworn one of the Privy Council to the Protector, according to the "humble Petition and Advice;" and on the 2d of November following, was elected one of the Governors of the Charter-House.

Though Mr. Thurloe's great merit, industry, and abilities, made him very high in Cromwell's favour and confidence, yet he is said to have been once very near being disgraced with him. The story is thus related by Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own times. "Stoupe (*b*) told me, says our Prelate, a remarkable passage in his employment under Cromwell. Stoupe had desired all that were under the Prince of Conde to let him know some news, in return of what he writ to them. So he had a letter from one of them, giving an account of an Irishman newly gone over, who had said he would kill Cromwell, and that he was to lodge in King-street, Westminster. With this Stoupe went to Whitehall. Cromwell being then at Council, he sent him a note, letting him know that he had a business of great consequence to lay before him. Cromwell was then upon a matter that did so entirely possess him, that he, fancying it was only some piece of foreign intelligence, sent Thurloe to know what it might be. Stoupe was troubled at this, but could not refuse to shew him his letter. Thurloe made no great matter of it; he said, they had many such advertisements sent them, which signified nothing but to make the world think the Protector was in danger of his life: and the looking too much after these things had an appearance of fear, which did ill become so great a man. Stoupe told him, King-street might be soon searched. Thurloe answered, If we find no such person, how shall we be laughed at? Yet he ordered him to write again to Brussels, and promise any reward if a more particular discovery could be made. Stoupe was much cast down, when he saw that a piece of intelligence which he hoped might have made his fortune was so little considered. He wrote to Brussels: but he had no more from thence, but a confirmation of what had been writ formerly to him. And Thurloe did not think fit to make any search, or any farther enquiry into it: nor did he so much as acquaint Cromwell with it. Stoupe, being uneasy at this, told Lord Lisle of it: and it happened that, a few weeks after, Syndercomb's design of assassinating Cromwell near Brentford, as he was going to Hampton-court, was discovered. When he was examined, it appeared that he was the person set out in the letters from Brussels. So Lisle said to Cromwell, This is the very man of whom Stoupe had the notice given him. Cromwell seemed amazed at this, and sent
for

(*b*) Burnet says, that "Stoupe was a Giron by birth, Minister of the French church in the Savoy, and afterwards a Brigadier-General in the French armies: a man of intrigue, but of no virtue. He adhered to the

Protestant religion as to outward appearance; he was much trusted by Cromwell in foreign affairs, and was employed by him as his Agent in France."

for Stoupe, and in great wrath reproached him for his ingratitude in concealing a thing of such consequence to him. Stoupe upon this shewed him the letters he had received ; and put him in mind of the note he had sent in to him, which was immediately after he had the first letter, and that he had sent out Thurloe to him. At that Cromwell seemed yet more amazed ; and sent for Thurloe, to whose face Stoupe affirmed the matter : nor did he deny any part of it ; but only said, that he had many such advertisements sent him, in which till this time he had never found any truth. Cromwell replied sternly, that he ought to have acquainted him with it, and left him to judge of the importance of it. Thurloe desired to speak in private with Cromwell. So Stoupe was dismissed, and went away, not doubting but Thurloe would be disgraced. But, as he understood from Lisle afterwards, Thurloe shewed Cromwell such instances of his care and fidelity on all such occasions, and humbly acknowledged his error in this matter, but imputed it wholly to his care both for his honour and quiet, that he pacified him entirely: and indeed he was so much in all Cromwell's secrets, that it was not safe to disgrace him without destroying him ; and that, it seems, Cromwell could not resolve on. Thurloe having mastered this point, that he might farther justify his not being so attentive as he ought to have been, did so much search into Stoupe's whole deportment, that he possessed Cromwell with such an ill opinion of him, that after that he never treated him with any confidence. So he found how dangerous it was even to preserve a Prince, (so he called him) when a Minister was wounded in the doing of it ; and that the Minister would be too hard for the Prince, even though his own safety was concerned in it."

In 1658, Mr. Thurloe was made Chancellor of the University of Glasgow ; and, in June following, concurred with Whitelocke in advising the Protector to leave the persons who had been detected in a plot to be proceeded against in the ordinary course of trials at the common law, and not by an high court of justice ; it being always his opinion, that the forms and rules of the old constitution should, on every occasion, be inviolably adhered to, especially in the administration of justice.

Upon the death of the Protector, Oliver, he was continued in the post of Secretary of State and Privy Counsellor to his successor Richard Cromwell, though he was very obnoxious to the principal persons in the army, to whose interests, whenever they interfered with those of the civil Government, he was a declared enemy. And their resentments against him on that account were carried to so great a height, that they accused him as an evil Counsellor, and one who was justly formidable by the ascendant which he had gained over the new Protector. For this reason, about the beginning of November, 1658, he desired leave to retire from public business, in hopes that this might be a means to quiet things, and facilitate the Protector's affairs with the army.

But he was prevailed upon still to continue in this employment ; and on the 31st of December, the same year, was chosen Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge by 123 Suffrages, a greater number, it is said, than was ever known upon the like occasion. He was returned likewise for the town and borough of Wisbech, and for the borough of Huntingdon ; but made his election for Cambridge. In April, 1659, he used his utmost efforts to dissuade the Protector Richard from dissolving the Parliament ; a step which proved fatal to his authority ; though, upon his quitting it, Mr. Thurloe still continued in his office of Secretary till January 14, 1659-60, when it was conferred on Thomas Scott, Esq; but on the 27th of February following, upon a report of the Council of State, the Parliament resolved, That Mr. Thurloe should be again made one of the Secretaries of State, and John Thompson, Esq; the other. In April, 1660, he made an offer of his service for the Restoration of King Charles II. as appears from a letter of the Lord Chancellor Hyde's to Sir John Greenville, wherein his Lordship observes, that Mr. Thurloe's offers were very frank, and accompanied with many great professions of resolving to serve his Majesty not only in his own endeavours, but likewise by the services of his friends ; but that these offers were mixed with somewhat of curiosity in Mr. Thurloe, who was very inquisitive to know, whether his Majesty had any confidence in General Monk, or had approached him in the right way ; which he desired to know, only to finish what was left undone, or to be able the better to advise his Majesty what he was to do therein. The King returned such answers as were proper, and desired to see some effects of his good affection, and then he would find his services more acceptable. However, on the 15th of May following he was committed by the House of Commons to the custody of their Serjeant at Arms, upon a charge of high treason ; though it was not long before he was released, and retired to Great Milton in Oxfordshire, where he generally resided, except in term-time, when he came up to his chambers at Lincoln's-Inn.

Mr. Thurloe was of great use occasionally to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, by the instructions which he gave him with respect to the state of foreign affairs ; of which there is a remarkable instance among his State-papers ; in the recapitulation, which he drew up of all the negociations between England, France, and Spain, from the time of Oliver Cromwell's taking upon him the Protectorship till the Restoration. He was likewise often solicited by King Charles II. to engage in the administration of public business ; but he thought proper to decline those offers. He died suddenly at his chambers at Lincoln's-Inn on the 21st of February, 1667-8, at the age of fifty-one, and was interred under the chapel there with an inscription over his grave. He was twice married, first to a Lady of the family of Peyton, by whom he had two sons, who died before him ; and secondly

to Anne, third daughter of Sir John Lytcott of East Moulsey in Surrey, by whom he had four sons and two daughters.

Secretary THURLOE is said to have been as amiable a man in his private, as he was great in his public character. In the height of his power, he exercised all possible moderation towards persons of every party. His manner of writing is remarkable above most of his cotemporaries for its conciseness, perspicuity, and strength. "His knowledge and judgment, says Mr. Granger, his industry and dispatch, were equally extraordinary; and he was as dextrous in discovering secrets, as he was faithful in keeping them." But the most authentic testimony of his abilities is that vast collection of his State-papers, in seven Volumes, in Folio, now in the hands of the public; which place the History of Europe in general, as well as that of Great Britain and its dominions, during that remarkable period, in the clearest light; and shew at the same time his astonishing industry and application in the management of so great a variety of important affairs, which passed entirely through his hands, with a secrecy and success, not to be paralleled under any other Government.



The Life of RICHARD BAXTER.

THIS eminent Nonconformist Divine was son to Richard Baxter, who possessed an estate in the county of Shropshire ; but who made no great figure there, as his estate was but small, and so encumbered with debts, as not to be cleared without much thrift and good husbandry. His mother was of the same county ; being the daughter of Mr. Richard Adeney of Rowton, near High Ercal, the seat of the Lord Newport. There our Author was born on the 12th of November, 1615, and there he spent his infancy, which was so remarkable in nothing as in the discovery of a pious disposition, which gave great hopes to such as observed him. When he was about ten years of age, he was taken home by his parents to Eaton Constantine, a village about five miles from Shrewsbury. He was unhappy in his education, with respect both to learning and piety ; his schoolmasters being both ignorant and immoral. For want of better instructors, he fell into the hands of the readers of the villages he lived in. Learning was at no great height, in so remote a corner of the kingdom ; neither could much improvement be expected in so barren a soil. His greatest help in grammar-learning was from Mr. John Owen, master of the free-school at Wroxeter, with whom he continued till he had been some time Captain of his school, and advanced as far as his master's assistance could forward him. He had not afterwards the advantage of an academical education ; and yet, says Dr. Bates, by the Divine Blessing upon his rare dexterity and diligence, his sacred knowledge was in that degree of eminence, as few in the University ever arrive to (c).

It was a proposal which was made by his school-master, that prevented his being sent to the University. When he was about to leave Wroxeter school, Mr. Owen advised that, instead of going to the University, he should be put under the care of Mr. Richard Wickstead, Chaplain to the Council at Ludlow, who had allowance from the King for one to attend him. There being no others under Mr. Wickstead's care, he represented this situation as likely to be more advantageous to young Baxter, than being under a tutor in the University. This proposal being agreeable to his parents, who were pleased with the thoughts of having their son so near them, they readily embraced it. But it answered

swered not their expectations : for Mr. Wickstead himself was no great scholar, and he took no pains with his pupil, though he was otherwise very kind to him : so that his only advantage by living with him, was in the free use of his library, which was open to him ; and he having time enough for study, improved that privilege to the utmost. After he had spent a year and half with him, he retired home to his father ; and soon after, at the Lord Newport's request, supplied for a few months the place of his school-master, Mr. Owen, who was then in a consumption, of which he died. After this, Mr. Francis Garbett, Minister of Wroxeter, read Logic to our Author for about a month, and excited him to a diligent prosecution of his studies.

Mr. Baxter was naturally of a sickly and tender constitution ; and this encreasing the seriousness and thoughtfulness of his temper, led him to the study of Divinity, chiefly with a view to his own edification. He tells us, that he studied " Practical Divinity first, in the most practical books, in a practical order ; doing all purposely for the informing and reforming of my own soul : so that I had read a multitude of our English practical treatises, before I had ever read any other bodies of Divinity, than Ursine and Amesius, or two or three more. By which means my affection was carried on with my judgment ; and by that means I prosecuted all my studies with unweariedness and delight." But the great advantages which he received from this course of study, were attended with some inconvenience. " One loss I had by this method, (says he) which hath proved irreparable ; That I missed that part of learning which stood at the greatest distance, in my thoughts, from my ultimate end, though no doubt but remotely it may be a valuable means ; and I could never since find time to get it. Besides the Latin tongue, and but a mediocrity in Greek, (with an inconsiderable trial at the Hebrew long after) I had no great skill in languages ; though I saw that an accurateness and thorough insight in the Greek and Hebrew were very desirable ; but I was so eagerly carried after the knowledge of things, that I too much neglected the study of words. And for the Mathematics, I was an utter stranger to them, and never could find in my heart to divert any studies that way. But in order to the knowledge of Divinity, my inclination was most to Logic and Metaphysics, with that part of Physics which treateth of the soul, contenting myself at first with a slighter study of the rest : and these had my labour and delight. Which occasioned me, perhaps too soon, to plunge myself very early into the study of Controversies ; and to read all the school-men I could get : for next practical Divinity, no books so suited with my disposition as Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, Ockam, and their Disciples ; because I thought they narrowly searched after Truth, and brought things out of the darkness of confusion : for I could never from my first studies endure

" confusion !

“ confusion ! ’Till *equivocals* were explained, and *definition* and
 “ *distinction* led the way, I had rather hold my tongue than
 “ speak : and was never more weary of learned men’s dis-
 “ courses, than when I heard them long wrangling about unex-
 “ pounded words or things, and eagerly disputing before they
 “ understood each other’s minds ; and vehemently asserting
 “ *modes*, and *consequences*, and *adjuncts*, before they considered of
 “ *Quod sit*, the *Quid sit*, or the *Quotuplex*. I never thought I
 “ understood any thing ’till I could *anatomize* it, and see the *parts*
 “ *distinctly*, and the conjunction of the parts as they make up the
 “ whole. Distinction and method seemed to me of that neces-
 “ sity, that without them I could not be said to know ; and the
 “ disputes which forsook them, or abused them, seem but as in-
 “ coherent dreams (*d*).”

Mr. Baxter had some design to enter into the Ministry ; but when he was about eighteen years of age, Mr. Wickstead endeavoured to persuade him to forbear further thoughts of that kind, and to leave the country for the Court ; with a view of making an interest for some office there, by which he might have an opportunity of rising in the world, and becoming great and considerable. The scheme was agreeable to his parents, though not to himself ; however, upon their instigation, he came up to Whitehall, being recommended to Sir Henry Hobart, who was then Master of the Revels. He was courteously received, and kindly entertained, but found nothing pleasing to him in a Court life, and therefore soon laid hold of an opportunity of quitting it, and retiring again into the country. “ I had quickly (says
 “ he) enough of the Court, when I saw a stage-play instead of a
 “ sermon on the Lord’s days in the afternoon, and saw what
 “ course was there in fashion, and heard little preaching, but
 “ what was as to one part against the Puritans, I was glad to be
 “ gone : and at the same time it pleased GOD that my mother
 “ fell sick, and desired my return ; and so I desired to bid fare-
 “ well to those kind of employments and expectations.”

After his return into the country, Mr. Baxter resumed his studies, and his thoughts of entering into the Ministry, and Mr. Richard Foley of Stourbridge got him appointed Master of the free-school at Dudley, with an assistant under him. In 1638, he applied to the Bishop of Winchester for Holy Orders, which he received, having at that time no scruples as to conformity to the Church of England ; and indeed had been used to join in the Common-Prayer with as much fervency as he afterwards did in any other prayers. It seems, however, that he had early formed favourable ideas of the Puritans, and saw a great deficiency both with respect to learning and morals in many of the established Clergy.

(*d*) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ ; or, Mr. Richard Baxter’s Narrative of the most memorable passages of his Life and Times ; published by Mr. Silvester, in Folio, in 1696. P. 5, 6.

Clergy (e). And when he was about twenty years of age, he became acquainted with Mr. Simmonds, Mr. Cradock, and other pious Nonconformists in and about Shrewsbury, whose exemplary
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(e) From the account given by Mr. Baxter himself, it appears that many of the Clergy in that part of the country where he was born were deplorably ignorant and immoral. "We lived in a country (says he) that had but little preaching at all: in the village where I was born there were four readers successively in six years time, ignorant men, and two of them immoral in their lives; who were all my school-masters. In the village where my father lived, there was a reader of about eighty years of age that never preached, and had two churches about twenty miles distant. His eye-sight failing him, he said Common-Prayer without book; but for the reading of the Psalms and chapters, he got a common thresher and day-labourer one year, and a taylor another year; for the Clerk could not read well. And at last he had a kinsman of his own (the excellentest stage-player in all the country, and a good gamester and good fellow) that got Orders, and supplied one of his places. After him another younger kinsman, that could write and read, got Orders; and at the same time another neighbour's son, that had been a while at school turned Minister, and who would needs go further than the rest, ventured to preach, (and after got a Living in Staffordshire,) and when he had been a preacher about twelve or sixteen years, he was fain to give over, it being discovered that his Orders were forged by the first ingenious stage-player. After him another neighbour's son took Orders, when he had been a while an Attorney's Clerk, and a common drunkard, and tumbled himself into so great poverty, that he had no other way to live: it was feared that he and more of them came by their Orders the same way with the fore-mentioned person. These were the school-masters of my youth (except two of them) who read Common-Prayer on Sundays and holy-days, and taught

school and tumbled on the week-days, and whipped the boys when they were drunk, so that we changed them very oft. Within a few miles about us, were near a dozen more Ministers that were near eighty years old apiece, and never preached; poor ignorant readers, and most of them of scandalous lives: only three or four constant competent preachers lived near us, and those (though conformable all save one) were the common marks of the people's obloquy and reproach, and any that had but gone to hear them, when he had no preaching at home, was made the derision of the vulgar rabble, under the odious name of a Puritan.

"In the village where I lived, the reader read the Common-Prayer briefly; and the rest of the day, even till dark night almost, except eating time, was spent in dancing under a May-pole, and a great tree, not far from my father's door; where all the town did meet together: and though one of my father's own tenants was the piper, he could not restrain him, nor break the sport: so that we could not read the Scripture in our family without the great disturbance of the tabor and pipe, and noise in the street. Many times my mind was inclined to be among them, and sometimes I broke loose from conscience, and joined with them; and the more I did it, the more I was inclined to it. But when I heard them call my father Puritan, it did much to cure me, and alienate me from them: for I considered that my father's exercise of reading the Scripture, was better than their's, and would surely be better thought on by all men at the last; and I considered what it was for that he and others were thus derided. When I heard them speak scornfully of others as Puritans, whom I never knew, I was at first apt to believe all the lies and slanders wherewith they loaded them: but when I heard my own father so reproached, and perceived

lives and religious conversation he found much to his edification. Observing such persons as these silenced and molested by the Bishops, he was much affected, and resolved carefully to study the cause in debate between them. And accordingly consulting the neighbouring Ministers, they furnished him with several treatises written in defence of Conformity, which he carefully read over ; but they could not help him to any of the Writers on the other side, who were represented as men of very little learning. Whereupon he concluded the cause of the Nonconformists to be justifiable, and the reasoning of the Nonconformists weak. But being settled at Dudley, preaching frequently both in the town and the neighbouring villages, he had occasion and opportunity to study these matters more particularly. For he there fell into the acquaintance of several Nonconformists, whom he apprehended to be too censorious and bitter in their invectives against Conformity, though they were honest and pious people. They supplied him with several Writings on their own side, which he compared with treatises written in defence of Conformity : and this enquiry occasioned him to entertain some doubts, which made him repent of his subscription. " For though (says he) I could still use the Common-Prayer, and was not yet against Dissenters, yet to subscribe, *ex animo*, *That there is nothing in the three books contrary to the word of GOD*, was that which if it had been to do again, I durst not do."

While he continued at Dudley, he had a numerous auditory ; but when he had been above three quarters of a year there, he was by earnest importunity prevailed with to remove to Bridgenorth in Shropshire, to be assistant to Mr. William Madstard. This situation was very agreeable to him, as Bridgenorth was exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction, except the Archbishop's triennial visitation. He was scarce well settled here, before he was disturbed by the *Et cetera* oath, which was framed by the Convocation then sitting. All were enjoined to swear, " That they would never consent to the alteration of the present government of the church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c." This oath gave great offence to Mr. Baxter, as well as to many others, who looked upon swearing to a blind

Et

ceived the drunkards were the forwardest in the reproach, I perceived that it was mere malice: for my father never scrupled Common-Prayer or Ceremonies, nor spake against Bishops, nor ever so much as prayed but by a book or form, being not ever acquainted then with any that did otherwise: but only for reading Scripture when the rest were dancing on the Lord's day, and for praying (by a form out of the end of the Common-Prayer-Book) in his house,

and for reproving drunkards and swearers, and for talking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the life to come, he was reviled commonly by the name of Puritan, Precisian, and Hypocrite; and so were the godly conformable Ministers that lived any where in the country near us, not only by our neighbours, but by the common talk of the vulgar rabble of all about us."—Baxter's Life, written by himself, as before, P. 1—3.

Et cætera as intolerable, because it took in all the Officers of the ecclesiastical courts, Lay-Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials.

Among other important matters which were in agitation in the year 1640, a Reformation of the Clergy was set on foot, and accordingly a Committee was appointed, to hear petitions and complaints against them. Multitudes from all quarters came up immediately with petitions against their Ministers, charging them with insufficiency, false doctrines, illegal innovations, or immorality. Among other complainants, the town of Kidderminster in Worcestershire had drawn up a petition against their Vicar and his two Curates, as unqualified for the Ministry; and they put it into the hands of Sir Henry Herbert, who was Member for Bewdley. The Vicar well knowing his own insufficiency, agreed to compound the business, and offered to allow 60*l.* per annum (out of near 200*l.* which was the value of the Living) to a preacher who should be chosen by fourteen nominated trustees. He that was chosen was to preach whenever he pleased, the Vicar still reading the Common-Prayer, and doing every thing that might be matter of scruple; for the performance of which he gave a bond of 500*l.* Upon this, the Bailiff of the town, and all the Feoffees, invited Mr. Baxter to give them a sermon; and, upon preaching once to them, he was unanimously chosen to be their Minister. He spent two years at Kidderminster before the breaking out of the civil war, and above fourteen years after it; and in all that time never resided at all in the Vicarage house, though authorized by an order of Parliament; but the old Vicar lived there peaceably and quietly, without any molestation (*f*).

Mr. Baxter's public preaching at Kidderminster met with an attentive, diligent, and numerous auditory. Though the church was very capacious and commodious, yet, after his coming thither, they were obliged to build five galleries to receive the hearers. But he did not confine his labours to his public Ministration: two days every week he and his assistant took fourteen families between them for private catechizing and conference. His method was this: he first heard them recite the words of the catechism, and then examined them about the sense, and afterwards urged them in the most earnest and engaging manner to suitable affections and practice. If any were shy, through ignorance or bashfulness, he forbore to press them any farther to answers, but made them hearers, and either examined others, or turned all into instruction and exhortation. He spent about an hour with a family, and admitted no others to be present, lest bashfulness should make it burthensome, or any should talk of the weaknesses they observed. His pious labours were attended with so much success, that on Sundays there was no disorder to be seen in the town; but you might hear, we are told, an hundred

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families

families singing Psalms, and repeating sermons, as you passed through the streets. When he first came thither, it is said, there might be one house in a street in which the duties of family worship were practised; and when he came away, there was not above a family on the side of a street that did not do it, and that did not make a serious profession of religion. Nay, in the worst families, in inns and ale-houses, usually some in each house seemed to be religious (g).

Notwithstanding the great usefulness of Mr. Baxter in this place, and the high estimation in which he was held by great numbers, yet, after the commencement of the civil war, such was the rage of the Royal party in that part of the country against him, on account of the inclination which he had discovered to favour the cause of the Parliament, that he found it necessary to retire to Gloucester; but being strongly solicited, he returned to Kidderminster. However, not finding himself safe in this place, he again quitted it, and took up his residence at Coventry. Here he lived in perfect quiet, preaching once every Sunday to the garrison, and once to the town's people. After the battle of Naseby, he was appointed Chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, and was present at several sieges. He was obliged to leave the army in the year 1657, by a sudden illness, and retired to Sir Thomas Rouse's, where he continued a long time in a languishing state of health.

When Cromwell had gained the Superiority, Mr. Baxter expressed his dissatisfaction at his measures, though he did not think proper to preach against him from the pulpit. However, he once preached before Cromwell, after he was Protector, and also had a conference with him; of which, and of his sermon, we shall give an account in Mr. Baxter's own words. 'The Lord Broghill (says he) and the Earl of Warwick brought me to preach before Cromwell the Protector, which was the only time that ever I preached to him. save once long before, when he was an inferior man among other auditors. I knew not which way to provoke him better to his duty, than by preaching on 1 Cor. i. 10. against the divisions and distractions of the church, and shewing how mischievous a thing it was for politicians to maintain such divisions for their own ends, that they might fish in troubled waters, and keep the church by its divisions in a state of weakness, lest it should be able to offend them; and to shew the necessity and means of union. But the plainness and nearness I heard was displeasing to him, and his Courtiers; but they put it up.

'A while after, Cromwell sent to speak with me; and when I came, in the presence only of three of his chief men, he began a long and tedious speech to me of GOD's Providence in the change of the Government, and how GOD had owned it, and
' what

‘ what great things had been done at home and abroad, in the peace with Spain and Holland, &c. When he had wearied us all with speaking thus slowly about an hour, I told him, it was too great condescension to acquaint me so fully with all these matters, which were above me ; but I told him that we took our antient Monarchy to be a blessing, and not an evil to the land, and humbly craved his patience, that I might ask him, how England had ever forfeited that blessing, and unto whom the forfeiture was made ? (I was fain to speak of the *Species* of Government only, for they had lately made it treason by a law to speak for the person of the King). Upon that question, he was awakened into some passion, and told me it was no forfeiture, but GOD had changed it as it pleased him ; and then he let fly at the Parliament, which thwarted him ; and especially by name at four or five of those Members which were my chief acquaintance ; and I presumed to defend them against his passion ; and thus four or five hours were spent.’

Mr. Baxter also informs us, that shortly after he had some further conversation with the Protector. ‘ A few days after, (says he) he sent for me again, to hear my judgment about liberty of conscience, (which he pretended to be most zealous for) before almost all his Privy Council ; where, after another slow tedious speech of his, I told him a little of my judgment : and when two of his company had spun out a great deal more of the time, in such like tedious (but mere ignorant) speeches, some four or five hours being spent, I told him, that if he would be at the labour to read it, I could tell him more of my mind in writing in two sheets, than in that way of speaking in many days ; and that I had a paper on that subject by me, written for a friend, which if he would peruse, and allow for the change of the person, he would know my sense. He received the paper after, but I scarce believe that he ever read it ; for I saw that what he learned must be from himself ; being more disposed to speak many hours, than to hear one ; and little heeding what another said, when he had spoken himself (*b*).’

After this, Mr. Baxter returned to Kidderminster, and entered again upon his ministerial office there, and with good success. He was the more acceptable, on account of his charities and kindness to the poor. His income, indeed, was not great, but it was increased by the profit which he made of his Writings ; for which, he says, he sometimes received sixty or eighty pounds a year of the booksellers. He gave away a great number of his own books among the people of the town, and also Bibles to those who needed them. ‘ I found (says he) that my single life afforded me much advantage : for I could the easier take my people for my children, and think all that I had too little for them, in that I had no children of my own to tempt me to
‘ another

* another way of using it. And being discharged from the most
 * of family cares, (keeping but one servant) I had the greater
 * vacancy and liberty for the labours of my calling.' He also
 studied physic, in order to enable him to be serviceable to the
 poor, which rendered him the more acceptable to his auditors.
 * GOD made use of my practice of physic among them (says
 * he) as a very great advantage to my Ministry ; for they that
 * cared not for their souls, did love their lives, and care for their
 * bodies ; and by this they were made almost as observant, as a
 * tenant is of his landlord. Sometimes I could see before me in
 * the church a very considerable part of the congregation, whose
 * lives GOD had made me a means to save, or to recover their
 * health : and doing for nothing so obliged them, that they
 * would readily hear me (i).'

Mr. Baxter came to London a little before the deposition of Richard Cromwell, and preached before the Parliament the day preceding that on which they voted the King's return. He preached likewise before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul's a Thanksgiving sermon for General Monk's success. Upon the Restoration he was appointed one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary ; and he did once preach before his Majesty ; but he never derived any pecuniary advantage from his Chaplainship. He was likewise offered the Bishopric of Hereford by the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, but he refused to accept of it. He assisted at the conference at the Savoy as one of the Commissioners, and on this occasion he drew up exceptions to the Common Prayer, and also an entire new reformed Liturgy.

It was not long after the Restoration before the old Vicar of Kidderminster was restored to his Parsonage, notwithstanding his incapacity to discharge the duties of it. And Mr. Baxter, who had refused a Bishopric, would gladly have been this man's Curate ; but even this was denied him. Sir Ralph Clare was his secret enemy, and endeavoured to make it believed at London that many people at Kidderminster were against Mr. Baxter's being stationed there. There were eighteen hundred people who had been communicants with Mr. Baxter in that town ; and when they were acquainted with this report, sixteen hundred of these set their hands, in one day, to a paper testifying their desire of having Mr. Baxter reinstated among them. Lord Chancellor Clarendon pretended to be very desirous that Mr. Baxter should be settled at Kidderminster, but his professions seem not to have been sincere. He offered to preach there for nothing, but could not obtain permission.

Mr. Baxter now preached up and down in London, occasionally, for about a year ; and at length fixed with Dr. Bates at St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street ; and preached once a week, as
 Lecturer

Lecturer, having an allowance made him on that account by the parish. He was also appointed by Mr. Ashurst, and some other citizens, to preach a lecture in Milk-street, for which they agreed to allow him 40*l.* per annum, but this he continued only about a year. At the same time he preached once every Sunday at Black Friars, where he would take nothing for his labour, lest he should thereby render the parishioners less able or ready to help their Minister, Mr. Gibbons.

When the Act of Uniformity was passed, the terms of which Mr. Baxter could not in conscience comply with, a stop was put to his public Ministry: upon which he retired to Acton in Middlesex, that he might have the more leisure for writing. At the time of the plague, in 1665, he went to Mr. Hampden's in Buckinghamshire; but after the ceasing of that calamity he returned again to Acton. The following year the fire of London happened, concerning which Mr. Baxter expresses himself thus:

' It was a sight (says he) that might have given any man a lively sense of the vanity of this world, and all the wealth and glory of it, and of the future conflagration of all the world. To see the flames mount up towards Heaven, and proceed so furiously without restraint; to see the streets filled with people astonished, that had scarce sense left them to lament their own calamity; to see the fields filled with heaps of goods, and sumptuous buildings, curious rooms, costly furniture, and household stuff: yea, ware-houses, and furnished shops, and libraries, &c. all on a flame, and none durst come near to receive any thing. To see the King and Nobles ride about the streets, beholding all these desolations, and none could afford the least relief. To see the air, as far as could be beheld, so filled with the smoke, that the sun shined through it, with a colour like blood; yea, even when it was setting in the west, it so appeared to them that dwelt on the west side of the city. But the dolefullest sight of all was afterwards, to see what a ruinous confused place the city was, by chimneys and steeples only standing in the midst of cellars and heaps of rubbish; so that it was hard to know where the streets had been, and dangerous, of a long time, to pass through the ruins, because of vaults, and fire in them. No man that seeth not such a thing, can have a right apprehension of the dreadfulnes of it (&).'

In 1668, Mr. Baxter received a letter from Dr. Manton, intimating that he was acquainted by Sir John Barber, that the Lord Keeper Bridgman desired to confer with them two upon a Comprehension and Toleration. Hereupon he came to London, and waited on the Lord Keeper with Dr. Manton. His Lordship told them, that he had sent for them to think of a way for their restoration: to which end he had some proposals to offer to them, which were for a Comprehension for the Presbyterians, and an indulgence

dulgence for the Independants, and the rest. They asked him, whether it was his pleasure, that they should offer him their opinion of the means, or only receive what he offered to them? He replied, that he had something to offer, but they might also make their own proposals. Mr. Baxter told him, he thought they might be able to offer him such terms, without injuring any one, as might take in both Presbyterians and Independents, and all sound Christians, into the public established Ministry. He answered, that that was a thing that he would not have, and so it was agreed to go first upon the Comprehension. A few days after, he sent his proposals. After this they conferred with Dr. Wilkins and Mr. Burton upon the subject, and also with Sir Matthew Hale. And that worthy Judge was so desirous of bringing about a Comprehension and a Toleration, that he drew up a bill for the purpose, to be presented to the Parliament. But they no sooner sat, than the High Church Party made such an interest against it, that upon putting it to the vote, it was carried that no man should bring a bill of this nature into the House: and thus an end was put to the whole affair. And the Lord Keeper, who had set it on foot, grew as indifferent about it as any one, when he saw which way the stream was strongest (1).

While Mr. Baxter resided at Acton, he preached every Sunday to his own family, and a great number of other persons flocked to his house to hear him. He did this, however, only during the intervals of divine service at the church, which he constantly attended. But even this gave so much offence, that, by virtue of that unjust and oppressive statute, the Conventicle Act, a warrant was signed by two Justices, whereby he was committed for six months to New Prison; but obtaining an Habeas Corpus, he was discharged by the Court of Common Pleas, on account of an irregularity in the mittimus; upon which he removed to Totteridge, near Barnet. At this place he lived quietly and without disturbance. In 1671, he lost a thousand pounds, which was the greatest part of his fortune, by the shutting up of the King's Exchequer. He had set this money apart for a charitable use, intending to have erected a free-school, as soon as he could meet with a suitable purchase, with a good title. As he had delayed this for a considerable time, which had occasioned his loss, he afterwards admonished all that came near him, that if they would do any good, they should do it speedily, and with all their might (m).

In 1672, the Nonconformists having obtained some indulgence, Mr. Baxter came up to London, and was one of the Tuesday Lecturers at Pinner's-Hall, and had a Friday Lecture at Fetter-lane; but on Sundays he for some time preached only occasionally, and afterwards more stately in St. James's market-house. He was, however, once apprehended as he was preaching

(1) Calamy's Life of Mr. Baxter, P. 588, 389. (m) Calamy, P. 956, 957.

ing his lecture in Fetter-lane ; but was soon released, because the warrant was not signed by a city Magistrate.

The times seeming to grow more favourable, he built a meeting-house in Oxenden-street ; but he had preached there only once, before a resolution was taken to surprize and send him to the county gaol. This misfortune, however, he escaped ; but the person who preached for him was committed to the Gate-house, and continued there three months. Having been kept out of his new meeting-house a whole year, he took another in Swallow-street ; but was likewise prevented from using that, a guard being fixed there for many Sundays together, to hinder him from coming into it. However, he preached to a congregation at Southwark for many months.

In 1682, Mr. Baxter suffered more severely than he had ever done before on account of his nonconformity. He was suddenly surprized in his own house by many Constables and Officers, who apprehended him, upon a warrant to seize his person, for coming within five miles of a corporation ; producing at the same time five more warrants, to distrain for one hundred and ninety-five pounds for five sermons. Though he was much out of order, being but just risen from his bed, where he had been in extremity of pain, he was contentedly going with them to a Justice, to be sent to gaol, and left his house to their will. But Dr. Thomas Cox meeting him as he was going, forced him again into his bed, and went to five Justices, and took his oath that he could not go to prison without danger of death. Upon this the Justices delayed till they had consulted the King, who consented that his imprisonment should be for that time forborne, that he might die at home. But they executed their warrants on the books and goods in the house, though he made it appear that they were none of his ; and they sold even the bed which he lay sick upon. Some friends paid for them as much money as they were appraised at, and he repaid them. And all this was without Mr. Baxter's having the least notice of any accusation, or receiving any summons to appear and answer for himself, or ever seeing the Justices or accusers ; and afterwards he was in constant danger of new seizures, and thereupon he was forced to leave his house, and retire into private lodgings.

Mr. Baxter had but a very indifferent state of health during the greater part of his life ; but in 1684 he grew so ill and weak, that he was scarce able to stand. But notwithstanding his being in this situation, some Justices of the Peace sent warrants to apprehend him, he being one in a catalogue which was said to contain the names of a thousand persons, who were all to be bound to their good behaviour. Knowing that their warrant would not empower them to break open doors, he refused to open to them, though they were got into his house. Whereupon they set six Officers at his study door, who kept him from his bed and food by watching all night ; and next day he yielded. They carried

him to the court of quarter sessions, when he was scarce able to stand, and bound him in a bond of 400*l.* to his good behaviour. He desired to know what his crime was, and who were his accusers; but they told him it was for no fault, but to secure the Government in evil times; and that they had a list of many suspected persons that must do the same as well as him. He desired to know for what reason he was numbered with the suspected, and by whose accusation; but they gave him no information upon that head. He told them, he had rather they would send him to gaol, than put him to wrong others by being bound with him in bonds that he was like to break to-morrow: for if there did but five persons come in when he was praying, they would take it for a breach of the good behaviour. However, he was obliged to give bond, though (says he) "they knew that I was not like to break the behaviour, unless by lying in bed in pain."

The various persecutions that Mr. Baxter, as well as a great number of other pious and worthy Nonconformists, suffered at this period, reflects the greatest dishonour upon those bigotted Episcopalians that were the cause of them. It is computed, that by the Act of Uniformity, two thousand Ministers were ejected from their Livings; though they were unexceptionable in point of learning and morals, and many of them were distinguished by their abilities, their industry, and their exemplary lives. But it was not thought sufficient to deprive them of their Livings: they were not only to be driven out of the churches, but prohibited from worshipping GOD any where else in that way which their consciences approved. Indeed, in different ages of the church, men have too often pretended a mighty zeal for Christianity, while they were acting not only in direct opposition to its plainest precepts, but in a manner inconsistent even with the dictates of justice and humanity!

In the beginning of the year 1685, Mr. Baxter was committed to the King's Bench prison, by a warrant from the Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, for his "*Paraphrase on the New Testament*," which had been printed a little before, and which was called a scandalous and seditious book against the Government. On the 6th of May, which was the first day of the term, he appeared in Westminster-Hall, and an information was ordered to be filed against him. On the 14th of May, he pleaded not guilty to the information; and, on the 18th, being much indisposed, and desiring farther time than to the 30th, which was the day appointed for the trial, he moved by his Counsel that it might be put off; on which Jefferies cried out in a passion, "I will not give him a minute's time more to save his life. We have had (says he) to do with other sorts of persons, but now we have a Saint to deal with; and I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners. Yonder (says he) stands Oates in the pillory, (as he did at that very time in the New Palace Yard), and he says he suffers for
the

‘ the Truth, and so says Baxter ; but if Baxter did but stand on
‘ the other side of the pillory with him, I would say two of the
‘ greatest rogues and rascals in the kingdom stood there.’

On May the 30th, in the afternoon, he was brought to his trial before Jefferies at Guildhall. Mr. Baxter came first into court, (accompanied by his friend Sir Henry Ashurst, who stood by him all the while), and with all the marks of serenity and composure, waited for the coming of the Lord Chief Justice, who appeared quickly after with great indignation in his face. He had no sooner sat down, than a short cause was called and tried : after which the Clerk began to read the title of another cause. ‘ You blockhead you, (says Jefferies) the next cause is ‘ between Richard Baxter and the King.’ Upon which Mr. Baxter’s cause was called. The passages mentioned in the information, were his paraphrase on *Matt. v. 19. Mark iii. 6. ix. 39. xi. 31. xii. 38, 39, 40. Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2.* These passages, we are told, were picked out by Sir Roger L’Estrange, and some others. And it is also said that a certain Clergyman put into the hands of Mr. Baxter’s enemies some accusations out of *Romans xiii. &c.* as against the King, to touch his life, but no use was made of them. The great charge was, that in these several passages he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of England, and so was guilty of sedition, &c. The King’s Council opened the information at large, with its aggravations. Mr. Wallop, Mr. Williams, Mr. Rotheram, Mr. Atwood, and Mr. Phipps, were Mr. Baxter’s Counsel, and had been feed by Sir Henry Ashurst.

Mr. Wallop said, that he conceived the matter depending being a point of doctrine, it ought to be referred to the Bishop his Ordinary. But if not, he humbly conceived the doctrine was innocent, and justifiable, setting aside the innuendoes, for which there was no colour, there being no antecedent to refer them to ; *i. e.* no Bishop or Clergy of the Church of England named. He said, the book accused (*i. e.* the Comment on the New Testament) contained many eternal truths : but they who drew the information were the libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of England those severe things which were written concerning some Prelates, who deserved the characters which he gave. My Lord, says he, I humbly conceive the Bishops Mr. Baxter speaks of, as your Lordship, if you have read Church History, must confess, were the plagues of the Church, and of the world. ‘ Mr. Wallop, (says Jefferies) I observe you are in all ‘ these dirty causes, and were it not for you gentlemen of the ‘ long robe, who should have more wit and honesty, that support ‘ and hold up these factious knaves by the chin, we should not ‘ be at the pass we are.’ My Lord, says Mr. Wallop, I humbly conceive that the passages accused are natural deductions from the text. ‘ You humbly conceive,’ says Jefferies, ‘ and I humbly ‘ conceive : swear him, swear him.’ My Lord, says he, under

favour, I am Counsel for the defendant, and if I understand either Latin or English, the information now brought against Mr. Baxter upon so slight a ground, is a greater reflexion upon the Church of England, than any thing contained in the book he is accused for. Upon which Jefferies said to him, ‘ Sometimes you ‘ humbly conceive, and sometimes you are very positive : you ‘ talk of your skill in Church History, and of your understanding ‘ Latin and English ; I think I understand something of them as ‘ well as you ; but, in short, must tell you, that if you do not ‘ understand your duty better, I shall teach it you.’ Upon which Mr. Wallop sat down.

Mr. Rotheram then urged, that if Mr. Baxter’s book had sharp reflexions upon the Church of Rome by name, but spake well of the Prelates of the Church of England, it was to be presumed that the sharp reflexions were intended only against the Prelates of the Church of Rome. The Lord Chief Justice said, ‘ Baxter was an enemy to the name and thing, the office and ‘ persons of Bishops.’ Rotheram added, that Baxter frequently attended Divine Service, went to the Sacrament, and persuaded others to do so too, as was certainly and publicly known ; and had, in the very book so charged, spoken very moderately and honourably of the Bishops of the Church of England. Mr. Baxter added, My Lord, I have been so moderate with respect to the Church of England, that I have incurred the censure of many of the Dissenters upon that account. ‘ Baxter for ‘ Bishops,’ says Jefferies, ‘ that’s a merry conceit indeed : turn ‘ to it, turn to it.’ Upon this Rotheram turned to a place, in which it is said, “ That great respect is due to those truly called “ to be Bishops among us ;” or to that purpose. ‘ Ay,’ says Jefferies, ‘ this is your Presbyterian cant ; truly called to be ‘ Bishops ; that is, himself and such rascals, called to be Bishops ‘ of Kidderminster, and other such places. Bishops set apart by ‘ such factious, swivelling Presbyterians as himself : a Kidder- ‘ minster Bishop he means. According to the saying of a late ‘ learned Author, And every parish shall maintain a tythe-pig ‘ Metropolitan.’

Mr. Baxter now beginning to speak again, Jefferies interrupted him, saying, ‘ Richard, Richard, dost thou think we’ll ‘ hear thee poison the court. Richard, thou art an old fellow, ‘ an old knave ; thou hast written books enow to load a cart, ‘ every one as full of sedition (I might say treason) as an egg is ‘ full of meat. Hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing ‘ trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest ‘ to be a preacher of the Gospel of peace, and thou hast one ‘ foot in the grave ; ’tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give. But leave thee to thyself, and I ‘ see thou’lt go on as thou hast begun ; but, by the Grace of ‘ GOD, I’ll look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party ; ‘ and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting

‘ to

‘ to see what will become of their mighty Don, and a Doctor of the party (looking at Dr. Bates) at your elbow; but, by the grace of Almighty GOD, I’ll crush you all.’

Mr. Rotheram sitting down, Mr. Atwood began to shew, that not one of the passages mentioned in the information ought to be strained to that sense which was put upon them by the innuendoes, they being more natural when taken in a milder sense; nor could any one of them be applied to the Prelates of the Church of England, without a very forced construction. To evidence this, he would have read some of the text; but Jefferies cried out, ‘ You shan’t draw me into a conventicle with your Annotations, nor your snivelling Parson neither.’ My Lord, says Atwood, I conceive this to be expressly within Roswell’s case, lately before your Lordship. ‘ You conceive,’ says Jefferies, ‘ you conceive amiss: it is not.’ My Lord, says Mr. Atwood, that I may use the best authority, permit me to use your Lordship’s own words in that case. ‘ No, you shan’t,’ says he: ‘ You need not speak, for you are an Author already; though you speak and write impertinently.’ Atwood replied, I can’t help that, my Lord, if my talent be no better; but it is my duty to do my best for my client. Jefferies thereupon went on, inveighing against what Atwood had published: and Atwood justified it to be in defence of the English constitution; declaring that he never disowned any thing that he had written. Jefferies several times ordered him to sit down; but he still went on. My Lord, says he, I have matter of law to offer for my client; and he proceeded to cite several cases wherein it had been adjudged, that words ought to be taken in the milder sense, and not to be strained by innuendoes. ‘ Well,’ said Jefferies, when he had done, ‘ you have had your say.’ Mr. Williams and Mr. Phipps said nothing, for they saw it was to no purpose. At length Mr. Baxter himself said, ‘ My Lord, I think I can clearly answer all that is laid to my charge, and I shall do it briefly: the sum is contained in these few papers, to which I shall add a little by testimony.’ But Jefferies would not hear a word, and proceeded to sum up the matter in a long and fulsome harangue. ‘ ’Tis notoriously known (said he) there has been a design to ruin the King and the nation. The old game has been renewed; and this has been the main incendiary. He’s as modest now as can be: but time was, when no man was so ready at *Bind your Kings in chains, and your Nobles in fetters of Iron; and so your tents, O ISRAEL.* Gentlemen, for GOD’s sake, don’t let us be gulled twice in an age.’ When he concluded, he told the Jury, that if they in their consciences believed he meant the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England, in the passages which the information referred to, they must find him guilty; and he could mean no man else. If not, they must find him not guilty. When he had done, says Mr. Baxter to him, ‘ Does your Lordship think any Jury will pretend to pass a verdict upon

‘ upon me upon such a trial ? ’ ‘ I’ll warrant you, Mr. Baxter,’ says he ; ‘ don’t you trouble yourself about that.’ And indeed the Jury immediately laid their heads together at the bar, and found him guilty. After the trial was over, Sir Henry Ashurst led Mr. Baxter through the crowd, and conveyed him away in his coach. On the 29th of June following, he had judgment given against him. He was sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred marks, to lie in prison till he had paid it, and to be bound to his good behaviour for seven years (1).

The following year Mr. Baxter obtained his pardon, by the mediation of the Lord Powis. His fine was remitted ; and on Wednesday the 24th of November, 1686, Sir Samuel Astrey sent his warrant to the Keeper of the King’s Bench prison to discharge him : but he gave sureties for his good behaviour ; however, the King declared, that it should not be interpreted a breach of the good behaviour for him to reside in London, which was not allowable according to the Oxford Act. Notwithstanding this, he continued some time after in the Rules. And on February the 28th following, removed to a house which he had taken in Charter-house yard, and now re-assumed the exercise of his Ministry as an assistant to Mr. Sylvester, which he continued about four years and an half, till he became so very weak as to be forced to keep his chamber : and even then he endeavoured to do all the good which his situation would permit. He died on the 8th of December, 1691, and was interred in Christ-church, being attended to the grave by great numbers, of all ranks and conditions, and especially of Ministers, some of whom were Conformists, who thought fit to pay him this last office of respect. He ordered by his will that all his books should be distributed amongst poor scholars ; and all that remained of his estate he disposed of for the benefit of the poor. He was married, but had no issue. His wife died some years before him : he published a short account of her, under the title of “ A Breviate of “ the Life of Mrs. Margaret Baxter.”

Mr. BAXTER was a man of great piety, of considerable learning and abilities, of uncommon industry, and of an exemplary life. Mr. Sylvester, who knew him well, says, that ‘ he was a ‘ man of clear, deep, fixed thoughts ; a man of copious and ‘ well-digested reading ; a man of ready, free, and very proper ‘ elocution ; and aptly expressive of his own thoughts and sentiments. He was most intent upon the weightiest and most useful parts of learning ; yet a great lover of all kinds and degrees thereof. He could, in preaching, writing, and conference, accommodate himself to all capacities ; and--had a ‘ moving pathos, and useful acrimony in his words.----He was ‘ pleasingly conversible, save in his studying hours, wherein he ‘ could

could not bear with trivial disturbances. He was sparingly facetious, but never light or frothy.---He was unmoveable, where apprehensive of his duty; yet affable and condescending, where likelihood of doing good was in his prospect. His personal abstinence, severities, and labours, were exceeding great: he kept his body at an under; and always feared pampering his flesh too much.---His charity was very great; greatly proportionable to his abilities: his purse was ever open to the poor; and, where the case required it, he never thought great sums too much. He rather gave *Cumulation* than *Denariatim*; and suited what he gave to the necessities and characters of those he gave to: nor was his charity confined to parties or opinions. He was a man of manifold and pressing exercises, and of answerable patience and submission under the hand of GOD; and though he was seldom without pain, or sickness, (but mostly pain), yet never did he murmur, but used to say, *It is but flesh*.---Once I remember, when I was with him in the country at his request, he, being in the extremity of pain, (and that so exquisite as to appear in the sudden and great changes of his countenance) raised himself from the couch whereon he had laid himself, and thus expressed himself: *Whatever the world thinks of me, I can truly say, that I have served GOD with uprightness of heart, and that I never spake any thing that I took not to be truth, and at that time to be my duty*.---His person was tall and slender, and stooped much: his countenance composed and grave, somewhat inclining to smile. He had a piercing eye, a very articulate speech, and his deportment rather plain than complimentary. He had a great command over his thoughts. He had that happy faculty, so as to answer the character that was given of him by a learned man dissenting from him, after discourse with him; which was, that *he could say what he would, and he could prove what he said*.---He was most intent upon the necessary things. Rational learning he most valued, and was an extraordinary master of it. And as to his expressive faculty, he spake properly, plainly, pertinently, and pathetically. He could speak suitably, both to men's capacities, and to the things insisted on. He was a person wonderful at extemporate preaching; for having once left his notes behind him, he was surprized into extemporate thoughts upon (as I remember) *Heb. iv. 15. For we have not an High-Priest*.---Whereon he preached to very great satisfaction unto all that heard him: and when he came down from the pulpit, he asked me, If I was not tired? I said, With what? He said, With his extemporate discourse. I told him, That had he not not declared it, I believe none could have discovered it. His reply to me was, *That he thought it very needful for a Minister to have a body of Divinity in his head*.

Mr. Baxter met in his life-time with the usual fate of eminence, to be highly praised, and highly censured. Dr. Bates said,

said, that his books, which for number and variety of matter were sufficient to make a library, contain a treasure of Controversial, Casuistical, Positive, and Practical Divinity; and Bishop Wilkins affirmed, that he has cultivated every subject he has handled. But Mr. Long of Exeter said, it would be well for the world if Mr. Baxter's books were all burned. However, an excellent judge, Dr. Barrow, passed this judgment upon them, that "his practical Writings were never mended, and his controversial seldom confuted." Bishop Burnet, in the History of his Own Times, calls Mr. Baxter "A man of great piety; and that if he had not meddled with too many things, would have been esteemed one of the most learned men of the age; that he had a moving and pathetic way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much simplicity, but was unhappily subtle and metaphysical in every thing."

The late learned and ingenious Dr. Philip Doddridge had a very high opinion of Mr. Baxter, both as a man, and as a writer. In a letter written in 1723, to a friend, giving some account of his studies, he expressed himself thus: "Baxter is my particular favourite. It is impossible to tell you, how much I am charmed with the devotion, good sense, and pathos, which is every where to be found in him. I cannot forbear looking upon him as one of the greatest orators, both with regard to copiousness, acuteness, and energy, that our nation hath produced: and if he hath described, as I believe, the temper of his own heart, he appears to have been so far superior to the generality of those whom we charitably hope to be good men, that one would imagine GOD raised him up to disgrace and condemn his brethren; to shew what a Christian is, and how few in the world deserve the character (t)."

Mr. Baxter's Writings are very numerous. It is computed that he wrote at least an hundred and forty-five distinct treatises, whereof four were Folio's, seventy-three Quarto's, forty-nine Octavo's, and nineteen in Twelves and Twenty-four's, besides single sheets, separate sermons, and at least five and twenty Prefaces before other men's Writings. The first book he published was his "Asphorisms of Justification, and the Covenants," printed in 1649; and the last of his Works published in his life-time, was "the Certainty of the World of Spirits," printed in 1691; so that he was an Author two and fifty years (u).

Amongst Mr. Baxter's more considerable and celebrated Pieces were the following:

- I. The Saints Everlasting Rest, first printed in 1650, in 4to.
- II. A Call to the Unconverted, 12mo. published in 1657. Of this Piece Mr. Baxter himself says, "This little book GOD hath

(t) Orton's Life of Dr. Doddridge, 2d Edition, P. 22. (u) *Vid.* Biograph. Britan.

“ hath blessed with unexpected success beyond all the rest that I have written, except the *Saints Rest*. In a little more than a year there were about twenty thousand of them printed by my own consent, and about ten thousand since, besides many thousands by stolen impressions.” It has been translated into the French, Dutch, Welch, and other European languages. And Mr. Elliot translated it into the Indian language.

III. A Treatise on the *Divine Life*. 1664. 4to. This consists of three parts. 1. Of the knowledge of GOD ; 2. Of walking with GOD ; 3. Of conversing with GOD in solitude.

IV. A Christian Directory ; or, a Sum of practical Theology, and Cases of Conscience. In four parts. 1. Christian Ethics, or Private Duties. 2. Christian Oeconomics, or Family Duties. 3. Christian Ecclesiastics, or Church Duties. 4. Christian Politics, or Duties to our Rulers and Neighbours. Lond. Folio, 1673.

V. *Methodus Theologiae*, Lat. Folio, 1674. Mr. Baxter, speaking of his publishing this Work, says, “ The times were so bad for selling books, that I was fain to be myself at the charge of printing my *Methodus Theologiae* ; some friends contributed about eighty pounds towards it. It cost me one way or other about five hundred pounds : about two hundred and fifty pounds I received from those Nonconformists that bought them. The contrary part set themselves to hinder the sale of it, because it was mine ; though else the doctrine of it, being half philosophical, and half conciliatory, would have pleased the learned part of them. But most lay it by as too hard for them, as over scholastical and exact. I wrote it and my English *Christian Directory* to make up one complete Body of Theology. The Latin one the theory, and the English one the practical part. And the latter is commonly accepted, because less difficult.”

VI. The Poor Man’s Family Book, 1674. 8vo. and since in 12mo. Of this many thousands have been printed.

VII. A Paraphrase on the New Testament, 1685. 4to.

VIII. A Treatise of Universal Redemption, 8vo. 1694.

Some years after his death, Mr. Matthew Sylvester published, from our Author’s original manuscript, “ *Reliquiae Baxterianae* : or, Mr. Richard Baxter’s narrative of the most memorable passages of his Life and Times.” Folio, 1696. This Work hath been abridged by Dr. Edmund Calamy.

Before we conclude, we shall here take an opportunity of giving some account of another learned person, nearly related to our Author.

WILLIAM BAXTER, nephew to Mr. Richard Baxter, of whom we have been treating, was born at Lanlugany in Shropshire, in the year 1650. His education was much neglected in his younger years ; for at the age of eighteen, when he went to

the school at Harrow on the Hill, in Middlesex, he knew not one letter in a book, nor understood one word of any language but Welch : but he soon retrieved his lost time, and became a man of great learning. He applied himself chiefly to the study of Antiquities and Philology. In 1679, he published a Grammar of the Latin tongue ; and, in 1695, an Edition of Anacreon with notes, which was afterwards re-printed in 1710, with considerable improvements. In 1701, he published an Edition of Horace, with notes, which was afterwards re-printed. In 1719, he published his Dictionary of the British Antiquities. His Glossary, or Dictionary of the Roman Antiquities, which goes no further than the letter *A*, was published in 1726, after our Author's decease, by the Reverend Mr. Moses Williams ; and, in 1732, that gentleman also published proposals for printing our Author's notes on Juvenal. Mr. Baxter had also a share in the English translation of Plutarch by several hands. He was a great master of the ancient British and Irish tongues, and well skilled in the Latin and Greek, as well as the Northern and Eastern languages. He kept a correspondence with most of the learned men of his time, especially with the famous Antiquarian Mr. Edward Lhwyd (*æ*). Some of Mr. Baxter's letters to him are published in his *Glossarium antiquitatum Romanorum*. There are likewise in the Philosophical Transactions two letters of his to Dr. Harwood, one concerning the town of Vereconium

or

(*æ*) EDWARD LHWYD, or LLOYD, was born in Wales about the year 1670. He was educated at Jesus College, in the University of Oxford, and took the degree of Master of Arts in 1701. And having, under the direction of the learned Dr. Plot, diligently applied himself to the study of natural History, and particularly of Fossils, he was, in 1690, upon the resignation of the said Dr. Plot, appointed in his room Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The chief bent of his studies, and his greatest delight, was to search into the languages, history, and customs, of the original inhabitants of Great Britain. In pursuance of which disposition, he travelled several times through all Wales, and into Cornwall, Scotland, and Ireland. Many curious observations in natural History, Botany, &c. which he made in those travels, and communicated to some of his friends, are inserted in the Philosophical Transactions. But the chief fruit of his travels was his *Archæologia Britannica*, which was published at Oxford in Folio, in 1707.

He also communicated several large and valuable additions concerning Wales to the learned Editor of Camden's *Britannia*, which he also revised afterwards for a new Edition. No man was ever better qualified than Mr. Lhwyd to give an History and description of that Principality ; but he did not live to complete that design, though he had made large collections for the purpose. In March, 1709, he was elected by the University of Oxford Esquire Beadle of Divinity, a place of considerable profit ; which, however, he enjoyed but a few months ; for he died about the beginning of July the same year. His intimate acquaintance, Mr. Hearne, gives this character of him : That he was a man of indefatigable industry, and of an enterprising and daring genius, whom no difficulties or hardships could deter or frighten from prosecuting his worthy and laudable designs ; and, therefore, as nothing uncommon and fit to be noted could escape his enquiry, so he could never rest satisfied till he came to a view of it himself.---*Vid. BIOG. BRITAN.*

or Wroxeter in Shropshire, and the other concerning the Hypocausta or Sweating-houses of the antients; and another to Dr. Hans Sloane, Secretary to the Royal Society, containing an abstract of Mr. Lhwyd's *Archæologia Britannica*.

Mr. Baxter spent most of his life in the useful but laborious employment of teaching youth : for some years he kept a boarding-school at Tottenham High Cross in Middlesex, where he remained till he was chosen Master of the Mercer's-school in London. In this situation he continued above twenty years, but resigned before his death, which happened on the 31st of May, 1723, in the seventy-third year of his age (x).

(x) *Biograph. Britan. and New and Gen. Biog. Dict.* 8vo.



The Life of SETH WARD, Bishop of Salisbury.

THIS learned Prelate was second son to John Ward, an Attorney at Buntingford in Hertfordshire, where he was born in the year 1618. He was instructed in grammar learning and arithmetic in the school at Buntingford; and from thence removed to Sidney-College in Cambridge, into which he was admitted in the year 1632. The learned Dr. Samuel Ward, then Master of that College, who was not related to him, but to whom he had been recommended, was greatly taken with his ingenuity, and shewed him great kindness. Here he applied himself with great vigour to his studies, and particularly to the Mathematics.

Dr. Pope tells us, that ‘ in the College library Mr. Ward found, by chance, some books that treated of the Mathematics, and they being wholly new to him, he enquired all the College over for a guide to instruct him that way; but all his search was in vain: these books were Greek, I mean unintelligible, to all the Fellows of the College. Nevertheless, he took courage, and attempted them himself, *proprio Marte*, without any confederates, or assistance, or intelligence in that country, and that with so good success, that in a short time he not only discovered those Indies, but conquered several kingdoms therein, and brought thence a great part of their treasure, which he shewed publicly to the whole University not long after. When he was Sophister, he disputed in those sciences more like a master than a learner, which disputation Dr. Bambridge heard, greatly esteemed, and commended. This was the same Dr. Bambridge who was afterwards Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, a learned and good Mathematician (y).’

Mr. Ward, having taken the degrees in Arts, was chosen Fellow of his College. But the civil war breaking out, he became somewhat involved in the consequences of it. His friend and patron, Dr. Samuel Ward, was in 1643 imprisoned in St. John’s College, by the Parliament party; and Mr. Ward thinking that gratitude obliged him to attend him, accordingly did so; and continued with him till his death, which happened soon after. He was

(y) Life of Seth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, by Dr. Walter Pope, P. 9, 10.

was also himself ejected from his Fellowship for refusing the Covenant, and joined with several others in writing a treatise against it. Being now obliged to leave Cambridge, he resided some time with Dr. Samuel Ward's relations in and about London, and at other times with the celebrated Mathematician Mr. William Oughtred (\propto), at Aldbury in Surry, with whom he had cultivated

(\propto) WILLIAM OUGHTRED was born about the year 1573, at Eton in Buckinghamshire; and being bred a scholar upon the foundation of that school, was elected thence, in 1592, to King's College in Cambridge, of which he was afterwards admitted perpetual Fellow. He made a considerable progress in classical learning, as appears from some of his Works, written in very elegant Latin; but his genius leading him more particularly to the Mathematics, he applied himself chiefly to that study. He began at the fountain head, and read all the ancient Authors in the science, as Euclid, Apollonius, Pergæus, Archimedes, Diophantus, &c. and made himself a thorough master of their Works.

After he had been at Cambridge about three years, he invented an easy method of geometrical dialling; but he did not publish it till many years afterwards, when it was received with so much esteem, that Mr. (afterwards Sir Christopher) Wren, then a Gentleman Commoner of Wadham College, in Oxford, immediately translated it from the English into Latin. In 1599, Mr. Oughtred took the degree of Master of Arts; and, in 1600, he projected an horizontal instrument for delineating dials upon any kind of plane, and for working most questions which could be performed by the globe: which instrument was afterwards published, together with his circles of proportion, in 1633, 4to. by William Forster, who had been taught the Mathematics by Mr. Oughtred, but was then himself a teacher of those sciences.

About the year 1603, he was presented to the Living of Aldbury, near Guildford, in Surry, to which he immediately repaired; but he continued his mathematical pursuits, as he had done at College. The mathematical sciences were the darling object

of his life, and what he called the more than Elysian fields. He became extremely eminent in them; inso-much that his house was continually filled with young gentlemen who came thither for his instructions. In 1631, he published at London, in 8vo. his *Arithmeticae in numeris et speciebus institutio, quæ tum logarithmicæ tum analyticæ, atque totius mathematicæ clavis est*. About three years before this, the Earl of Arundel, who lived then at West-Horsey, sent for Mr. Oughtred to instruct his son, Lord William Howard, in the Mathematics; and this *Clavis* was first drawn up for the use of that young Nobleman. In this little manual, although intended for a beginner, were found so many excellent theorems, several of which were entirely new, both in Algebra and Geometry, that it was universally esteemed both at home and abroad, as a rich cabinet of mathematical treasures: and the general plan of it has been since followed by the very best Authors upon the subject, as by Sir Isaac Newton in his *Arithmetica Universalis*, and since in Mr. Maclaurin's *Algebra*, printed in 1748. There is in it, particularly, an easy and general rule for the solution of quadratic equations, which is so complete, as not to admit of being farther perfected: for which reason it has been transcribed, without any alteration, into the elementary treatises of Algebra, ever since; so that it is no wonder that the *Clavis* became the standard book made use of by tutors, for instructing their pupils in the Mathematics in the Universities; especially at Cambridge, where it was first introduced by Mr. Seth Ward. It underwent several Editions, to which the Author subjoined some other things.

As Mr. Oughtred was much attached to the Royal cause, he was, in 1646,

cultivated an acquaintance, and who assisted him in his mathematical studies.

At this period he received invitations from the Earl of Carlisle, and other persons of quality, with offers of large pensions, to come and reside in their families; but he preferred that of his friend and countryman Ralph Freeman, of Aspenden-Hall, Esq; whose sons he had instructed, and resided there chiefly till the year 1649; and then he resided some months with the Lord Wenman of Thame Park in Oxfordshire.

Mr. Ward had not been in this noble family long, before the parliamentary visitation of the University of Oxford began, in consequence of which the learned Mr. John Greaves, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, was deprived of his Professorship (a). This event proved fortunate to Mr. Ward, who was chosen successor to Mr. Greaves. The manner in which this was effected, is thus related by Dr. Pope. 'Mr. Greaves (says he) finding that 'twas impossible for him to keep his ground, made it his business to procure an able and worthy person to succeed him. Upon that design he took a journey to London, to advise with some knowing persons concerning that affair; and amongst the rest with Dr. Scarborough, who had then very great practice, and lived magnificently, his table being always accessible to all learned men, but more particularly to the distressed Royalists, and yet more particularly to the scholars ejected out of either of the Universities for adhering to the King's

1646, in danger of a sequestration; in order to which, several articles were deposed and sworn against him: but upon his day of hearing, William Lilly, the famous Astrologer, applied himself to Bullstrode Whitlocke, and other of his friends, who appeared so numerous in his behalf, that though the chairman of the Committee and many other Presbyterian Members were active against him, yet he was cleared by the majority. This Mr. Lilly tells us himself, in the History of his own Life and Times, where he styles Mr. Oughtred the most famous Mathematician then of Europe.

Mr. Oughtred died in 1660, aged eighty-six years, and was buried at Aldbury. Collier, in his Historical Dictionary, tells us, that Mr. Oughtred died about the beginning of May, 1660; for that, upon hearing the news of the vote at Westminster, which passed the first of that month for the Restoration of Charles II. he expired in a sudden extacy of joy. David Lloyd has given the following short character of him: 'That he

' was as facetious in Greek and Latin, as solid in Arithmetic, Geometry, and the sphere of all measures, music, &c. exact in his style as in his judgment; handling his tube and other instruments at eighty, as steadily as others did at thirty; owing this, as he said, to temperance and archery; principling his people with plain and solid truths, as he did the world with great and useful arts; advancing new inventions in all things but religion, which in its old order and decency he maintained secure in his privacy, prudence, meekness, simplicity, resolution, patience, and contentment.' He had one son, whom he put an apprentice to a watch-maker, and wrote a book of instructions in that art for his use. He left behind him a great number of papers upon mathematical subjects; and such of them as were found fit for the press, were collected together, and printed in one Volume, 8vo. at Oxford, in 1676.---*Vide New and Gen. Biog. Dict.* 8vo.

(a) See Vol. V. P. 169—171.

King's cause. After mature consultation, it was agreed upon by a general consent, that no person was so proper and fit for that employment as Mr. Ward. Mr. Greaves, who had heard much of Mr. Ward, but had no acquaintance with him, readily consented to what they had concerted, and undertook to find Mr. Ward out, and make him the proffer, and accordingly he made a journey to Oxford. Mr. Ward, wholly ignorant of this design upon him, or rather for him, rides casually from Thame-Park to Oxford, as he frequently used to do, either to consult some books in the public library, or to visit his friends and acquaintance. Just as he was entering the Bear-Inn, he luckily meets Mr. Greaves coming out of it, who being informed who he was, accosted and courteously saluted him, testifying his great joy, by many kind expressions, for this fortunate and unexpected rencounter; after which, taking him aside, he imparted his business, the design he had to have him for his successor, urging him with great importunity not to deny him this favour. I remember I have heard the Bishop say, that amongst other arguments, Mr. Greaves told him, If you refuse it, they will give it to some cobbler of their party who never heard the name of Euclid, or the Mathematics, and yet will greedily snap at it for the salary's sake. But Mr. Greaves was out in his divination; for the other place, I mean the Professor's of Geometry, was filled with a very learned man in that science (*b*), as his elaborate Works have sufficiently manifested to the world. This address of Mr. Greaves did so surprize Mr. Ward, that it did at once assault his modesty, and perplex his council. After many thanks for so great and unexpected a favour, he objected the difficulty of effecting it, saying, he could not with any reason expect to enjoy quietly a public Professor's place in Oxford, when 'twas notoriously known, that he was turned out of Cambridge for refusing the Covenant. Mr. Greaves replied, that he and his friends had considered that obstacle, and found out a way to remove it, and it was effectually removed a little while after by the means of Sir John Trevor, who, though of the Parliament party, was a great lover of learning, and very obliging to several scholars who had been turned out of the two Universities. Sir John had great interest in the Committee which disposed of the places of those who were ejected, and by that brought Mr. Ward into the Professor's chair, and preserved him in it, without taking the Covenant, or Engagement (*c*).

Notwithstanding this latter assertion of Dr. Pope's, it appears that Mr. Ward really did take the Engagement (*d*). As soon as he had obtained this settlement at Oxford, his first care was to procure

(*b*) Dr. John Wallis. (*c*) Life of Seth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, P. 18--21. (*d*) See Biograph. Britan. art. *Ward*, note E. Wood's Athen. Oxon. and New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo.

procure Mr. Greaves the full arrears of his salary, amounting to five hundred pounds; for the lands allotted for the payment of the Savilian Professors lying chiefly in Kent, the rents of them had been seized and detained by the Parliamentarians. He next endeavoured to bring the Astronomy lectures into reputation, which had been for a considerable time entirely discontinued. Mr. Ward read his lecture very constantly; and that being known, he never failed of a good auditory. He told Dr. Pope, that in all the time he enjoyed the Astronomy Professor's place, he never missed one reading day. Besides this, he taught the Mathematics gratis to as many of the University, or foreigners, as desired that favour of him: and accordingly Dr. Pope tells us the following story. 'I remember (says he) he told me that a certain German Nobleman made application to him upon that account, and that when Mr. Ward was in the middle of a hard demonstration, which required the utmost intention of mind to understand, for if by inadvertency one link of it is lost, all the rest is to no purpose, and unintelligible; this person interrupted him, and said, *Sir, you have a fine key*, his key by chance lying upon the table. 'Tis so, replied the Professor, and put an end to his lecture, and would read no more to that pupil (e).'

Besides reading his astronomical lectures, Mr. Ward preached frequently, though he was not obliged to it; for Sir Henry Savile had exempted his Professors from all University exercises, that they might have the more leisure to attend to the employment he designed them for. Mr. Ward's sermons were strong, methodical, and clear, and sometimes pathetic and eloquent: for besides his skill in the Mathematics, he was a great lover of Tully, and understood him well.

At his first coming to Oxford, Mr. Ward made choice of Wadham College to reside in, being invited thereto by the fame of Dr. Wilkins the Warden, with whom he soon contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship, their inclinations and studies lying the same way. At this time there were several learned men of the University, and in the city, who often met at the Warden's lodgings in Wadham College, and sometimes elsewhere, to improve themselves by making philosophical experiments. Among these, besides Dr. Wilkins and Mr. Ward, were Mr. Robert Boyle, Dr. Willis, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bathurst, and Mr. Rooke.

About this time Dr. Brownrig, the ejected Bishop of Exeter, came and lived retired at Sunning in Berkshire; where Mr. Ward, who was his Chaplain, used often to wait upon him. In one of these visits, the Bishop conferred on him the Precentorship of the church of Exeter; and told him, that though it might then seem a gift and no gift, yet that upon the King's Restoration,

tion, of which the Bishop was confident, it would be some emolument to him. He paid the Bishop's Secretary the full fees, as if he were immediately to take possession, though this happened in the very height of their despair; and Ward's acquaintance rallied him upon it, telling him, that they would not give him half a crown for his Precentorship. But the Professor knew what he did: he knew, that let things take what turn they would, he was now safe; and that, if the King ever returned, it would be a valuable thing to him. It accordingly was so; it brought him in several thousand pounds, and contributed towards his future advancement.

Mr. Ward, at his first coming to Oxford, was incorporated Master of Arts in that University, and in 1654 he took the Degree of Doctor in Divinity. In 1657, he was elected Principal of Jesus College, by the direction of Dr. Mansell, who had been ejected from that Headship many years before; but Cromwell put in one Francis Howel; with a promise, however, of eighty pounds a year to Dr. Ward; but this was never paid. In 1659, he was chosen President of Trinity College; but was obliged, at the Restoration, to resign that place. He was made amends, however, by being presented in 1660 to the Rectory of St. Lawrence Jewry: for though he was not distinguished by his sufferings, during the exile of the Royal Family, yet as he was known to be well affected to the Royal cause, he was favourably looked upon at the Restoration. In 1661, he became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the same year he was made Dean of Exeter. In 1662, he was advanced to the Bishopric of Exeter. In 1667, he was translated to the See of Salisbury; and, in 1671, was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. He was the first Protestant Bishop that ever was so; and he procured that honour to be annexed to the See of Salisbury, after it had been held by Laymen above an hundred and fifty years.

Bishop Ward had the misfortune to outlive his senses several years: he lived to the Revolution, but without knowing any thing of the matter; and died at Knightsbridge on the 6th of January, 1689, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was interred in his cathedral at Salisbury, where a monument was erected to his memory by his nephew, Seth Ward, Treasurer of that church. He died unmarried.

He was a man of great abilities and learning, a profound Mathematician, and well skilled in polite literature. He was very zealous for the established Hierarchy, and engaged in the persecution of the Nonconformists with a rigour that was very inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity. Bishop Burnet says, 'Ward was a man of great reach, went deep in mathematical studies, and was a very dexterous man, if not too dexterous; for his sincerity was much questioned. He had complied during the late times, and held in by taking the Covenant: so he was hated by the high men as a time-server. But the Lord Clarendon

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‘ Clarendon saw, that most of the Bishops were men of merit by their sufferings, but of no great capacity for business. So he brought Ward in, as a man fit to govern the church; and Ward, to get his former errors to be forgot, went into the high notions of a severe conformity, and became the most considerable man on the Bishops bench. He was a profound Statesman, but a very indifferent Clergyman.’

Bishop Ward was very charitable and hospitable. Dr. Pope says, ‘ No person in that county, (Wilts) or the Diocese, that ever I heard of, kept constantly so good a table as he did, which also, as occasion required, was augmented. He used to say, that he expected all his brethren of the Clergy, who upon any business came to Salisbury, should make use of his table, and that he took it kindly of all the gentry who did so. Scarce any person of quality passed betwixt London and Exeter, but if their occasions permitted dined with him. The meanest Curates were welcome to his table, and he never failed to drink to them, and treat them with all affability and kindness imaginable. He often told his guests, they were welcome to their own, for he accounted himself but their Steward. Never was there a more hearty entertainer : I have heard him say, ‘Tis not kind nor fair to ask a friend that visits you, Will you drink a glass of wine ? For besides that by this question you discover your inclination to keep your drink, it also leads a modest guest to refuse it, though he desires it. You ought to call for wine, drink to him, fill a glass, and present it; then, and not till then, it will appear whether he had any inclination to drink or not. When any persons of greater quality than himself came to Salisbury, as there not unfrequently did in their way to Ireland, he went to their lodgings and invited them himself, and never failed to treat them very splendidly. He knew not who dined with him, unless, as I said just now, they were of his own invitation, till he saw them at the table. After morning prayers, which he seldom, unless upon urgent occasions, missed, he constantly walked up to his chamber, and staid there till a servant brought word that dinner was upon the table. After dinner, if any extraordinary company were present, he would stay with them, drink a dish or two of coffee or tea, while they, who had a mind to it, drank wine, whereof there was plenty, and of the best.—Besides what he gave away at the palace-gate, where he constantly relieved a great number of poor, he enquired after those the French call *Pauvres bonteaux*, who wanted and were ashamed to beg, and sent them money to their houses. He had also a band of pensioners, if I may so call them, the number whereof were limited;—these were paid weekly, and as one died another was substituted in his place; and those poor people, who could get themselves listed in this troop, counted themselves sufficiently provided for, if not for their own, yet for the Bishop’s life.—He
‘ never

‘ never went to take the air, which he used to do very frequently,
 ‘ but he gave liberally to the poor, not staying till they asked ;
 ‘ ’twas enough if they stood in the way, or casually met him on
 ‘ the plains ; nay, I have often seen him call those who were at
 ‘ a distance from him, and expected nothing, and give them
 ‘ money.’

Bishop Ward founded a College of Matrons in Salisbury, in 1682, for the reception and maintenance of ten women, the widows of Clergymen of the Diocese of Salisbury. Two years after, he erected a neat building at Buntingford, his native place, consisting of eight mansions, and each mansion of four rooms, two above stairs, and two below, for the reception and maintenance of four poor men, and four poor women, who had lived handsomely, and by misfortune were reduced to poverty : the allowance to each is ten pounds a year. He also augmented the stipend of the Minister and of the school-master in that town ; and gave six hundred pounds to be laid out in land, and the rent employed in putting out three poor children apprentices yearly out of Aspenden and Layton. He was also a benefactor to the University of Cambridge.----He published the following Pieces :

I. A philosophical Essay towards an eviſion of the Being and Attributes of GOD, the immortality of the souls of men, and the truth and authority of Scripture. Oxford, 1652. 8vo.

II. De Cometis, ubi de Cometarum natura diſſeritur. Nova Cometarum Theoria, & noviffimæ Cometæ hiftoria proponitur. Prælectio Oxonii habita, & Inquiſitio in Iſmaelis Bullialdi Aftronomiæ philolaicæ fundamenta. Oxon. 1653. 4to.

III. Idea Trigonometriæ demonſtrata, in uſum juventutis. Oxon. 1654. 4to.

IV. Several Sermons ; ſix of which were collected together, and printed in one Volume, 8vo. in 1673 and 1674.---One of theſe ſermons is “ againſt reſiſtance of lawful powers ;” in which are the following remarks relative to the civil war, and the Reſtoration. ‘ It may be, GOD ſuffered the late rebellion to prevail, that he might not leave himſelf without witneſs, but ſhew forth his wonders in our days, in the miraculous reſtitution of our gracious Sovereign, and the Church. If he had not been driven out, how could he have been reſtored ? not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of our GOD.----Surely, all theſe things have been permitted, that the ſtone which the builders reſuſed, might be made tried and precious, and that his patience, his piety, his conſtancy in religion, his Chriſtian magnanimity, being maniſeſt to all the world, by the impatient deſire of all nations, he might become the head of the corner.’---It muſt be remembered, that the religious Prince, whoſe patience, piety, conſtancy in religion, and Chriſtian magnanimity, the good Biſhop here celebrates, was---Charles the Second ! before whom the ſermon was preached.

The Life of JOHN LILBURNE.

JOHAN LILBURNE was born in 1618, at Thickney Puncharden, in the county of Durham. He was descended from an antient and reputable family in that county, where his father, Mr. Richard Lilburne (f), was possessed of an handsome estate. But as he was a younger son, he was designed for a trade; and, with no other learning than what was requisite for that way of life, he was put apprentice, at twelve years of age, to a wholesale clothier in London, of Puritan sentiments, in which he had been bred. He gave an early indication of his spirit, by a complaint that he made to the Chamberlain of London of his master's ill usage, in consequence of which he obtained more liberty during his apprenticeship. He spent much of his time in reading the Bible, and religious books written by Puritan Writers. He tells us himself, that his master keeping only a warehouse, he had spare time enough several days in the week, which he spent in reading the Bible, the Book of Martyrs, Luther's, Calvin's, Beza's, Cartwright's, Perkins's, Molin's, Burton's, and Rogers's Works, with a multitude of other such books which he had purchased.

Among others who frequently visited Lilburne's master, was Mr. Edmund Rozer, a Puritan Minister, who took great notice of the apprentice; and conceiving a liking for him, and forming an high opinion of his talents, contracted an intimacy with him; and, in 1636, brought him acquainted with Dr. Bastwick, then a prisoner in the Gate-house, whom he afterwards constantly visited. At one of these visits, we are told, the Doctor reading his *Merry Litany*, young Lilburne was so much captivated with the anti-episcopal spirit of the Piece, that, with the Author's consent, he carried the manuscript to Holland, and caused it to be printed there. It should seem, however, that the printing this Piece was not his chief reason for going to Holland; for he frequently in his Writings calls this a banishment, and says that it was occasioned by his true affection to Dr. Bastwick, for which he

(f) It is observed, that this Mr. Richard Lilburne was the last person that joined issue in the antient custom of a trial by battle. It was with one Ralph Claxton, for lands of the value of 200l. per annum. The two champions appeared several times in the

court, armed cap-a-pie, with sand bags and battons; but the trial was repeatedly put off by the Judges, till at last it was ordered by the Parliament, that a bill should be brought in to take away that mode of trial, in 1641.

he was forced by the Bishops and their catchpoles to fly into the Low Countries for refuge, just about the time of the Doctor's banishment : ' Where (continues he) I was divers months, and ' where Sir William Boswel, the King's Ambassador, laid for me, ' as I was informed, several designs to put me a ship-board, and ' send me over to the Bishops here for my visible activity there ' against them, which forced me continually to wear my sword ' about me.'

Mr. Lilburne seems now to have laid aside all thoughts of following his trade, though it appears that he had served his master the clothier near six years. He had for some time imbibed a very strong aversion to the episcopal government of the church, and a most ardent zeal for religious and civil liberty. This occasioned him to take great pains, both in Holland and England, to get books printed against the Prelates, and their tyranny. As after his return to England he was very active in vending books of this kind, it is conjectured that he not only got them printed, but also turned his hand to the binding of them; which is supposed to have given rise to Lord Clarendon's observation, that " he " was a bookbinder before the wars."

It was not long after Lilburne's return to England, that he was charged with publishing some seditious libels, for which he was seized and carried before the Council-board, and the high commission court, and afterwards was referred to the court of Star-chamber. In his examinations there he repeatedly refused, with the utmost firmness, to take the oath *ex officio*, to answer interrogatories; which he justly considered as inconsistent with the liberties of a free-born Englishman. And by his noble behaviour on this occasion, he acquired the honourable appellation of FREE-BORN JOHN. However, the infamous court of Star chamber, on his persisting in his refusal to take the oath, passed the following sentence on him for a contempt of the court, on the 13th of February, 1637-8: that he should be committed to the Fleet prison till the 18th of April, 1638, when he should be whipped at the cart's tail from thence to Old Palace Yard, Westminster, and then set upon the pillory there for two hours; after which he was to be carried back to the Fleet, there to remain till he conformed to the rules of the court; and also pay a fine of five hundred pounds to the King, and give security for his good behaviour. In the whipping he received above five hundred lashes with knotted cords, yet in the execution thereof he uttered many bold speeches against the tyranny of the Bishops, and continued so to do after his head was in the hole of the pillory, when, his hands being free, he tossed several copies of pamphlets, said to be seditious, among the people, taking them out of his pocket; and after the Star chamber, then sitting, had ordered him to be gagged, he stamped with his feet. Upon this, the court ordered him to be laid alone, with irons upon his hands and legs, in one of the wards of the Fleet, where the basest and meanest sort of prisoners

prisoners were used to be put. And it was ordered for the future, that all persons who were to receive corporal punishments from that court, should be searched, and neither Writings nor any other thing suffered to be about them, and their hands to be bound; and the Attorney and Solicitor-General were to examine him concerning his speeches, whether any against the court of Star-chamber, or any Member thereof, as also whether any of the pamphlets were seditious.

Notwithstanding the severity of Mr. Lilburne's sufferings, and his being loaded during his imprisonment with double irons on his arms and legs, yet he found means to print and publish a Piece of his own writing, under the title of "The Christian Man's Trial," in 4to. the same year. He appears to have been ill used in the Fleet; but as he was not of a disposition to take ill usage patiently, he had several scuffles with the Wardens, wherein two of his fingers were so maimed, that he lost the use of them ever afterwards. During his imprisonment he wrote several pamphlets, besides that just mentioned, particularly "Nine Arguments against Episcopacy," and "several Epistles to the Wardens of the Fleet."

He continued a prisoner till the meeting of the Long Parliament; when, upon his petition to the House of Commons, he was ordered, on the 7th of November, 1640, to have the liberties of the Fleet, and a better apartment there. In consequence of which, he is said to have been very active in the mob that appeared at Westminster on the 3d of May, 1641, crying out, *Justice against the Earl of STRAFFORD*; and being charged with drawing his sword upon Colonel Lunsford, he was apprehended and arraigned the next day for high treason at the bar of the House of Lords; but he was acquitted, and set at liberty (g); and the same day, the 4th of May, the following votes passed the House of Commons: 'That the sentence of the Star-chamber against Mr. Lilburne was illegal, barbarous, bloody, and tyrannical.

(g) Mr. Lilburne has given us some account of this affair in one of his own pamphlets; in which he tells us, that after the battle at Brentford in 1642, when he was a prisoner in Oxford castle, there came to him the Lords Dunsmore, Maltravers, Newark, and Andover, who told him, among other things, that he should be arraigned for a traitor, for being the Chief or General of the apprentices that came down to Westminster and Whitehall, and forced the House of Peers, and drove away the King from his Parliament, and so begun the wars. Unto which he replied, 'Alas, my Lords, you will be far mistaken

there; and (continues he) I cannot but wonder that your Lordships should so undervalue your own honours and reputations, as so much as once now to mention this. Why, sirrah? said one of them. Why, my Lord! because your Lordships may remember, that the 3d of May, 1641, the King caused warrants to issue out to apprehend me as a traitor for this very thing, and others depending on it; and as a traitor I was apprehended by his Messengers, one of which that night kept me prisoner as a traitor; and the next morning, being the 4th of May, 1641, as a traitor I was brought by him

‘ nical. That reparations ought to be given him for his imprisonment, sufferings, and losses, and that the Committee shall prepare this case of Mr. Lilburne’s to be transmitted to the Lords, with those other of Bastwick, Leighton, Burton, and Prynne.’

As soon as the Parliament had voted an army, Mr. Lilburne entered as a volunteer therein, and acted as a Captain of foot at the battle of Edge-hill. He also remarkably distinguished himself in the engagement on the 12th of November, 1642, at Brentford, in which he was taken prisoner. He takes some notice of this affair himself in his ‘Trial, wherein he says, “ We were but about seven hundred men at Brentford that withstood the King’s whole army in the field, about five hours together, and fought it out to the very sword’s point, and to the butt-end of the musket; and thereby hindered the King from his then possessing the Parliament’s train of artillery, and by consequence the city of London; in which very act I was taken a prisoner, without articles of capitulation, and was by the King and his party then looked upon as one of the activest men against them in the whole company (b).”

After he was taken prisoner at Brentford, Mr. Lilburne was carried away to Oxford, and brought to a trial there before Judge Heath for high treason. But upon the first day of his trial, the Judge not only freed him from close imprisonment, but allowed him pen, ink, and paper, and also a week’s time to advise with Counsel. Upon which he wrote two letters, (in conjunction with Vivers and Catesby, his fellow prisoners), one to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and another to young Sir Henry Vane, setting forth the proceedings against him. These being sent to his wife (i), then at London, with proper instructions, she

‘ him to Whitehall, where (as I remember) old Sir Henry Vane and Mr. Nicholas were appointed by the King himself to carry my impeachment to the House of Peers, at whose bar I that day appeared, and was there that day arraigned for my life; and one Littleton, the Lord Keeper’s kinsman, swore most bitterly against me; but upon farther examination of witnesses, and hearing with patience my own defence for myself, I was by your whole House, who looked upon themselves as the highest Judicatory in England, honourably and nobly acquitted, as a person innocent and free of the King’s accusation: of which, my Lords, let me plainly tell you, if I were guilty, you were a company of

‘ unrighteous and unjust Judges for freeing me from that accusation. But, my Lords, being judicially tried therefore, and acquitted by yourselves, who (if my memory fail me not) I saw all at that trial, and by your House (then extraordinary full as ever I saw it) who judge yourselves the highest Judicature in England, I am acquitted thereby, my Lords, from any more question about that business, although it should be granted I was never so guilty of it.’—*Vid.* Legal and Fundamental Liberties, P. 71.

(b) Trial of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, P. 3. Edit. 8vo. 1710.

(i) He was married to her some time before, in the same year in which this transaction happened, in 1642; which

she transacted the affair with so much diligence, as to bring down to Judge Heath a letter from the Speaker, containing a special declaration of the Parliament in his favour, threatening the *Lex Talionis*, *i. e.* to punish the prisoners of the King's party in their hands, in the same manner as Lilburne and the rest should suffer at Oxford. In consequence of this letter, any farther proceedings against Lilburne and his fellow prisoners were suspended; and not long after, Lilburne made his escape out of the gaol, by corrupting the Marshal, as Lord Clarendon says; who also tells us, that he was liberally supplied during his imprisonment with money by his friends. But our Author himself, who best knew the truth, and whose veracity there is no reason to doubt, declares that he was exchanged by the Parliament, and that he lost five or six hundred pounds during his imprisonment out of his own estate. He also complains heavily of the cruelty of the gaoler to him, especially at the time when he lay dangerously ill of a fever, wherein he lost the hair off his head. And indeed Lord Clarendon observes, that "he was not so well treated in prison as was like to reconcile him."

After he had obtained his liberty, Captain Lilburne repaired to the Parliament army, where he was received with extraordinary marks of joy, and his gallant behaviour at Brentford rewarded with a purse of three hundred pounds by the Earl of Essex. He informs us himself, that about this time an offer was also made to him, by some considerable persons, of a place of honour and profit, then reputed worth about one thousand pounds per annum; but this he refused from motives of conscience, professing to his wife, (to whom application in this affair had been first made) to her extraordinary grief, as he says, "that he must fight, though it were for eight pence a day, till he saw the liberties and peace of England settled, rather than set himself down in a rich place for his own advantage, in the midst of so many grand distractions of his native country as then possessed it."

When the Earl of Essex began to press the Covenant upon his followers, Captain Lilburne left him, and going to the army newly raised under the Earl of Manchester, in 1643, obtained from him on the 7th of October that year, a Major's commission in the regiment of foot commanded by Col. Edward King, Governor of Boston in Lincolnshire. In this new post he was very diligent in putting that garrison into a good posture of defence, and he behaved with great bravery at the siege of Newark. Lilburne himself observes, that this promotion which he now enjoyed in Colonel King's regiment was owing to Cromwell; who, he tells us, gave him some private instructions to this purpose: that he should be faithful in his place, and complain either of
Colonel

which appears from his *Preparative to a Hue and Cry* after Sir Arthur Haslerig, towards the end, printed in

1649; where he says, she had been a comfort to him in all his troubles and sufferings for seven years.

Colonel King, or any man else, whom he groundedly knew did any actions that tended to the ruin of *salus populi*, the safety of the people, or the State universal; and promised, upon his honour and reputation, that he would do the best he could to have justice done. Colonel King appears to have behaved ill in his command, and a charge was exhibited against him by the Mayor and Aldermen of Boston. And Lilburne engaged with them very heartily against his Commander, and laid several accusations against him before the General.

In May, 1644, the Earl of Manchester removed Major Lilburne from Boston, and made him Lieutenant-Colonel to his own regiment of dragoons. In this quality he behaved with signal bravery at the battle of Marston-moor. And, indeed, no man engaged more heartily from the first in the cause of the Parliament, than Lilburne did: but he now became much dissatisfied with the measures of those in power. He was very strenuous for liberty of conscience, was against establishing the Presbyterian form of church government, and could not be prevailed upon to subscribe the Covenant. And, therefore, he resolved to quit the Parliament service, and accordingly threw up his commission on the last day of April, 1645; and refused to accept of a good post in the army when it was new-modelled. He informs us, that this offer was made him by no mean man, even while the new model of the army was framing; but, he says, that visibly there was such bitter designs against the poor people of GOD, who were strongly endeavoured to be destroyed by them, who with all their might they had endeavoured to preserve; and, 'also, (continues he) the laws and justice of the kingdom, to my understanding, in a very sad condition, I plainly told Lieutenant-General Cromwell, I would dig for turnips and carrots before I would fight to set up a Power to make myself a slave, which expression he relished not well. Whereupon I told him, Sir, I will, if I were free to fight again, never serve a jealous master while I live. For the Parliament, by their late vote, hath declared a jealousy in all men that will not take the Covenant, which I can never do; and, therefore, seeing I have served them faithfully, and they are grown jealous of me without cause, after so much assured experience of my faithfulness, I will never, in the mind I am now in, serve them as a soldier while I breathe, let them get whom they please, and do what they please.'

Mr. Lilburne being now out of employment, spent much of his time in writing. William Prynne had written a Piece in defence of Presbyterian church government, and against those that would not be conformable to the Covenant. This was attacked by Lilburne in a printed epistle to Prynne on the subject, dated June the 7th, 1645; and being brought before a Committee of the House of Commons on the 13th, on account of some passages in that Piece, Mr. Lilburne printed another epistle, addressed to

Mr. Lenthall, charging the Speaker with having concurred with his brother in secreting sixty thousand pounds of the public money. Whereupon an accusation against Lilburne being presented to that House by Colonel King and Dr. Bastwick, on the 12th of July, he was put into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms on the 19th. While he was under the care of that Officer, he published a third epistle to a friend, dated July the 25th, upon which he was committed to Newgate on the 9th of August, and orders were given for his trial at the Old Bailey, upon a charge of seditious practices. But in the interim, printing a state of his case, addressed to the world and his Jury, no bill was found against him. And the Recorder of London acquainting the House of Commons, that no information or other charge had been brought against him, and that he desired either to be tried or discharged; it was thereupon resolved upon the question, that he should be forthwith discharged.

On the 10th of November following, the petition for his arrears (which he had presented soon after his quitting the army) was read in the House of Commons; but being referred to the Committee of accounts, where he refused to give in the particulars upon oath, (the requisition of which he considered as an illegal imposition) no order was made for payment. While these things passed in the Lower House, Mr. Lilburne was engaged in another business before the House of Lords, upon a petition he had presented there for reparations and damages, on account of his sufferings in the Star-chamber; and on the 13th of February his cause was re-heard; and a few days afterwards the former decree of 1640, annulling the proceedings of the Star-chamber, was confirmed, and on the 5th of March he obtained a decree for two thousand pounds; and a bill to that effect having passed the House on the 27th of April, was sent down to the Commons for their consent. But in the beginning of that month he was cited by the Committee of accounts to appear before them, in order to give an account of the manner in which 2000l. which he had received for the public service, had been expended. When he came before them, he said, that the order from the House of Commons, which gave them particular cognizance of his accounts, was procured by his own seeking, and that he brought it to them of his own accord, being not compelled by any man; that because he conceived it just, he had desired that the parties concerned in his accounts might be summoned before them; that so, face to face, the charge against him might be made good, and the balance settled, which he was confident was divers hundred pounds in his favour. That upon their refusing this, without his taking an oath, which he then held, and still did hold, to be unjust, notwithstanding the ordinance of Parliament authorizing them to insist upon it, he had left them to seek his right in a more legal way from the House; and that he was sure they neither commanded nor desired him to come any more before

fore them ; neither did he promise it. That the loss of time thereby was no loss to them, nor to the State, but to him, in whose debt the State was, and not he to them ; that if he had not certainly known it to be so, it was not likely he should have taken so much pains to get his accounts audited. In conclusion, therefore, he desired he might have a particular charge, and have a competent time allowed to him to put in his exoneration, that so he might not be hindered from completing his business before the Lords. ‘ In which, (says he) gentlemen, I hope you ‘ will not hinder me, by commanding me hither to wait upon ‘ you :’ but such a particular charge being again refused, unless he would take the aforesaid oath, and Mr. Pryne, who was chairman of the Committee, pressing that he should speedily come again before them, that so the State might not suffer, by reason of the monies he had received, and stood charged with, he offered either that they should make stoppage of the money he expected to receive by the decree of the Lords, or else to put in good security to answer the charge. With this the Committee was satisfied, and gave him, at his own motion, a month, or six weeks time ; for which he thanked them, and took his leave.

About this time Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburne was arrested at the suit of Colonel King, who had brought an action of trespass against him for two thousand pounds, in the court of Common Pleas, for calling him a traitor. He was exceedingly provoked at this prosecution, because it hindered him from bringing the affair of the Lords decree to a good issue. However, having put in extraordinary bail for his appearance, he presented a petition to the House of Commons, wherein he confessed the charge of calling Colonel King a traitor, and declared himself ready to prove it, if the Colonel should be brought to his trial before the House : and he urged, that the Colonel’s offences were not only treasonable and capital, but such as were properly examinable, and only triable in Parliament. Wherefore, since he could not at law give any plea in bar, or justification of the words pretended to be spoken by him, until the Colonel should be either acquitted or convicted of the charges against him, he prayed that House to give orders to stay any further proceedings upon the said action against him, until sentence was given on Colonel King’s trial.

Mr. Lilburne obtained no satisfaction in consequence of this petition to the House of Commons : he therefore wrote an epistle by way of appeal to Judge Reeves, one of the Justices of the court of Common Pleas, and printed it with the title of “ The Just Man’s Justification.” Of the consequences of his publication of this Piece, he has himself given us the following account : ‘ Judge Reeves (says he) being wounded within at the ‘ downright truth of my Epistle, or Plea, that lasheth the base ‘ and abominable corruptions of him and the rest of his brother ‘ Judges ; and finding something in it that brands Manchester

‘ for an unjust man in his late Generalship, who was then Speaker
 ‘ of the House of Peers, away to him trudgeth the Judge in all
 ‘ post-haste with my book, to get him by his power to be re-
 ‘ venged of me, which he was easily provoked and persuaded to;
 ‘ and accordingly the 10th of June, 1646, he gets an order to
 ‘ pass the Lords House, to summon me up to their bar, to an-
 ‘ swer to such things as I stood charged before their Lordships
 ‘ with, concerning the writing the aforesaid letter or plea; and
 ‘ when I came to their bar, they dealt with me like a Spanish In-
 ‘ quisition, in examining me against myself, which forced me
 ‘ then at the bar to deliver in my plea in law, to prove that *by*
 ‘ *the laws of England they had no jurisdiction over Commoners to*
 ‘ *try them either for life, limb, liberty, or estate*; which plea and
 ‘ protestation (continues he) made them mad, and for which they
 ‘ sent me to Newgate; from whence, upon the 16th of June, I
 ‘ sent my appeal for justice to the House of Commons against
 ‘ them, which made the Lords madder; whereupon they, upon
 ‘ the 22d of June, 1646, issued out an order to bring me to their
 ‘ bar again, where, in contempt of their jurisdiction, I refused
 ‘ to kneel; for which they committed me to the Keeper of New-
 ‘ gate, to be kept close prisoner, without pen, ink, or paper, the
 ‘ access of my wife, or any other friend, which was with rigour
 ‘ sufficiently exercised upon me till the 10th of July, 1646;
 ‘ which day they issued out another order to bring me again to
 ‘ the bar; at which, when I came, in the height of contempt of
 ‘ their jurisdiction, I marched in amongst them with my hat on,
 ‘ and not only refused to kneel at their bar, but also with my
 ‘ fingers stopped both my ears when they went about to read my
 ‘ pretended charge; for all which they fined me 4000 l. to the
 ‘ King, and further sentenced me to be a prisoner seven years, or
 ‘ during their pleasure, in the Tower of London; to be for ever
 ‘ disfranchised of being able to bear any office or place in mili-
 ‘ tary or civil government, in Church or Commonwealth (a).’

The case of Mr. Lilburne so much attracted the notice of the
 public, that a remonstrance, signed by many thousand persons,
 was presented to the House of Commons in his favour; and
 it being apprehended that some violent attempts would be made
 to set him at liberty, he was removed to the Tower, as a place of
 greater security than Newgate. In the Tower he was denied the
 use of pen, ink, and paper, and no body suffered to visit him;
 however, he found means to write another petition, renewing his
 appeal to the House of Commons; which being delivered by his
 wife, on the 23d of September, a Committee was appointed to
 hear and report his complaint against the Lords. Sir Henry
 Martin was chairman of this Committee, before whom Lieute-
 nant Colonel Lilburne made his first plea in the inner court of
 Wards, on the last day of October, and was heard by them again
 in

(a) Legal and fundamental Liberties, P. 25, 26.

in the Exchequer-chamber, on the 6th of November following ; but no report being made to the House, he sent a copy of his second plea before the Committee to Sir Henry Martin, and afterwards published it under the title of " The Anatomy of the " Lords Tyranny." And not long after he published another book, intituled, *The oppressed Man's Oppression declared, &c.* in which he attacked the House of Commons for neglecting his case, with as much warmth as he had done the Peers. In this Piece, after having declared that he had tried all fair means to get his report made to the House, that so he might have a hearing before them, and that he desired nothing more than to be called out to a legal trial, he proceeds in these words ; ' which, if they do ' not, but resolve to keep me here, I will, by GOD's assistance, be- ' fore many months be expired, give them cause, with a witness, ' to call me out ; for here, if I can help it, I will not be de- ' stroyed with a lingering death, though they cut me to pieces ' as small as flesh for the pot. And, therefore, having now with ' a long deliberation committed my wife and children to the ' care and protection of an all-merciful GOD, whom, for about ' these ten years, I have feelingly and sensibly known for my ' GOD in JESUS CHRIST, who with a mighty protection and ' preservation hath been with me in six troubles, and in seven, ' and from the day of my public contests with the Bishops, hath ' enabled me to carry my life in my hands, and to have it ' always in a readiness to lay it down in a quarter of an hour's ' warning, knowing that he has in store for me a mansion of ' eternal glory. All these things considered, I am now deter- ' mined, by the strength of GOD, if herein I have not speedily ' that justice, which the law of England offers me, which is all ' I crave or stand in awe of, no longer to wait upon the destruc- ' tive seasons of prudential men, but forthwith to make a formal ' appeal to all the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, ' and set my credit upon the tenters to get money to print twenty ' thousand of them, and send them gratis to all the counties of ' England. The ingredients of which shall be filled with the ' Parliament's own declarations against the King, turned upon ' themselves and their present practices ; then with an account ' of my Star-chamber sufferings ; and conclude with a declara- ' tion what is the end wherefore Parliaments by law ought and ' should be called ; which is to redress mischiefs and inconveni- ' ences, but not to increase them.' He afterwards challenges them to shew any instance of an Act or Ordinance since the wars begun, that was for the universal good of the Commons of Eng- land that had borne the burthen of the day ; on the contrary, he charges them with having made several Ordinances to establish monopolies, (as that of merchant adventurers, who have an ex- clusive power of sending cloth to the Netherlands, whereby he was hindered from following his trade) and avows that in their
practice

practice they had unhinged Magna Charta and the Petition of Right.

This Piece so much exasperated the House of Commons, that the whole impression of it was seized, and our Author, by a warrant directed to the Serjant at Arms, February the 8th, was brought before the Committee for suppressing scandalous pamphlets. Here he refused to make any answer to what was said to him till the doors of the Committee room were set open, which were usually kept shut. But his desire in this request being complied with, he acknowledged the writing, printing, and publishing of the book which had given them so much offence; but the affair was never prosecuted any further. He tells us, that on his withdrawing from the Committee, the people cried out, they would never answer to close Committees any more, as they found the doors by law ought to be open, which they never knew before.

Soon after this, Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburne published a Piece under the following title: "The Resolved Man's Resolution to maintain with the last drop of his heart's blood, his civil liberties and freedoms, granted unto him by the good, just, and honest laws of England, his native country; and never to sit still, so long as he has a tongue to speak, or a hand to write, till he hath ever necessitated his adversaries, the House of Lords, and their arbitrary assistants in the House of Commons, either to do him justice and right, by delivering him from his cruel and illegal imprisonment, and holding out unto him legal and ample reparation for all his unjust sufferings, or else send him to Tyburn, of which he is not afraid; and doubteth not, if they do it, but at and by his death to do them, Samson-like, more mischief at his death, than he did them all his life. All which is expressed and declared in the following epistle, written by Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, prerogative prisoner in the Tower of London, to a true friend of his, a citizen thereof, April 1647."

Mr. Lilburne had formerly entertained a very good opinion of Cromwell, by whom also he had been much caressed: but he now began to form an unfavourable opinion of his designs respecting the public, and was also exasperated against him because he thought he had done him ill offices. Accordingly, in this disposition, he wrote the following letter to Cromwell:

' S I R,

' IT has been my unhappiness to be undone, and of late in a manner destroyed, by men of gilded outsides, and, among the rest, I must plainly and truly tell you, I judge you the chief; and shall, if you please to give me so much liberty as to come and speak with you, easily evince it to your face, with that moderation as becomes a man that loves honesty and godliness, wheresoever

‘ wheresoever he finds it, but that hates knavery and dissimulation in whatsoever person he meets it. So I have used all the means in the world I could think of to unbowel my mind as a friend to you face to face, but cannot prevail with you any otherwise than to slight me and my desires. I have lately sent you a fair message by Captain John White ; and by him I received a contemning answer, only he pressed me to know which way I could do you and your flattering darlings a displeasure. I have now at present sent him by Mr. Billers, a copy of this inclosed paper to send speedily to you with this message, that I do verily believe, that that paper printed with such a phrase upon it as I could easily make, for all your present conceived greatness, would easily pull you as low, before you are three months older, as I am. I have honoured you, and my good thoughts of you are not wholly gone, though I confess they are much weakened. Sir, I must earnestly beg it at your hands, that you will within a week order it so, that I may either come and speak with you, or else that you would come and speak with me, that so I may, betwixt you and me, declare that, which truly my provocations and sufferings will hardly let me to keep from public view. I have sent you this letter unsealed by this bearer, Mr. Hunt, (who very much honours you) of purpose to make some additions to it, and to leave you (as my last to you) without all excuse, in case you slight this, as you have done my often former addressees to you, and I shall rest,

‘ S I R,

From the place of my standing century, in my watch-tower at the Tower of London, this 13th of August, 1647.

‘ Your true universal friend,
‘ as I have formerly been,
‘ when you will manifest
‘ yourself to be less for your
‘ own tottering greatness, and
‘ more for distributive justice, and the common, not
‘ factious good, of your native country,

JOHN LILBURNE.

‘ That neither loves baseness, nor fears greatness.’

The paper which was inclosed, as mentioned above, was as follows :

‘ Lieutenant-General Cromwell’s family in the army.

‘ *Imprimis*, himself Lieutenant-General and Colonel of horse.
‘ 2dly, one of his own sons Captain of the General’s life-guard.
‘ 3dly, the other son Captain of a troop of horse in Colonel Harrison’s regiment, both young, raw, and unexercised soldiers.

' diers. 4thly, his brother-in-law, Desborough, Colonel of the
 ' General's regiment of horse. 5thly, his son-in-law, Ireton,
 ' Commissary-General of the horse, and Colonel of horse. 6thly,
 ' his brother, Ireton, Major-General of horse, and Captain of a
 ' troop of horse. 7thly, his cousin Whalley, Colonel of horse.
 ' 8thly, and his brother, lately made Judge-Advocate. And all
 ' these are the Lieutenant's creatures at his beck and command ;
 ' besides his cabinet junto, which are principally Colonel Robert
 ' Hammond, Colonel Nathaniel Rich, Colonel Harrison, and
 ' Scout-master general Watfon ; and Commissary Staines, and
 ' Mrs. Cromwell, are said to be the cabinet junto for placing
 ' and displacing of Officers in the Tower of London, who, 'tis
 ' said, have nominated Robert Spavin, the Lieutenant-General's
 ' man, their chief favourite, to be the master of the armoury in
 ' the place of Mr. Anthony Nicholls, one of the eleven im-
 ' peached Members ; so that it is evident and plain, that Lieute-
 ' nant-General Cromwell's chief design is not the good of the
 ' kingdom, and the promoting of universal and unbiaſſed jus-
 ' tice, but the advancement of himself, and his own kindred
 ' and friends ; which will undoubtedly destroy him, if he spee-
 ' dily look not very well about him. For the principal power of
 ' the kingdom being in his hands, (not in the General's nor the
 ' Agitator's) all the grand oppressions, injustice, and delays in
 ' justice, will and must be laid upon his shoulders, seeing he has
 ' now power enough to help it, if he has a mind.'

Some time after this, Cromwell made Lilburne a visit in the
 Tower, and pretended much friendship for him. However, he
 told him of a report there was, that he designed, if he was set at
 liberty, to go down to the army, and make a disturbance there ;
 intimating withal, that any clashing which might happen on his
 account, might at this juncture be of extraordinary prejudice to
 the kindom ; whereupon Lilburne assured him that, to cut off
 all possibility of any danger that might be apprehended from
 him, provided the House would do him reasonable justice, he
 should be so far from going down to the army, in order to make
 a disturbance there, that he would immediately leave the king-
 dom, and voluntarily engage himself not to come into it again
 as long as the present troubles lasted ; and to prevent, as much
 as possible, any clashing between the Houses on his account, he
 declared, that if the Commons would determine his cause against
 the usurpation of the Lords, he would leave all things concern-
 ing his private demands and sufferings till the next Parliament ;
 and if that never came, he would never ask for reparation of
 them. Cromwell made Lilburne many fair promises on this oc-
 casion, being desirous of keeping upon good terms with him.
 He was, however, very far from wishing that he should be set at
 liberty, and especially at this period ; for he was apprehensive
 that a man of Lilburne's spirit and popularity might be no in-
 considerable obstruction to his ambitious views. And accord-
 ingly

ingly when his case was about to be considered by the House of Commons, Cromwell, in order to put it off, moved, that since the cause was so knotty, and of so great concernment, it might be referred to some Lawyers of their House to canvass it. This was justly considered by Lilburne as done with a design to keep him longer in prison; and accordingly, as he says himself in one of his pamphlets, he was at this time free both with his pen and tongue in discovering Cromwell's hocus-pocus dealings with him and the kingdom; who appears to me, says he, to be one of the notablest jugglers that ever I was familiar with in the kingdom.

Mr. Lilburne had always considered the prosecution which he underwent from the House of Peers to be illegal, oppressive, and unjust. He thought, that by the principles of the English constitution the House of Peers had no original jurisdiction over Commoners, who had a right to be tried by a Jury of their own equals, that is, by Commoners. And he considered all attempts of the Peers to try and punish Commoners, as an illegal usurpation, inconsistent with the most essential rights of Englishmen. Accordingly, on the 2d of October, 1647, he sent to the Speaker of the House of Commons a proposition to argue his cause against the jurisdiction of the House of Lords with any forty Lawyers in the kingdom. In making this proposition he seems to have had an eye to the proposal of Cromwell, of deferring the determination of his cause till it had been canvassed by the Lawyers. Mr. Lilburne's paper was drawn up in these terms:

' The proposition of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, prerogative prisoner in the Tower of London, made unto the
' Lords and Commons assembled at Westminster, and to the
' whole kingdom of England, Oct. 2, 1647.

' I grant the House of Lords, according to the statute of Edward III. c. 5. to have in law a jurisdiction for redressing of
' grievances, either upon illegal delays or illegal judgments
' given in any of the courts of Westminster-Hall, provided they
' have the King's particular commission therefore, and other the
' legal powers contained in that statute; which jurisdiction, and
' no other, seems to me to be confirmed by the statute of the
' 27th of Eliz. c. 8. and 31 Eliz. c. 1.

' But I positively deny that the House of Lords, by the known
' and declared law of England, have any original jurisdiction
' over any Commoner whatsoever, either for life, limb, liberty,
' or estate, which is the only and alone controversy between
' them and me. And this position I will in a public assembly,
' or before both Houses, in law debate with any forty Lawyers in
' England, that are practitioners of the law; and I will be content the Lords shall chuse them every man: and if after I have
' said for myself what I can, that any three of these forty
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‘ Lawyers sworn to deliver their judgments according to the
 ‘ known law of England give it under their hands against me, I
 ‘ will give over my present contest with the Lords, and surrender
 ‘ myself up to the punishment and sentence of the present Lords
 ‘ and Commons. Provided at this debate I have six or ten of
 ‘ my friends present, to take in writing all that passeth there-
 ‘ upon. Witness my hand and seal, in the presence of divers
 ‘ witnesses in the Tower of London, this 2d of October, 1647.’

Mr. Lilburne’s proposition was not agreed to, but he was several times brought before a Committee of the House of Commons ; and on the 9th of November an order passed the House, that he should have liberty every day to go without his keeper to attend the Committee appointed about his business, and to return every night to the Tower. And he enjoyed the benefit of it some time ; but an information of seditious practices being made against him in January to the House of Lords, he was taken into custody again, and brought before the House of Commons on the 19th of that month, when in his defence he delivered a charge of high treason against Cromwell and Ireton ; upon which he was remanded to the Tower, and ordered to be tried by the law of the land for seditious practices against the State. Upon this he made application both that term and the next to the court of King’s Bench for his Habeas Corpus ; but being put off by the Judges, he printed an epistle to Mr. Lenthall, intitled, “ The Prisoner’s Plea for a Habeas Corpus ;” which was followed by another to Mr. Justice Rolle, intitled, “ The Prisoner’s mournful Cry against the Judges of the King’s Bench,” and was suffered to plead his cause himself at that bar on the 8th of May. However, no rule being made there in his favour, he petitioned the House of Commons, and a petition was also presented in his behalf, signed by seven or eight thousand persons ; whereby he obtained, on the first of August, both his discharge from imprisonment, and an order to make him satisfaction for his sufferings ; in consequence of which he obtained lands to the value of three thousand pounds.

The next day after Mr. Lilburne had procured his liberty, he sent the following letter to Oliver Cromwell, who was then warmly attacked by the Presbyterians :

‘ S I R,

‘ What my comrade hath written by our trusty bearer might
 ‘ be sufficient for us both ; but to demonstrate unto you, that I
 ‘ am no staggerer from my first principles that I engaged my life
 ‘ upon, nor from you, if you are what you ought to be, and what
 ‘ you are strongly reported to be ; although if I prosecuted, or
 ‘ desired revenge for a hard and almost starving imprisonment, I
 ‘ could have had of late the choice of twenty opportunities to
 ‘ have

‘ have paid you to the purpose ; but I scorn it, especially when
 ‘ you are low (k) : and this assure yourself, that if ever my
 ‘ hand be upon you, it shall be when you are in your full glory,
 ‘ if then you shall decline from the righteous ways of truth and
 ‘ justice : which if you will fixedly and impartially prosecute,

‘ I am your’s, to the last drop of my heart’s blood,
 ‘ (for all your late severe hand towards me)

‘ From Westminster the 3d JOHN LILBURNE.
 ‘ of August, 1648, being
 ‘ the second day of my
 ‘ freedom.’

A few weeks after, Mr. Lilburne joined with several others in a petition to the House of Commons against a personal treaty with the King ; presently after which he went down into the North to take possession of some effects that had been assigned to him in part of the reparation that had been voted him by the House of Commons. He returned to London soon after, in order to use his endeavours towards establishing a free and equal system of Government ; but his efforts for this purpose were ineffectual.

It is said, that Mr. Lilburne was desired to be one of King Charles’s Judges, but he refused, because he disapproved of the manner in which it was proposed to try him. He alledged, that previous to Charles’s trial, a new and free Parliament ought to be chosen, and that he should either be tried thereby, or else by the Judges sitting in the court called the King’s Bench. Being asked, How by law he could have him tried ? he replied, that the law of England expressly says, *Whosoever murders or kills another shall die* ; it doth not say, *excepting the King, Queen, or Prince, &c.* but indefinitely, *whosoever murders shall die* ; and therefore, wherefore none is excepted, there all men are included in law ; but the King is a man ; *ergo*, he is included as well as I. To this they objected, that it could hardly be proved that the King with his own hands killed a man. In answer to which he observed, that, by the law of England, he that counsels or commissions another to kill a man, is as guilty of the fact as he that does it. And besides, he said, the advantage was considerable, of trying the King by the rules of the law, as it would be sufficient to declare, that no man is born, or justly can be made, lawless ; but that even Magistrates, as well as people, are subject to the penal as well as the directive part. On the other hand, to try him in an extraordinary way, that has no real footsteps nor paths in our law, would be a thing of extraordinary ill precedent ; for why not

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twenty,

(k) Besides being attacked by the Presbyterians, Cromwell had also at this time an heavy accusation exhibited against him in Parliament by Major Huntington.

twenty, upon pretended extraordinary cases, as well as one ? and why not a thousand as well as twenty ? and extraordinary cases are easily made and pretended by those that are uppermost, tho' never so unjust in themselves. Add to which, said he, ' That to ' try him in an extraordinary way, when the law hath provided ' all the essentials of justice in an ordinary way, and merely ' wants nothing (if it do want that) but twelve Kings as his ' Peers or equals, will nourish and encrease in men that erroneous conceit, that Magistrates by the law of GOD, nature, and ' reason, are not, nor ought to be, subject to the penal part of ' the law of men, as well as the directive part of it, which is ' the bane, ruin, and destruction, of all the Commonwealths in ' the world (1).'

When Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, and some other Royalists, were brought to their trials before the High Court of Justice, Mr. Lilburne appeared warmly in their favour against the jurisdiction of that Court. Though he disapproved of the cause which they had espoused, yet he thought that whatever the accusations against them were, they ought to be tried in the ordinary courts, and agreeable to the usual forms. Being about this time informed of some violence threatened against his person, Mr. Lilburne drew up his Piece, intitled, " England's new Chains discovered ;" and on the 26th of February, accompanied by Walwyn, Prince, and Overton, he presented an " Address to the " supreme Authority of England in the House of Commons," containing a scheme for new-modelling the Government, in opposition to that which had been offered by the army in January preceding. Among other particulars recommended in this address were the following : that the supreme authority of the nation should be in a Representative, consisting of four hundred Members ; that the Parliament should be chosen annually ; that none who held public offices to which salaries were annexed, should be capable of being elected ; that the persons chosen to serve in one Parliament should be incapable of being elected in the next ; that no laws should be made to restrain liberty of conscience ; that none should be punished for refusing to answer interrogatories against themselves ; that men's persons should not be imprisoned for debt, nor their lives taken away, but for murder, or the like ; that conviction for life, liberty, &c. should be by twelve neighbours sworn ; that the people in the counties should chuse all their public Officers ; and that no forces should be raised but by the authority of the Representatives of the people for the time being (m).

As no answer was given to this address by the Parliament, Mr. Lilburne published it ; upon which he was committed with his associates to the Tower on the 29th of March, 1649. He had

(1) *Vid.* Legal and Fundamental Liberties asserted, P. 42, 43. (m) *Vid.* Whitlocke's Memorials, Edit. 1682. P. 385.

had not been there long before he joined with them in writing another pamphlet, intituled, "The Agreement of the People," which was published on the first of May. This was followed by several other Pieces, attacking the characters and conduct of those who were now entrusted with the chief management of public affairs; particularly "an Impeachment of High Treason against Oliver Cromwell, and his son-in-law Henry Ireton;" "the Legal and Fundamental Liberties of the People of England, revised, asserted, and vindicated, &c." "The Picture of the Council of State, &c." These Pieces in the highest degree exasperated Cromwell and his adherents; and accordingly a new act of treason was passed on the 14th of May, and Mr. Lilburne's estate seized; and many consultations were held from time to time, by the Judges and principal Lawyers, in pursuance of orders from the Council of State, to consider of the properest and most effectual method to be taken with him. At length, a special commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to forty persons (n), before whom he was brought to his trial at Guildhall on the 24th of October, 1649, upon an indictment of high treason, for writing and publishing several seditious and treasonable books against the Government then established. His trial lasted three days, in the course of which he defended himself with extraordinary courage and presence of mind, and was thereupon acquitted by his Jury.

On the first day of his trial, he particularly objected to the special commission of Oyer and Terminer by which he was tried. In speaking to which point, he expressed himself in the following terms, "I have read (said he) the Petition of Right, I have read 'Magna Charta, and abundance of laws made in confirmation of it; and I have also read the act that abolisheth the Star-chamber, which was made in the year 1641, which last recited 'act expressly confirms those statutes that were made in Edward 'the Third's time, which declare all acts, laws, and statutes, that 'were made against Magna Charta, to be null and void in law, 'and holden for error. In the reading of which laws, I do not 'find a *special* commission of Oyer and Terminer to be legal and 'warrantable. I beseech you, Sir, do not mistake me; for I 'put vast difference betwixt an ordinary and common commission 'of Oyer and Terminer, for holding ordinary and common Assizes and Sessions, and betwixt an extraordinary and special 'commission of Oyer and Terminer to try an individual person 'or persons, for a pretended extraordinary crime: the laws I 'last recited, and the fundamental and essential basis of freedom 'therein contained, knows no such names or commissions of special Oyer and Terminer. And those statutes in Edward the 'First, and Edward the Third's time, that doth erect those special

(n) Among these were the Lord Commissioner Kettle, seven of the Judges, the Lord Mayor of London, the Recorder, and nine of the Aldermen.

' cial and extraordinary commissions, and warrant the usage of
 ' them, are merely irrational innovations upon our indubitable
 ' rights contained in Magna Charta, and mere Court and prero-
 ' gative devices to destroy the best of men, by an extraordinary
 ' court appointed to pre-judge proceedings that should manfully
 ' stand in the way of the Prince, or any of his great favourites ;
 ' for sure I am from the Petition of Right, no ground or founda-
 ' tion for any extraordinary or special commission of Oyer and
 ' Terminer, upon any pretended special, or great occasion, can
 ' be founded ; but rather the absolute quite contrary, as to me
 ' clearly appears by the very plain letter of that most excellent
 ' law ; and therefore such a special commission upon any pre-
 ' tended occasion, being expressly against our indubitable rights
 ' contained in Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, *viz.*
 ' that no Englishman shall be subjected to any other trial, but the
 ' ordinary, universal, and common trials, at ordinary Assizes,
 ' Sessions, or gaol-deliveries, and not in the least to be tried by
 ' extraordinary and special pre-judged, packed, over-awing
 ' commissions of Oyer and Terminer : and therefore all such
 ' extraordinary and dangerous trials are absolutely abolished, by
 ' the late excellent acts that confirm the Petition of Right, and
 ' all and every one of the clauses therein contained, and abolish-
 ' eth the Star-chamber, both made in 1641.' (c)

He pressed the court very strongly to allow him Council, and
 also desired longer time to prepare for his defence ; but both
 were refused him. In speaking on this subject, he said, ' I know
 ' very well, and I read in your own law books such a preroga-
 ' tive, as that in cases of treason no Council shall plead against
 ' the King : hath been sometimes challenged to be the King's
 ' right by law : but let me tell you, it was an usurped preroga-
 ' tive of the late King, with all other arbitrary prerogatives and
 ' unjust usurpations upon the people's rights and freedoms,
 ' which has been pretended to be taken away with him. And,
 ' Sir, can it be just to allow me Council to help me to plead for
 ' my estate, the lesser, and to deny me the help of Council to
 ' enable me to plead for my life, the greater. Nay, Sir, can it
 ' be just in you Judges, to take up seven years time in ending
 ' some suits of law for a little money or land, and deny me a few
 ' days to consider what to plead for my life ? Sir, all these pre-
 ' tences of your's were but all the prerogatives of the King's
 ' will, to destroy the poor ignorant and harmless people by ;
 ' which undoubtedly died with him, or else only the name or
 ' title is gone with him ; but not the power or hurtful tyranny or
 ' prerogative in the least. Therefore, seeing all such pretended
 ' and hurtful prerogatives are pretended to be taken away with
 ' the King, by those that took away his life, I earnestly desire I
 ' may be assigned Council to consult with, knowing now espe-
 ' cially

‘cially no pretence why I should be denied that benefit and privilege of the law, of the just and equitable law of England, having put myself upon a trial according to the privileges thereof.’ (p)

In the course of the trial afterwards, the Lord-Commissioner Keble said to him, ‘Mr. Lilburne, you at this time have here such a court, which never any of your condition ever had in England, so many grave Judges of the law.’ --- ‘Truly (answered Lilburne) I had rather have had an ordinary one, Sir, I mean a legal and ordinary Assizes or Sessions.’ --- ‘But this you have, (said Keble) and this is to take off or prevent that which you would do now, if there had been one Judge and no more; and if you had not had this great presence of the court, you would have been male-pert, and have out-talked them, but you cannot do so here.’ --- ‘Truly, Sir, (replied Lilburne) I am not daunted at the multitude of my Judges, neither at the glittering of your scarlet robes, nor the majesty of your presence, and harsh, austere deportment towards me, I bless my good GOD for it, who gives me courage and boldness (q).’

When he came to make his principal defence, he applied himself chiefly to the Jury, whom he adjured in the most solemn manner to do him that justice which they would have a right to expect in the same case. He exhorted them to do their duty, as honest men, standing in the presence of GOD, without being intimidated by the Judges; and he asserted that the Jury had a right to judge of matter of law, as well as matter of fact. This doctrine being opposed by the court, Mr. Lilburne said, ‘The Jury by law are not only Judges of fact, but of law also, and you that call yourselves Judges of the law, are no more but Norman intruders; and in truth, if the Jury please, are no more but cyphers, to pronounce their verdict (r).’ When the Jury brought in their verdict *Not Guilty*, the multitude of people

(p) Trial, P. 32.

(q) Trial, as before, P. 104, 105.

(r) Trial, P. 107. Whether Juries are Judges of Law, as well as of Fact, is a matter that has been much controverted by some. It is observed by an old Writer, that “among other devices to undermine the rights and power of Juries, and render them insignificant, there has been an opinion advanced, that they are only Judges of fact, and not at all to consider the law.” This doctrine, when applied to the case of libels, amounts to this: that if any man is charged, in any indictment, or by an information in the court of King’s Bench, with writing, printing, or

publishing, any book, pamphlet, or paper, which is in such information or indictment styled a libel, it is not the business of the Jury to enquire whether such book, pamphlet, or paper, really be a libel, or not; or whether it contain truth, or falsehood; but only into the simple matter of fact, whether the person so charged be the author, printer, or publisher of such book, pamphlet, or paper; and to leave the matter of the libel, the determination whether it be a libel or not, entirely to the court. But it is certain, that a custom of leaving the determination of what books or pamphlets are or are not libels entirely to the Judges, must have the most

people assembled in the court testified their joy at his acquittal, by such a loud and unanimous shout, as was supposed never to have been heard in Guildhall before, and which is said to have lasted

most fatal tendency with respect to the Liberty of the Press, on the preservation of which all our other rights essentially depend. Should, in any future period, the people of England be governed by a corrupt, oppressive, and iniquitous Ministry, which is certainly a possible and supposable case; and should any honest Englishman have courage and patriotism enough to expose the bad measures of such a Ministry, and to guard his countrymen against their designs; any performance of this tendency, though written with the most upright and patriotic intentions, would, by such a Ministry, be most certainly deemed a *seditious libel*; and it is no great improbability to suppose, that they might, in such a case, get some Justice of the court of King's Bench to pronounce that it was so. There have been *formerly* Judges, who were at the beck of the court, and there may *possibly* be such again. If then the Jury are not to judge of the law, as well as of the fact, but to follow implicitly the opinion of the Judge, they would have nothing to do in such a case, but to find the author of any such production guilty. And thus a man would be legally punished for an action as a crime, for which he would deserve the esteem, and the thanks of all his countrymen; and this in a country where the Liberty of the Press has been long boasted of.

It is notorious, that, in many cases, Juries do constantly judge of matters of law, as well as fact. When persons are indicted for murder, it is a matter of law, whether the action committed, provided the fact be proved, falls under the denomination of *murder, man-slaughter, chance-medley, or self-defence*; and yet these matters of law are determined by the Jury. The court inform the Jury what it is that constitutes an action *murder, man-slaughter, &c.* and the Jury themselves apply these general principles of law to the particular

fact which they are appointed to try, and then bring in their verdict according to their own judgments. "All that the Judges do (says an old Author) is but advice, though in matter of law; and it is the Jury only that judges one guilty, or not guilty of murder, &c." And in the most general issues, as upon *Not Guilty* pleaded in trespasses, breaches of the peace, or felonies, though it be matter in law whether the party be a trespasser, a breaker of the peace, or a felon, yet the Jury do not find the fact of the case by itself, leaving the law to the court; but find the party *guilty*, or *not guilty* generally. "The law (says the Author just quoted) considering the great burden that lies upon the consciences of Jurymen, has favoured them with this liberty. They may take upon them the knowledge of what the law is in the matter, or upon the truth of the fact, as well as the knowledge of the fact; and so give in a verdict generally, *that the defendant is guilty, or not.*" And if it be the custom and the right of Juries to determine the matter of law in other cases, what reason can be assigned why this right should be taken from them in the case of libels only?

Dr. Ellis, formerly Bishop of St. David's, remarks, that "when the cause is summed up, the Jury are to determine it, *i. e.* they are to judge of the facts upon which the merit of the cause turns. How far such facts are criminal in law, they are indeed directed by the Judges; but still they are at liberty whether they will be wholly governed by the Judges opinions, or not; for they give their verdict in general, so that though they think the facts sufficiently proved, yet if they do not think, as the Judges think, that such facts are criminal, they need not bring in the parties guilty. The great Judge Lyttleton, in his *Tenures*, §. 386. declares, "that if a Jury will take upon them the knowledge of the law upon the matter,

lasted for about half an hour without intermission. And Mr. Lilburne being conveyed back to the Tower, was attended thither by great crouds, and loud acclamations; and in the evening

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I

great

"matter, they may;" which is agreed to by Lord Coke in his Com. thereupon: and Sir Matt. Hale says, "that the Jury are Judges not only of the fact, but of the law." And it seems probable, that bylaw the Juries in all cases ought to be the Judge of points of law, as well as of fact; because originally the persons of the Jury seem to have been of the nature of Judges, and to have sat upon the bench.

Dr. Pettingal remarks, that "the Author of the Trial per Pais, or Law of Juries, though he inclines sometimes to the opinion of their being confined to matters of fact only, as in P. 220. of the Edition in black letter, yet a little after he says, P. 251. "a special verdict is a plain proof that the Jury are Judges of law, as well as facts; for leaving the judgment of the law to the court implies, that if they pleased they had that power of judgment in themselves." Again, P. 336. he says, "When the question is asked the Jury, Guilty or Not Guilty, which includes the law, in their answer they resolve both law and fact. And beyond all doubt this reasoning is right and just; for how can a Jury declare guilty or not guilty, unless they compare the fact with the law, and thereby judge how far the fact comes within the penalty annexed to the breach of the law? and how can they compare without being judges of one as well as the other? But notwithstanding this doctrine of Juries not being judges of law, broached in bad times, and designed for the worst purposes, long prevailed in Westminster-hall,—yet a great and learned Judge (Lord Camden), as I am informed, lately declared, to his great honour, from the Bench, that the Jury are Judges of law as well as fact."

We have one late remarkable instance, and that a noble one, of an English Jury's asserting their right to determine the matter of law, as well

as the matter of fact. In 1752, Mr. William Owen, bookseller, was tried, in the court of King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Lee, for publishing a pamphlet, intitled, "The Case of Alexander Murray, Esq; in an appeal to the people of Great Britain." This Piece had been voted by the House of Commons to be an *impudent, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel*; and the House had thereupon addressed the King to prosecute the Author, Printer, and Publisher thereof; and the Author having left the kingdom, the prosecution fell upon the bookseller. The *fact* of the publication was, in the course of the trial, very clearly proved; and the Judge, in summing up the evidence, gave it as his opinion, that the Jury *ought* to find the defendant guilty, for he thought the publication was fully proved; and, if so, they could not *avoid* bringing the defendant in guilty: for it was the opinion of the court, that the pamphlet was a scandalous and seditious libel, and it had been voted to be so by the House of Commons. But the Jury thought they had a right to determine the matter of law, as well as the matter of fact; and they were resolved to assert that right: they thought there was truth and reason in the pamphlet before them, which had been deemed a libel; and, therefore, notwithstanding the opinion of the Judge, and the vote of the House of Commons, they brought in the bookseller *Not guilty*.

It appears evidently from the very design of the institution of Juries, as well as from the declarations of the greatest Lawyers, that the Jurors are the proper judges of the *whole* of the matters which they are appointed to try. "Whether--an act was done in such or such a manner, (says Sir John Hawles) or to such or such an intent, the Jurors are judges: for the court is not judge of these matters, which are evidence to

"prove

great numbers of bonfires were made in London, to testify the general joy at his deliverance : but all this was a very sensible mortification to Cromwell and his adherents. We may here observe, that the account given of Lilburne's trial by Lord Clarendon, is, in many particulars of it, a remarkable instance of that want of truth and exactness, which is too frequently discoverable in the Writings of that Noble Historian.

Though Mr. Lilburne had been acquitted by his Jury, he was not immediately released, but was continued in confinement about a fortnight after, and was then set at liberty by an order of the Council of State. Shortly after this, he undertook the management of a dispute in law, in which his uncle, George Lilburne, happened then to be engaged with Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had also used him ill. While this cause was depending, he published a pamphlet intitled, " A just Reproof to Haberdasher's

" prove or disprove the thing in issue. And therefore the witnesses are always ordered to direct their speech to the Jury; they being the proper judges of their testimony." As then it is the right and the duty of Jurymen to judge entirely of the whole matter before them, it seems easy to discern what is the proper business of the Judge. He is to state the law to the Jury, and he may deliver his opinion, where the case is difficult; but they are under no obligation to be guided implicitly by that opinion. The office of a Judge, Coke observes, is *jus dicere*, not *jus dare*; not to make any law by strains of wit, or forced interpretations; but plainly and impartially to declare the law already established. And the Jury are to apply the general rules and maxims of law, or any particular statute or statutes, to the particular fact which is the object of their enquiry. This being the case, the duty of a Judge, in the business of libels, as well as in other matters, is very plain. He is to inform the Jury what the law says concerning libels, and they are to apply that law to the particular fact in question. This is the method in which the Judges act, when they act rightly, in other matters; and in this manner they certainly ought to act in the case of libels. They are not to dictate to the Jury what verdict they are to bring in; but only to inform their judgments, by instructing them in such

points of law as they, from their situation in life, may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with. A Judge ought not to say to a Jury, " This book, pamphlet or paper, is a libel; and if you are convinced that this man wrote, printed, or published it, you must find him guilty;" but should first declare to them what the law says concerning libels; and then leave them to apply it to the point in question. And Hawles observes, that " if merely in compliance, because the Judge says thus, or thus, a Jury shall give a verdict, though such a verdict should happen to be right, true, and just; yet they, being not well assured it is so, from their own understanding, are forsworn, at least in foro conscientie." Nor ought any Jury to be influenced by either Judges, or Counsel, who torture sentences in any book, or paper, styled a libel, into a bad sense, when they are capable of bearing a good one; for it is a maxim in law, that *Verba accipienda sunt in mitiori sensu*; words are to be taken in that sense which is most innocent. And every Jury should remember, that they may presume nothing but *innocency*; and that they ought to do, until the contrary be proved.

An ingenious Writer well observes, that " there is a constitutional reason of infinite moment to a free people, Why a Jury should of themselves always determine whether any thing be

"dasher's Hall, &c." therein charging Sir Arthur with several unjust practices. And in the farther prosecution of this affair, he delivered to several Members at the door of the House of Commons the same year, a petition, setting forth, that the said Baronet had over-awed a Committee appointed for trying this cause, to give a false judgment contrary to the plain evidence before them. Some time before this, Mr. Lilburne was chosen a Common Council-man of the city of London; but as this was in no respect agreeable to those in power, means were found to set his election aside, under the pretence of its being contrary to a late Act of Parliament (a). And the House took so much offence at his petition relative to Sir Arthur Haslerig, that they fined Mr. Lilburne seven thousand pounds, and voted that he should be banished out of England, Scotland, and Ireland. When he was brought to the bar of the House to receive his sentence, he refused to kneel; however, they gave him twenty days to depart the kingdom; and on the 3d of February, 1651-2, they passed an Act for his banishment (b).

In consequence of this, Mr. Lilburne retired from London, and went over to Amsterdam. It was afterwards charged upon him, that during his exile, he associated with some of the Royalists, and entered into schemes for the Restoration of Charles the Second. The truth is, that as he had been himself ill used by those in England that were in power, and also considered them as the betrayers of the interest of the nation in general, he thought the Restoration of Charles, provided his prerogative was properly limited and restrained, would be preferable to the

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be or be not a libel. It is this, that ninety-nine times out of an hundred, these informations for public libels are a dispute between the Ministers and the people; and, in my conscience, this very circumstance has made our progenitors retain to themselves the power of determining both the law and the fact, with respect to libels, although they waved or ceded to the Judges the power of determining the law in all other respects. Having acquiesced in the power exercised by the Attorney-General, of informing against what he pleases as a libel, they were resolved not to part with the prerogative of judging finally upon the matter themselves; and, in my poor opinion, had they done so, we should, long before this, not only have lost the Liberty of the Press, but every other liberty besides."

In short, the real cause why some Judges have been so desirous of propagating the notion that Juries are

only Judges of fact, and not of law, seems to be this; that this doctrine tends to advance their own power and authority, and enables them the better, on many occasions, to carry a favourite point. But we should ever remember, that a trial by Jury is one of the most valuable privileges of Englishmen, so it is of the utmost importance that the rights of Jurymen should be well understood, and resolutely maintained; and this consideration must be our apology for the length of this note.—*Vid.* Pettingal's Enquiry into the Use and Practice of Juries, &c. Letter concerning Libels, Warrants, the Seizure of Papers, &c. Ellis's Liberty of Subjects in England, and Enquiry into the Question, Whether Juries are Judges of Law as well as Fact? 8vo. 1764.

(a) See Whitlocke's Memorials, P. 420. Edit. 1682.

(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, P. 496, 497.

then Establishment : and he appears never to have been disposed to promote the Restoration without restraints and limitations on the King (c). In one of his Pieces he says, " If to
 " oppose all interests whatsoever, that would set up a single man,
 " or more, to rule and govern by will and pleasure, without
 " bounds, checks, or controul, be sufficient cause to be judged a
 " Cavalier, and for Prince Charles, then must I ingenuously confess I am such a Cavalier, and hope so to die." And in another Piece he declares, " That whatever liberties he had taken in
 " discourse or company with any opposite party, yet he never in
 " the least staggered in his fidelity to the cause of liberty and
 " freedom that he first engaged in."

While Mr. Lilburne was abroad, he wrote a paper which he called an Apology for himself; and printing it, sent it in a letter to Cromwell, wherein he charged him with being the principal instrument in procuring the Act for his banishment. Upon the dissolution of the Long Parliament, he did all he could to obtain a pass for England; but his endeavours for that purpose proving ineffectual, he returned home without one in the beginning of June, 1653. But being hereupon taken into custody by a warrant from the Council of State, and committed to Newgate, he published an Address to Cromwell and the Council of State, urging several reasons for a repeal of the Act of the late Parliament for his banishment, particularly that the judgment given against him by the Parliament was according to no law in being; and that the Act itself was a law made after the fact done, to ordain a punishment for that fact, which was never ordained or heard of before. It appears that his popularity still continued; for about four days after the publication of his Address, a petition in the names of five thousand citizens of London, on the behalf of Lilburne, was presented to the Council of State. However, he was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey for returning from banishment; but upon shewing the hardships of his case, and moreover that he was not legally shewn, by reason of a kind of misnomer in the indictment, to be the person mentioned in the Act, he was acquitted by the Jury. Whitlocke takes notice, that he pleaded long for himself. But notwithstanding his acquittal, he was shortly after conveyed to Portsmouth, in order to be again banished, according to Anthony Wood; but, as the same Writer says, on his giving security to behave himself quietly for the future, he was suffered to return. After which he settled at Eltham in Kent; and we are also told that he joined the Quakers, and preached among them. It is, indeed, scarcely credible, that a man of Lilburne's temper and disposition should ever adopt all the principles of the Quakers: though some of their notions were very agreeable to his, particularly their sentiments respecting tythes and the Clergy. For
 Lilburne

(c) See Biograph. Britan.

Lilburne seems always to have considered tythes as an unjust imposition ; and, among other monopolies, often complained of that of confining the preaching of the word of GOD to the rough Blackcoats. He died at Eltham, on the 29th of August, 1657, in the thirty-ninth year of his age ; and two days after, his corpse was conveyed to a house called the Mouth, near Aldersgate, in London, at that time the usual meeting place of the Quakers ; from thence it was conveyed to the then new burial-place in Moorfields, near Old Bedlam, and interred there, four thousand persons attending the funeral.

JOHN LILBURNE was a man of a most undaunted spirit, in his private life irreproachable, and attached to the cause of Liberty to a degree even of enthusiasm. He has been generally represented as a man of a most contentious and quarrelsome temper ; and we are told that Sir Henry Martin said of him, " That if there were none living but him, John would be " against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John." But Lilburne seems not to have had justice done him : he did, indeed, oppose the illegal exertions of prerogative, as well as the unjust exercise of parliamentary power. But in both he was consistent ; for he appeared always disposed to oppose tyranny, under whatever form it appeared : and, perhaps, if all the matters of contention in which he was engaged were candidly and thoroughly examined, it would be found that he was not often in the wrong. The celebrated Mr. Hume gives Lilburne this character : " He " was (says he) the most turbulent, but the most upright and " courageous of human kind (*d*)."

(*d*) Hist. of England, Vol. VII. P. 209. 8vo. Edit.



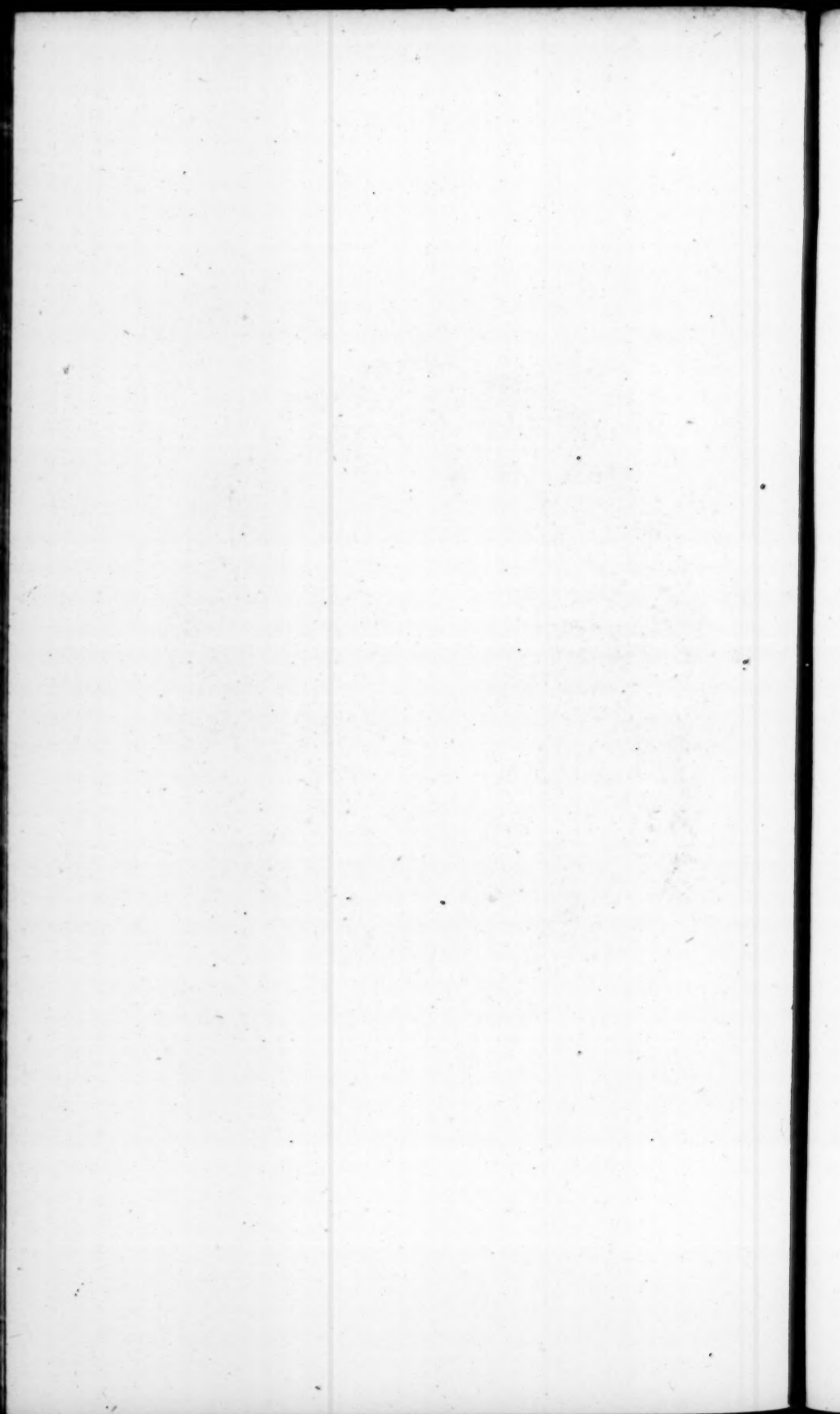
The Life of ABRAHAM COWLEY.

THIS eminent Poet was born in Fleet-street, near the end of Chancery-lane, London, in the year 1618. His father, who was a grocer, dying before his birth, his mother, by the interest of her friends, procured him to be admitted a King's scholar in Westminster-school. His early inclination to poetry was excited, as he informs us himself, by reading Spenser's Fairy Queen. 'I believe (says he) I can tell the particular little chance that filled my head first with such chimes of verses, as have never since left ringing there. For I remember, when I began to read, and to take some pleasure in it, there was wont to lie in my mother's parlour, I know not by what accident, for she herself never in her life read any book but of devotion; but there was wont to lie Spenser's Works. This I happened to fall upon, and was infinitely delighted with the stories of the Knights, and Giants, and Monsters, and brave houses, which I found every where, though my understanding had little to do with all this, and by degrees with the tinkling of the rhyme, and dance of the numbers: so that I think I had read him all over, before I was twelve years old, and was thus made a Poet as immediately as a child is made an Eunuch.'

In the 16th year of his age, being still at Westminster-school, he published a Collection of Poems, under the title of "Poetical Blossoms;" in which there are many things that bespeak a ripened genius, and a wit, rather manly than puerile. The very beginning of his studies was an intercourse with the most solid and valuable Authors of antiquity, which he fully digested not only in his memory, but his judgment. By this advantage he learned nothing while a boy, that he needed to get or forsake when he came to be a man. His mind was rightly seasoned at first, and he had nothing to do but still to proceed on the same foundation on which he began. It is, however, observable, that Mr. Cowley used to relate of himself, that he had this defect in his memory at that time, that his teachers could never bring it to retain the ordinary rules of grammar. But he supplied that want, by conversing with the books themselves, from whence those rules had been drawn. That, says Dr. Sprat, no doubt was a better way, though much more difficult; and he afterwards found this benefit by it, that having got the Greek and Roman



ABRAHAM COWLEY.



Roman languages, as he had done his own, not by precept but use, he practised them, not as a scholar, but a native (e).

In 1636, he was removed to Trinity College in Cambridge, where, as his Biographer remarks, by the progress and continuance of his wit, it appeared that two things were joined in it, which seldom meet together, that it was both early ripe and lasting. He went through all his academical exercises with uncommon applause; and, in 1638, he published his *Love's Riddle*, a pastoral Comedy, which was written while he was at Westminster, and dedicated in a copy of verses to Sir Kenelm Digby; and a Latin Comedy, called *Naufragium jocularis*, or the *Merry Shipwreck*, after it had been acted before the University by the Members of Trinity College.

In the year 1643, being then Master of Arts, he was, among many others, ejected his College, and the University, in consequence of his attachment to the Royal cause. Upon this he retired to Oxford, where he settled in St. John's College; and the same year, under the name of an Oxford scholar, he published a Satire, intitled, "The Puritan and the Papist." His affection to the Royal cause engaged him in the service of the King, and he attended in several of his Majesty's journies and expeditions. By these occasions, and the reputation which his great merit had procured him, he speedily grew familiar to the chief men of the Court and the gown, whom the fortune of the war had drawn together. And in particular, there was a very intimate friendship between him and the celebrated Lord Falkland; which was strengthened by the similitude of their studies, sentiments, and manners. And we are told, that Mr. Cowley admired that Nobleman, not only for the profoundness of his knowledge, but more especially for those qualities which he himself more regarded, for his generosity of mind, and his neglect of the vain pomp of human greatness (f).

During the heat of the civil war, he was settled in the family of the Earl of St. Alban's; and attended the Queen-Mother, when she was forced to retire into France. He was absent from England about ten years, during which time he laboured strenuously in the affairs of the Royal Family, performing several dangerous journies into Jersey, Scotland, Flanders, Holland, and elsewhere; and was the principal instrument in maintaining a constant correspondence between the King and Queen, whose letters he cyphered and decyphered with his own hand.

In the year 1656, Mr. Cowley was sent over into England, with the utmost secrecy, in order to take cognizance of the state of affairs here: but soon after his return, while he lay concealed
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(e) Life of Mr. Abraham Cowley, by Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, prefixed to his Works, 12th Edition, 12mo. P. 3, 4. See also Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. P. 42-44. (f) Sprat, as before, P. 6.

in London, he was seized on by a mistake, the search having been intended after another gentleman of considerable note in the King's party. Being made a prisoner, he was often examined before some of the Parliament party, who are said to have tried all methods to make him serviceable to their purposes; but proving inflexible, he was committed to close imprisonment; however, he obtained his liberty upon giving a thousand pounds bail, which burthen his friend Dr. Scarborough (g) generously took upon himself. Thus he continued a kind of prisoner at large till the death of Cromwell; when taking advantage of the confusion that followed upon that event, he ventured back into France, and there remained till near the time of the King's Restoration.

Soon after the Restoration, Mr. Cowley became possessed of a very competent estate, through the favour of his principal friends the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of St. Alban's; and being now upwards of forty years of age, he took up a resolution to pass the remainder of his life (much of which had hitherto been spent in a various and tempestuous condition) in that situation which had ever been the object of his wishes, a studious retirement (b). But his eagerness to get out of the bustle of a Court

(g) Of this eminent Physician, the ingenious Mr. Granger gives the following account. "Sir CHARLES SCARBOROUGH, first Physician to Charles II. James II. and William III. was, by his strong and lively parts, uncommon learning, and extensive practice, eminently qualified for that honourable station. He was one of the greatest Mathematicians of his time. Mr. Oughtred informs us, that his memory was tenacious to an incredible degree; that he could recite in order all the propositions of Euclid, Archimedes, and other antient Mathematicians, and apply them on every occasion. He assisted the famous Dr. William Harvey in his book "*De Generatione Animalium*," and succeeded him as Lecturer of Anatomy and Surgery. The lecture, which was founded by Dr. Richard Caldwell, was read by him in Surgeon's Hall, and continued for sixteen or seventeen years, with great applause. He, in his course, explained the nature of the muscles, and was the first that attempted to account for muscular strength and motion upon geometrical principles. His *Syllabus Muscularum* is printed with "The

"Anatomical Administration of all the Muscles, &c. by William Mo-lins, master in chirurgery." He was also Author of several mathematical treatises, a Compendium of Lily's Grammar, and an Elegy on his friend Mr. Cowley. He was a man of amiable manners, and of great pleasantry in conversation. Seeing the Dutcheffs of Portsmouth eat to excess, he said to her, with his usual frankness, "Madam, I will deal with you as a Physician should do; you must eat less, use more exercise, take physick, or be sick." He died about the year 1702."—Biographical History of England, Vol. II. P. 305, 306.

(b) It appears from a passage in Mr. Cowley's Preface to his poems, that he had once even formed a design of retiring to America, in order more effectually to indulge his passion for solitude. "My desire," says he, "has been for some years past, though the execution has been accidentally diverted, and does still vehemently continue, to retire myself to some of our American plantations, not to seek for gold, or enrich

Court and city, made him less careful than he should have been in the choice of a healthful habitation in the country, by which means he found his solitude, from the very beginning, suit less

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rich myself with the traffic of those parts, which is the end of most men that travel thither; but to forsake this world for ever, with all the vanities and vexations of it, and to bury myself there in some obscure retreat, but not without the consolation of letters and philosophy.

This scheme of Cowley's has been censured by Dr. Johnson as absurd and chimerical; and this learned Writer hath in the RAMBLER made some ingenious observations on our Poet's design, part of which we shall here transcribe. After quoting Mr. Cowley's words, as just recited, he says, "Such was the chimerical provision which Cowley had made in his own mind, for the quiet of his remaining life, and which he seems to recommend to posterity, since there is no other reason for disclosing it. Surely no stronger instance can be given of a persuasion that content was the inhabitant of particular regions, and that a man might set sail with a fair wind, and leave behind him all his cares, incumbrances, and calamities. If he travelled so far with no other purpose than to bury himself in some obscure retreat, he might have found, in his own country, innumerable coverts sufficiently dark to have concealed the genius of Cowley; for, whatever might be his opinion of the importunity with which he should be summoned back into public life, a short experience would have convinced him, that privation is easier than acquisition, and that it would require little continuance to free himself from the intrusion of the world. There is pride enough in the human heart to prevent much desire of acquaintance with a man, by whom we are sure to be neglected, however his reputation for science or virtue may excite our curiosity or esteem; so that the lover of retirement needs not to be afraid lest the respect of strangers should overwhelm him with visits. Even those to whom he has formerly been known will very patiently support his absence, when they have

tried a little to live without him, and found new diversions for those moments which his company contributed to exhilarate.

"It was, perhaps, ordained by Providence, to hinder us from tyrannising over one another, that no individual should be of such importance, as to cause, by his retirement or death, any chasm in the world. And Cowley had conversed to little purpose with mankind, if he had never remarked how soon the useful friend, the gay companion, and the favoured lover, when once they are removed from before the sight, give way to the succession of new objects. The privacy, therefore, of his hermitage, might have been safe enough from violation, though he had chosen it within the limits of his native island; he might have found here preservatives against the vanities and vexations of the world, not less efficacious than those which the woods or fields of America could afford him.---But if he had proceeded in his project, and fixed his habitation in the most delightful part of the new world, it may be doubted whether his distance from the vanities of life would have enabled him to keep away the vexations. It is common for a man, who feels pain, to fancy that he could bear it better in any other part. Cowley having known the troubles and perplexities of a particular condition, readily persuaded himself that nothing worse was to be found, and that every alteration would bring some improvement; he never suspected that the cause of his unhappiness was within, that his own passions were not sufficiently regulated, and that he was harassed by his own impatience, which could never be without something to awaken it, would accompany him over the sea, and find its way to his American Elysium. He would, upon the trial, have been soon convinced, that the fountain of content must spring up in the mind; and that he, who has so little knowledge

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with the constitution of his body than with his mind. His first rural residence was Barn-Elms; a place which lying low, and being near a large river, was liable to great inconvenience from the dampness of the soil. The consequences of this Mr. Cowley too soon experienced, by being seized with a dangerous and lingering fever. On his recovery from this, he removed to Chertsey, a situation not much more healthful, where he had not been long before he was seized with another consuming disease. Having languished under this for some months, he at length got the better of it, and seemed tolerably well recovered from its bad symptoms; when one day, in the heat of the summer of 1667, staying too long in the fields to give some directions to his labourers, he caught a most violent cold, which was attended with a defluxion and stoppage in his breast, which for want of timely care, by his treating it as a common cold, and refusing advice till it was past remedy, put a period to his life on the 28th of July, 1667, in the 49th year of his age. When the news of his death was communicated to King Charles II. that Prince said, that "Mr. Cowley had not left a better man behind him in England." His body, accompanied by a great number of persons of the most eminent Quality, being removed from Chertsey, was interred in Westminster Abbey, near the ashes of Chaucer and Spenser.

Mr. COWLEY was very highly celebrated for his poetical merit in his own time; but his reputation hath since considerably diminished. He is blamed for the redundancy of his wit, and the roughness of his versification; but is allowed to have possessed a fine understanding, great reading, and a variety of genius. Mr. Addison thus characterizes him in his *Account of the greatest English Poets*:

"Great COWLEY then, a mighty genius, wrote,
 "O'er-run with wit, and lavish of his thought:
 "His turns too closely on the reader press;
 "He more had pleased us, had he pleased us less.
 "One glittering thought no sooner strikes our eyes
 "With silent wonder, but new wonders rise:
 "As in the milky way a shining white
 "O'erflows the Heavens with one continued light;
 "That not a single star can shew his rays,
 "While jointly all promote the common blaze.
 "Pardon, great Poet, that I dare to name
 "Th' unnumbered beauties of thy verse with blame.
 "Thy

of human nature, as to seek happiness fruitless efforts, and multiply the by changing any thing but his own griefs which he purposes to remove." dispositions, will waste his life in *Ibid.* Rambler, No. 6.

- " Thy fault is only wit in its excess ;
 " But wit like thine in any shape will please.
 " What muse but thine can equal hints inspire,
 " And fit the deep-mouthed Pindar to thy lyre ?
 " Pindar, whom others in a labour'd strain,
 " And forc'd expressions, imitate in vain.
 " Well-pleas'd in thee he soars with new delight,
 " And plays in more unbounded verse, and takes
 a nobler flight."

Mr. Granger makes the following remarks, relative to the poetical character of Cowley. " Cowley, (says he) who helped to corrupt the taste of the age in which he lived, and had himself been corrupted by it, was a remarkable instance of true genius, seduced and perverted by false wit. But this wit, false as it was, raised his reputation to a much higher pitch than that of Milton. There is a want of elegance in his words, and of harmony in his versification ; but this was *more* than atoned for by his greatest fault, *the redundancy of his fancy*. His Latin poems, which are esteemed the best of his Works, are written in the various measures of the antients, and have much of their unaffected beauty. He was more successful in imitating the ease and gaiety of Anacreon, than the bold and lofty flights of Pindar. He had many humble imitators in his Pindarics, whose verses differ as widely from his own, as the first and the last notes of a multiplied echo. His " Burning-glasses of Ice," and other metaphors, which are not only beyond, but contrary to nature, were generally admired in the reign of Charles II. The standard of true taste was not then established. It was at length discovered, after a revolution of many ages, that the justest rules and examples of good writing are to be found in the Works of antient Authors ; and that there is neither dignity nor elegance of thought or expression, without simplicity (*f.*)."

The same ingenious Writer observes in another place, that " the *Poetical Blossoms* of Cowley, which are an abundant proof of his talent for poetry, were generally regarded as an earnest of that fame which he afterwards rose to, and which, in the opinion of some of his cotemporaries, eclipsed that of every other English Poet. We are even more pleased with some of the earliest of his juvenile poems, than with many of his later performances ; as there is not every where that redundancy of wit in them : and where there is, we are more inclined to admire, than be offended at it, in the productions of a boy. His passion for studious retirement, which was still encreasing with his years, discovered itself at thirteen, in an ode which a good judge (Mr. Jos. Warton) thinks equal to that of Pope on a similar subject, and which was written about the same æra of his life. The tenderness of some

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of

of his juvenile verses shews, that he was no stranger to another passion ; and it is not improbable but Margarita (*g*), or one of her successors, might at fifteen have had a full possession of his heart (*b*).”

Mr. Cowley's private character appears to have been very amiable. Dr. Sprat observes, that for the excellency of his life he deserved more applause from the most virtuous men, than for his other abilities he ever obtained from the learned. “ He had indeed (says he) a perfect natural goodness, which neither the uncertainties of his condition, nor the largeness of his wit, could pervert. He had a firmness and strength of mind, that was of proof against the art of poetry itself. Nothing vain or fantastical, nothing flattering or insolent, appeared in his humour. He had a great integrity and plainness of manners ; which he preserved to the last, though much of his time was spent in a nation, and way of life, that is not very famous for sincerity. But the truth of his heart was above the corruption of ill examples : and therefore the sight of them rather confirmed him in the contrary virtues.

“ There was nothing affected or singular in his habit, or person, or gesture. He understood the forms of good breeding enough to practise them, without burthening himself, or others. He never oppressed any man's parts, nor ever put any man out of countenance. He never had any emulation for fame, or contention for profit with any man. When he was in business, he suffered others importunities with much easiness : when he was out of it, he was never importunate himself. His modesty and humility were so great, that if he had not had many other equal virtues, they might have been thought dissimulation.

“ His conversation was certainly of the most excellent kind ; for it was such as was rather admired by his familiar friends, than by strangers at first sight. He surprized no man at first with any extraordinary appearance : he never thrust himself violently into the good opinion of his company. He was content to be known by leisure and by degrees ; and so the esteem that was conceived of him was better grounded, and more lasting.

“ In his speech, neither the pleasantness excluded gravity, nor was the sobriety of it inconsistent with delight. No man parted willingly from his discourse ; for he so ordered it, that every man was satisfied that he had his share. He governed his passions with great moderation. His virtues were never troublesome or uneasy to any. Whatever he disliked in others, he only corrected it by the silent reproof of a better practice.

“ His wit was so tempered, that no man had ever reason to wish it had been less : he prevented other men's severity upon it by

(*g*) “ Margarita first posselt,
“ If I remember well, my breast.”

Ballad of his Mistress.

(*b*) Biographical History of England, Vol. I. P. 486.

by his own. He never willingly recited any of his Writings. None but his intimate friends ever discovered he was a great Poet by his discourse. His learning was large and profound, well composed of all antient and modern knowledge. But it fat exceeding close and handsomely upon him : it was not embossed on his mind, but enamelled.

“ He performed all his natural and civil duties with admirable tenderness. Having been born after his father’s death, and bred up under the discipline of his mother, he gratefully acknowledged her care of his education to her death, which was in the eightieth year of her age. For his three brothers he always maintained a constant affection. And having survived the two first, he made the third his heir.—His friendships were inviolable. The same men with whom he was familiar in his youth, were his nearest acquaintance at the day of his death. If the private course of his last years made him contract his conversation to a few, yet he only withdrew, not broke off from any of the others.—His thoughts were never above, nor below his condition. He never wished his estate much larger : yet he enjoyed what he had with all innocent freedom. He never made his present life uncomfortable, by undue expectations of future things. Whatever disappointments he met with, they only made him understand fortune better, not repine at her the more : his muse indeed once complained, but never his mind (*k*).”

Mr. Cowley’s Works are as follows :

- I. Poetical Blossoms. Published at London in 1633.
- II. Love’s Riddle, a Pastoral Comedy, and a Latin Comedy, intitled, *Naufragium Jocularis*.
- III. The Mistress ; or several copies of Love verses. Lond. 1647.
- IV. A Comedy called “ The Guardian,” afterwards altered and published under the title of “ The Cutter of Coleman-street,” in 1650.
- V. Odes, written in imitation of the style and manner of Pindar.
- VI. Davideis, a sacred poem of the troubles of David, in four books.
- VII. Miscellaneous Poems.
- VIII. Eleven Anacreontiques, or paraphrastical imitations of Anacreon.
- IX. Two Books of Plants, published first in the year 1662, to which he afterwards added four books more ; and all the six, together with his other Latin poems, were printed after his death at London in the year 1678. The occasion of his chusing the subject of his six books of plants, Dr. Sprat tells us, was this. When he returned into England, at the time the Commonwealth Government

Government was established, with a view of getting a knowledge of the then state of affairs to communicate to the Royal party, he was advised to dissemble the main intention of his coming over, under the disguise of applying himself to some settled profession; and that of physic was thought most proper. To this purpose, after many anatomical dissections, he proceeded to the consideration of simples; and having furnished himself with books of that nature, he retired into a fruitful part of Kent, where every field and wood might shew him the real figures of those plants, of which he read. Thus he soon mastered that part of the art of medicine: but then, instead of employing his skill for practice and profit, he made use of it in composing this Work. The two first books of which treat of herbs, in a style, says Dr. Sprat, resembling the elegies of Ovid and Tibullus; the two next of flowers, in all the variety of Catullus's and Horace's numbers, for which last Author he is said to have had a peculiar reverence; and the two last of trees, in the way of Virgil's Georgics. It appears to have been while Mr. Cowley was engaged in this Work, that he was created Doctor of Physic at Oxford, on the 2d of December, 1657, which is mentioned by Anthony Wood, (in his *Fasti Oxonienses*), who says, that he had this degree conferred upon him, by virtue of a mandamus from the then prevailing powers, and that the thing was much taken notice of by the Royal party.

X. A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy.

XI. A Discourse by way of vision concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell.

XII. Several Discourses by way of Essays in prose and verse.



The Life of JOHN BIDDLE.

JOHAN BIDDLE was born in 1615, at Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire. He was educated at the free-school at that place, and being a youth of very promising abilities (1), was taken notice of by George, Lord Berkeley, who allowed him an exhibition of ten pounds a year. It is observed by the writer of his life, 'that even in these younger years was observed in him a singular piety of mind, and contempt of secular affairs: whence it came, that he applied himself to the study of virtue, together with the liberal arts; and with great diligence gave dutiful assistance to his mother, becoming a widow by the death of his father (m).'

In 1634, he was sent to the University of Oxford, and entered at Magdalen-Hall, where he prosecuted his studies with great assiduity, and we are told, that "here he did so philosophize, as it might be observed, he was determined more by reason than authority." On the 23d of June, 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and became an eminent tutor in the University. He received an invitation to be master of the school of his native place, but this he declined. On the 20th of May, 1641, he took his degree of Master of Arts, with great applause; soon after which the magistrates of Gloucester, upon ample recommendations from the principal persons in the University, chose him master of the free-school of Crypt in that city, where he went and settled, and was much esteemed for his diligence and abilities as a tutor, and for his virtuous manners.

When Mr. Biddle had been some time in this situation, he became involved in great troubles and inconveniencies, in consequence of his having entertained sentiments concerning the Trinity, different from those commonly received. The writer of his life tells us, that 'diligently reading the Holy Scripture, (for Socinian Books he had read none) and fervently imploring Divine Illumination, he perceived the common doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity was not well grounded in Revelation, much

(1) Whilst he was at school, he translated Virgil's eclogues, and the two first satires of Juvenal, into English verse. Both which translations were printed at London in 1634, in 8vo. and dedicated to John Smith, of Nibley, in the county of Gloucester,

Esqr. He composed likewise, and recited before a full auditory, an elaborate oration in Latin, on the death of one of his school-fellows.

(m) Life of John Biddle, M. A. published in a Collection of Unitarian Tracts, in 4to. printed in 1691. P. 4.

‘ much less in reason. And being as generous in speaking, as free in judging, he did, as occasion offered, discover his reasons of questioning it (*n*).’ This occasioned an accusation of heresy to be brought against him ; and being summoned before the magistrates, he exhibited in writing a confession of faith respecting the doctrine about which he was accused ; but this not being thought satisfactory, he made another, more express than the former, to avoid imprisonment, wherewith he was threatened.

The opposition which Mr. Biddle’s sentiments met with, led him to examine the Scriptures on the point in dispute, with the greater care and accuracy : But he was only thereby the more confirmed in his opinions. And accordingly he drew up what was afterwards published, under the title of “ Twelve Arguments drawn out of the Scripture (*o*) ; wherein the commonly received opinion touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit, is clearly and fully refuted.” These he communicated in manuscript to some of his acquaintance, one of whom was ungenerous enough to betray him to the Magistrates of Gloucester, and to the Parliament-Committee then residing there ; in consequence of which he was, after the perusal of his book, committed on the 2d of December, 1645, to the common gaol, (though at that time afflicted with a dangerous fever) there to remain till the Parliament should take cognizance of the affair. However, an eminent person in Gloucester, who had a respect for him, procured his enlargement, by giving security for his appearance when it should please the Parliament to send for him.

About June, 1646, Archbishop Usher passing through Gloucester in his way to London, had a conference with our Author respecting his sentiments concerning the Trinity, and endeavoured to convince him that he was in an error ; but without effect. And six months after he had been set at liberty, he was summoned to appear at Westminster, and the Parliament immediately appointed a Committee to examine him ; before whom

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(*n*) Life, P. 4, 5.

(*o*) His Twelve Arguments were as follows. ‘ 1. He that is distinguished from God, is not God. ‘ The Holy Spirit is distinguished from God. *Ergo*.’ This he grounds partly upon those passages of Scripture, where the Holy Spirit is called *the Spirit of God*, is said to be *sent by God*, and to *search the depths of God*, &c. ‘ 2. If he that gave the Holy Spirit to the Israelites to instruct them, be Jehovah alone, then the Holy Spirit is not Jehovah or God. But he that gave the Holy Spirit to the Israelites to instruct them, is Jehovah

‘ alone. *Ergo*.’ The *Minor* of this he proved from Nehem. Ch. ix. 6, 20. ‘ III. He that speaketh not of himself, is not God. The Holy Spirit speaketh not of himself. *Ergo*.’ John, Ch. xvi. 13. ‘ IV. He that heareth from another what he shall speak, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth so. *Ergo*.’ John, Ch. xvi. 13. ‘ V. He that receiveth of another’s, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth so. *Ergo*.’ John, Ch. xvi. 14. ‘ VI. He that is sent by another, is not God. The Holy Spirit is sent by another. *Ergo*.’ John, Ch. xvi. 7. ‘ VII. He that is the Gift of God,

he freely confessed, ' That he did not acknowledge the commonly received notion of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, as he was accused; but, however, was ready to hear what could be opposed to him, and if he could not make out his opinion to be true, honestly to own his error.' But being wearied with tedious and expensive delays, he wrote, on the 1st of April, 1647, a letter to Sir Henry Vane, a member of his Committee; wherein he says, " After a long impartial enquiry of the truth, in this controversy, and after much and earnest calling upon GOD, to give unto me the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him, I find myself obliged, both by the principles of Scripture and of reason, to embrace the opinion I now hold forth; and, as much as in me lieth, to endeavour that the honour of Almighty GOD be not transferred to another, not only to the offence of GOD himself, but also of his Holy Spirit, who cannot but be grieved to have that ignorantly ascribed to himself, which is proper to GOD that sends him, and which he no where challengeth to himself in the Scripture. What shall befall me in the pursuance of this Work, I refer to the disposal of the all-wise GOD, whose glory is dearer to me, not only than my liberty, but than my life." He also remarked, that " this controversy could not be set on foot in a fitter juncture of time than this, wherein the Parliament and kingdom had solemnly engaged themselves to reform religion, both in discipline and doctrine." He also solicited Sir Henry Vane in this letter either to procure his discharge, or to make a report of his case to the House of Commons. Sir Henry Vane did accordingly propose it, and shewed himself a friend to Mr. Biddle; who was, however, committed to the custody of one of the Officers of the House of Commons, in which restraint he continued the five following years. His case being referred to the Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster, he often appeared before some of them, and gave them in writing his Twelve Arguments against the Deity of the Holy Spirit, which were printed the same year.

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' is not God. The Holy Spirit is the Gift of God. *Ergo.* Acts, Ch. xii. 17. ' VIII. He that changeth place, is not God. The Holy Spirit changeth place. *Ergo.* Luke, Ch. iii. 21, 22. John, Ch. i. 32. ' IX. He that prayeth unto Christ to come to judgment, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth so. *Ergo.* Rev. Ch. xxii. 17. compared with the 12th Verse. ' X. He in whom men have not believed, and yet have been Disciples and believers, is not God. Men have not believed in the Holy Spirit, and yet have been so. *Ergo.* Acts, Ch. xix. 2. ' XI.

' He that hath an understanding distinct from that of God, is not God. The Holy Spirit hath an understanding distinct from that of God. *Ergo.* John, Ch. xvi. 13, 14, 15. ' XII. He that hath a will distinct in number from that of God, is not God. the Holy Spirit hath a will distinct in number from that of God. *Ergo.* Rom. Ch. viii. 26, 27.—These several arguments are illustrated by reasonings and proofs, too long to be inserted here. They were first published in 1647, and were opposed by several Writers.

Upon their publication, they made so great a noise in the world, that the Author was summoned to appear at the bar of the House of Commons; where being asked, "Whether he owned that book, and the opinions therein?" he answered in the affirmative. Whereupon being remanded to prison, the House ordered, on the 6th of September, 1647, that the said book, as blasphemous against the Deity of CHRIST, should be called in and burnt by the hangman, and that the Author should be examined by the Committee of plundered Ministers; and accordingly the book was burnt on the 8th of the same month.

In 1648, Mr. Biddle published "A Confession of faith, touching the Holy Trinity, according to the Scripture." In the Preface to this our Author says, 'I have here presented you with a confession of faith touching the Holy Trinity, exactly drawn out of the Scriptures, with the texts alledged at large, so that you may the better judge how suitable the same is to the Word of GOD. Neither have I other aim in the publication thereof, than to restore that pure and genuine knowledge of GOD, delivered in the Scripture, and which hath for many hundred years been hidden from the eyes of men by the corrupt glosses and traditions of Antichrist, who hath instead thereof intruded upon them I know not what absurd and uncouth notions, bearing them in hand that ignorance is the mother of devotion, and that they then think and speak best of GOD, when their conceits and words are most irrational and senseless. By which means, having renounced those quiddities and strange terms that have vitiated the simplicity of the Scripture, and having laid asleep the contentions arising from them, we shall at length unanimously with one mouth glorify the GOD and FATHER of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.'

He published about the same time, "The Testimonies of Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Novatianus, Theophilus, Origen, (who lived in the two first centuries after CHRIST was born, or thereabouts). As also of Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Hilary, and Brightman; concerning the one GOD, and the persons of the Holy Trinity. Together with observations on the same." Towards the close of this, Mr. Biddle says, 'These human testimonies have I alledged, not that I much regard them, as to myself, (who make use of no other rule to determine controversies about religion, than *the Scripture*; and of no other authentic interpreter, if a scruple arise concerning the sense of the Scripture, than *Reason*;) but for the sake of the adversaries, who continually crake, *the Fathers, the Fathers*.'

The same year in which these tracts were published, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster prevailed on the Parliament to make a cruel, unjust, and persecuting ordinance, by which Mr. Biddle's life was in great danger. By this ordinance it was declared, 'That all such persons as should willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing, maintain and publish that there

' is no GOD, or that GOD is not present in all places, doth not
 ' know and foreknow all things, or that he is not Almighty,
 ' that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal ; or that
 ' the Father is not GOD, the Son is not GOD, or that the Holy
 ' Ghost is not GOD ; or that they three are not one eternal
 ' GOD ; or that shall in like manner maintain and publish that
 ' CHRIST is not GOD equal with the Father ; or shall deny the
 ' manhood of CHRIST, or that the Godhead and manhood of
 ' CHRIST are several natures ; or that the humanity of CHRIST
 ' is pure and unspotted of all sin ; or that shall maintain and
 ' publish as aforesaid, that CHRIST did not die, nor rise from
 ' the dead, nor is ascended into Heaven bodily ; or that shall
 ' deny his death is meritorious in behalf of believers, &c.---all
 ' such maintaining and publishing of such error or errors, with
 ' obstinacy therein, shall by virtue hereof be adjudged *Felony* ;
 ' and all such persons, upon complaint and proof made of the
 ' same, in any of the cases aforesaid, before any two of the next
 ' Justices of the peace for that place or county, by the oaths of
 ' two witnesses, (which the said Justices of peace in such cases
 ' shall hereby have power to administer) or confession of the
 ' party ; the said party so accused shall be by the said Justices of
 ' the peace committed to prison, without bail or main-prize, un-
 ' til the next gaol-delivery, to be holden for that place or
 ' county ; and the witnesses likewise shall be bound over by the
 ' said Justices unto the said gaol-delivery, to give in their evi-
 ' dence ; and at the said gaol-delivery the party shall be indicted
 ' for felonious publishing and maintaining such error : and in
 ' case the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial shall
 ' not abjure his said error, and defence and maintenance of the
 ' same, he shall suffer *the pains of DEATH*, as in case of felony,
 ' without benefit of Clergy.' — ' And be it farther ordained,
 ' that in case any person formerly indicted for publishing and
 ' maintaining of such erroneous opinion or opinions, as afore-
 ' said, and renouncing and abjuring the same, shall nevertheless
 ' again publish and maintain his said former error or errors, as
 ' aforesaid, and the same proved as aforesaid ; the said party so
 ' offending shall be committed to prison as formerly, and at the
 ' next gaol-delivery shall be indicted, as aforesaid. And in
 ' case the indictment be then found upon the trial, and it shall
 ' appear that formerly the party was convicted of the same
 ' error, and publishing and maintaining thereof, and renounced
 ' and abjured the same, the offender shall *suffer DEATH*, as in
 ' case of felony, without benefit of Clergy.' The ordinance
 ' further enjoins, that any person who should publish or maintain,
 ' That all men should be saved ; or that man by nature hath
 ' free-will to turn to GOD ; --- or that man is bound to believe
 ' no more than by his reason he can comprehend ; --- or that
 ' the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or such baptism is void,
 ' and that such persons ought to be baptized again, and in pur-

‘ suance thereof, shall baptize any person formerly baptized, &c.’ should upon conviction before two Justices of the peace, ‘ be ordered by the said Justices to renounce his said errors in the public congregation of the same parish from whence the complaint doth come, or where the offence was committed ; and in case he refuseth or neglecteth to perform the same, at, or upon the day, time and place appointed by the said Justices, then he shall be committed to *prison* by the said Justices, until he shall find two sufficient sureties, before two Justices of the peace for the said place or county, (whereof one shall be of the quorum) that he shall not publish or maintain the said error or errors any more (*p*).’

This infamous Ordinance will ever reflect the greatest dishonour on the Assembly of Divines who procured it, and on the Parliament that gave their sanction to it. It was the most rigorous law against *Heresy* and *Error*, that had been made in England since the Reformation. Indeed, it appears from hence, that the Calvinists of England at this period, by whom it was drawn up, and by whose influence it was passed into a law, were actuated by a more persecuting spirit than the Calvinists of Holland at the time of the Synod of Dort. But with what propriety, consistency, or decency, could the men who had so loudly, and so justly complained of the tyranny of the Bishops, now frame a law to imprison their Protestant brethren, and put them to death as felons, for no other crime than a difference of opinion ! But such is the natural consequence of religious *Bigotry* ! one of the most illiberal, malevolent, and mischievous dispositions, with which human nature can be disgraced !

It was expected that this Ordinance would have proved fatal to Mr. Biddle, as well as to many others : but he and the rest of his heretical brethren were saved by a dissention in the Parliament, and the opposition made to the authority of that Assembly by the army, for this reason among others, because there were many, both Officers and soldiers, liable to the severities of this Ordinance, which therefore from that time lay unregarded for several years. Anthony Wood says, “ the Assembly of Divines, sitting at Westminster, made their endeavours to the Parliament, that Biddle might suffer death, in the month of May, 1648 ; but what hindered it, I cannot tell, unless it was the great dissention that was then in the said Parliament : however, his confinement was made close (*q*).”

After the death of King Charles I. when a kind of universal toleration was introduced, Mr. Biddle had more liberty allowed him by his Keeper, who suffered him, upon security given, to go into Staffordshire, where he lived some time with a Justice of peace,

(*p*) See this Ordinance at length in Crosby’s History of the English Baptists, Vol. I. P. 199---205. (*q*) Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. II. Col. 198. Edit. 1692.

peace, who, as the Oxford Antiquarian informs us, made him his Chaplain, and also preacher of a church in that county. And this gentleman not only entertained him courteously, but at his death left him a legacy; which was a very seasonable supply to him, as he had already spent in a manner all his substance, in about four years chargeable restraint. But he had not long continued here, before notice was given to Serjeant John Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, who caused him to be recalled by his Keeper, and to be confined more strictly. In this long confinement, what proved most grievous to him was, that by reason of his lying under the imputation of blasphemy and heresy, people in general were so alienated from him, that he could hardly have any one to converse with; and it is said that not one Divine vouchsafed him a visit in his seven years confinement, except Mr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely. In this situation he spent his whole substance; so that not having wherewithal even to pay for an ordinary meal, "he was glad" (says the Writer of his Life) of the cheaper support of drinking a draught of milk from the cow, morning and evening."

Being thus reduced to great indigence, Mr. Biddle was, through the recommendation of a learned man, employed by Roger Daniel, of London, to correct the impression of the Greek Septuagint Bible, which that printer was about to publish with great accuracy. Wood says, that Daniel employed him on this occasion, "knowing full well that Biddle was an exact Grecian, and had time enough to follow it. Which employment, and another in private, did gain him for a time a comfortable subsistence."

In 1651, the Parliament published a general Act of Oblivion, that restored, among others, Mr. Biddle to his full liberty; which he improved among those friends he had gained in London, in meeting together every Sunday for expounding the Scripture, and discoursing thereupon; by which means his opinion concerning the Unity of GOD, and his sentiments concerning CHRIST and the Holy Spirit, were so propagated, that the Presbyterian Ministers at London became exceedingly uneasy at it, but could not hinder his progress by the civil power, as the then prevailing Government admitted an universal liberty of conscience.

In the year 1654, he had three public disputations in his meeting with Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, concerning the Divinity of CHRIST, and of the Holy Ghost, and the Satisfaction of Divine Justice by the death of CHRIST. The Writer of our Author's Life prefixed to his tracts, says, "They disputed syllogistically, and took their turns of responding and opposing, wherein John Biddle acquitted himself with so much learning, judgment, and knowledge in the sense of the Holy Scriptures, that instead of losing, he gained much credit
" both

“ both to himself and his cause, as even some of the gentlemen
“ of Dr. Gunning’s party had the ingenuity to acknowledge.”

The same year he published his Two-fold Scripture-Catechism ; that is, a larger and shorter Catechism, in which the answers are expressed in the very words of Scripture. The title of the first is, ‘ A Scripture-Catechism ; wherein the chiefest points of the
‘ Christian Religion being question-wise proposed, resolve themselves by pertinent answers, taken word for word out of the
‘ Scripture, without either consequences or comments. Composed for their sakes that would fain be mere Christians, and
‘ not of this or that sect, in as much as all sects of Christians,
‘ by what name soever distinguished, have either more or less
‘ departed from the simplicity and truth of the Scripture.’ The title of the other is, ‘ A brief Scripture-Catechism for Children ;
‘ wherein, notwithstanding the brevity thereof, all things necessary unto life and godliness are contained. By John Biddle,
‘ Master of Arts, of the University of Oxford.’

Mr. Biddle’s Two-fold Catechism, soon after its publication, coming into the hands of some of the Members of Oliver Cromwell’s Parliament, which assembled in September, 1654, a complaint was made against it in the House of Commons. Whereupon the Author being brought to the bar in the beginning of December, and asked, Whether he wrote that book ? He answered by asking, Whether it seemed reasonable, that one brought before a judgment-seat as a criminal, should accuse himself ? After some debates and resolutions he was, on the 13th of December, committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse ; prohibited the use of pen, ink, and paper, or the access of any visitant ; and his Catechism was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman ; which was accordingly done on the 14th of the same month. A bill was likewise ordered to be brought in for punishing him ; but, after about six months imprisonment, he obtained his liberty by due course of law.

Scarcely was a year expired, when another no less formidable danger overtook him, by his engaging in a dispute with Mr. Griffin, a Baptist Minister. Many of Griffin’s congregation having embraced Biddle’s opinions concerning the Trinity, he thought the best way to stop the spreading of such tenets, would be openly to confute them. For this purpose he challenged Biddle to a public disputation at his meeting in the Stone Chapel in St. Paul’s cathedral, on this question, “ Whether JESUS CHRIST
“ be the Most High or Almighty GOD ?” Biddle at first endeavoured to decline the dispute, but at length accepted of it. And the two antagonists having met amongst a numerous audience, Griffin repeated the question, asking if any man there did deny, that CHRIST was GOD Most High ? To which Biddle resolutely answered, “ I do deny it.” And, by this open profession, he gave his adversaries the opportunity of a positive and clear
accusation,

accusation, which they soon laid hold of. But Griffin being baffled, the disputation was deferred till another day, when Biddle was to take his turn of proving the negative of the question. In the mean while, Griffin and his party not thinking themselves a match for Mr. Biddle, accused him of fresh blasphemies, and procured an order from the Protector to apprehend him on the 3d of July, and to commit him to the Compter. He was afterwards sent to Newgate, and ordered to be tried for his life the next sessions, on that Ordinance against Blasphemy and Heresy, of which we have lately given an account. However, the Protector not thinking it for the interest of his Government to have him either condemned or absolved, took him out of the hands of the law, and detained him in prison; and at length being wearied with receiving petitions for and against him, banished him to St. Mary's castle in the isle of Scilly, where he was sent the beginning of October, 1655. And soon after Cromwell allowed him an hundred crowns a year for his subsistence. During this exile, in which he continued about three years, he employed himself in studying the Scriptures, and particularly the Revelation of St. John. And accordingly he afterwards published "An Essay to the explaining of the Revelation, or notes on some of the Chapters of the Apocalypse." In which he treated of the Beast in the Apocalypse, Antichrist, the personal reign of CHRIST on the earth, &c.

About the beginning of the year 1658, the Protector, through the intercession of many friends, permitted a writ of Habeas Corpus to be granted out of the Upper Bench Court, whereby Mr. Biddle was brought back, and nothing being then laid to his charge, was set at liberty. Upon his return to London, he resumed his religious exercises among his friends; and we are told, upon the authority of Sir Peter Pett, that he was pastor of an Independent church in that city. But he could not long continue in this situation; for, on the death of Oliver Cromwell, his son Richard succeeding, and calling a Parliament which was expected to be dangerous to Mr. Biddle, by the advice of a Noble friend he retired privately into the country. That Parliament being soon dissolved, he returned to his former station till the Restoration of King Charles II. when the liberty of Dissenters was taken away, and their meetings punished as seditious. On which account Mr. Biddle restrained himself from public to more private assemblies. But he could not by this conduct preserve himself from persecution; for on the 1st of June, 1662, he was seized in his lodgings in London, where he and some few of his friends were met for Divine Worship, and carried before a Justice of peace, who committed them all to prison, without admitting them to bail. There they lay, till the Recorder took security for their answering to the charge brought against them at the next sessions. But the court not being then able to find a statute whereon

whereon to form any criminal indictment, they were referred to the sessions following, and therein proceeded against at common law ; when every one of the hearers was fined twenty pounds, and Mr. Biddle one hundred, and ordered to lie in prison till that sum was paid. But in less than five weeks after, through the noisomeness of the place, and the want of air, he contracted a disease, which put an end to his life on the 22d of September, 1662, in the 47th year of his age. He was buried in the cemetery, near Old Bedlam, in Moorfields, London ; and an altar-monument of stone was erected over his grave with an inscription.

Such was the end of JOHN BIDDLE ! a man of great learning and piety, and of the most irreproachable life. Even Anthony Wood acknowledges, that "except his opinions, there was little or nothing blame-worthy in him." And the Author of his Life prefixed to his Tracts, said to be Mr. J. Farrington of the Inner Temple, particularly commends Mr. Biddle for his great zeal for promoting holiness of life and manners : for this, says he, was always his end and design in what he taught. He valued not his doctrines for speculation, but practice ; in so much that he would not discourse of those points wherein he differed from others, with those that appeared not religious according to their knowledge. Neither could he bear those that dissembled in profession for worldly interests. He was a strict observer himself, and a severe exactor in others, of reverence in speaking of GOD, and CHRIST, and Holy Things ; so that he would by no means hear their names, or any sentence of Holy Scripture, used vainly or lightly, much less any foolish talking, or scurrility. He would often tell his friends, that no religion would benefit a bad man ; and call upon them to resolve with themselves, as well to profess and practise the truth that is according to Godliness, as to study to find it out ; and that against all terrors or allurements to the contrary ; being assured that nothing displeasing to Almighty GOD could be in any wise profitable to them. But as for those that were really of a contrary mind to him, how mean soever, (for he was very humble and condescending) they could not oblige him more, than by patient objections, soberly urged, to give him the opportunity of resolving them ; which he always did with great simplicity and plainness of speech, without any ostentation of learning, which yet he was as much master of, as those most famous on that account. Indeed, his learning in matters of religion was gained by a diligent study of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, wherein he was so conversant, that he retained it all in his memory *verbatim*, not only in English, but in Greek, as far as the fourth Chapter of the Revelation of St. John. This thorough knowledge in the

Scriptures,

‘ Scriptures, joined with an ordinary, happy, and ready memory,
‘ whereby he retained also the sum of what he had read in other
‘ Authors, gave him great advantage against all opponents, and
‘ in all discourses, but without the least appearance of boasting.’

‘ I have spoken above of the reverence and gravity he used himself, and exacted of others, in handling of Holy Things : in other matters he would be merry and pleasant, and liked well that the company should be so too ; yet even in this common converse, he always retained an awe of the Divine Presence, and was sometimes observed to lift up his hand suddenly ; which those that were intimate with him, knew to be an effect of a secret ejaculation. But in his closet-devotions he was wont often to prostrate himself upon the ground, after the manner of our SAVIOUR in his agony, and would commend that posture of worship also to his most intimate friends. But his devotion towards GOD, and study for propagating Divine Truth, did not, as in some persons, swallow up his justice and charity toward men ; for he was as careful a practiser and promoter of those virtues, as his opinion of their necessity to salvation did require.’

The Author of "The Humble Advice to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and the rest of the Justices of the honourable bench," speaking of Mr. Biddle, says, 'If you shall seriously and deliberately weigh all circumstances touching the man and his opinions, he is so free from being questioned for any the least blemish in his life and conversation, that the informers themselves have been heard to admire his strict exemplary life, full of modesty, sobriety, and forbearance; no ways contentious, touching the great things of the world, but altogether taken up with the things of GOD, revealed in the Holy Scriptures; wherein his study, diligence, and attainments, have been so great, that his knowledge therein is of as ready use as a concordance, no part thereof being named, but he presently cites the Book, Chapter, and Verse, especially throughout the Books of the New Testament, where all the Epistles he can say by heart out of the Greek tongue, and withal can read the Greek in English, and the English in Greek, so readily as a man can do the mere English; so careful hath he been rightly to understand them. As to the justice and integrity of his heart, his ways have manifested that he would not dissemble, play the hypocrite, or deal fraudulently with any man to save his life; such is he certainly, as is known to very many persons of worth and credit in London.'

The Author of "The True State of the Case of Liberty of Conscience in England," gives also this testimony of Mr. Biddle's conversation: 'We have (says he) had intimate knowledge thereof for some years; but we think he needs not us, but may appeal even to his enemies, for his vindication therein.

' Let those that knew him at Oxford for the space of seven or
 ' eight years, those that knew him at Gloucester about three
 ' years, those that knew him at London these eight or nine
 ' years, (most of which time he hath been a prisoner) speak what
 ' they know, of unrighteousness, uncleanness, unpeaceableness,
 ' malice, pride, profaneness, drunkenness, or any the like ini-
 ' quity, which they can accuse him of ; or hath he, (as the man-
 ' ner of Hereticks is), 2 Pet. Ch. ii. 3. *Through Covetousness,*
 ' *with feigned words made merchandise of any ?* Hath he not herein
 ' walked upon such true grounds of Christian self-denial, that
 ' none in the world can stand more clear and blameless herein
 ' also ? He having shunned to make any of those advantages
 ' which are easily made in the world, by men of his parts and
 ' breeding, languages and learning, that (if any known to us)
 ' he may truly say as the Apostle, *I have coveted no man's silver,*
 ' *or gold, or apparel ; yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands*
 ' *have ministered to my necessities ;* he ever accounting it a more
 ' *blessed thing to give than receive (r).*'

(r) *Vid.* Crosby's History of the English Baptists, Vol. I. P. 210--212.



The Life of Sir HENRY VANE.

HENRY VANE was descended from an antient family in the county of Kent, and was eldest son of Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State to King Charles I. He was born about the year 1612, and educated at Westminster-school, from whence he was removed to Magdalen-Hall, Oxford. Having studied some time at the University, he went over into France, where he spent some time, but made a longer stay at Geneva. After his return home, he displeased his father by the aversion which he discovered to the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England. This misunderstanding between him and his father occasioned him to transport himself to New England in the year 1635. He was no sooner landed there, than his eminent parts made him much taken notice of; and probably his quality, being the eldest son of a Privy Counsellor, might give him some advantage; so that when the next season came for the election of Magistrates, he was chosen Governor. But in this station he had not the good fortune to please long; for being of a warm imagination, and somewhat enthusiastic in his religious opinions, he raised and infused many scruples of conscience into the people, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before. And his behaviour giving offence to many, they concerted such measures among themselves, as put an end to his government at the next election.

Some time after, about the year 1639, he returned privately to England. And then, with the approbation of his father, he married Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, of Ashby in Lincolnshire. And through his father's credit with Algernoon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, then High Admiral of England, he was joined with Sir William Russel in the office of Treasurer of the navy, a place of great trust and profit. He was also chosen by the town of Kingston upon Hull to be one of their Representatives in the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 13th of April, 1640; and in June the same year he received the honour of Knighthood from King Charles I.

He was likewise elected a Member of the Long Parliament. Mr. Ludlow says, 'In the beginning of the great Parliament, he was elected to serve his country among them, without the least application made on his part to that end: and in this station he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing, in the highest perfection, a quick and ready
M 2 apprehension,

‘ apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and
 ‘ penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy
 ‘ and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added a singular
 ‘ zeal and affection for the good of the Commonwealth,
 ‘ and a resolution and courage, not to be shaken or diverted
 ‘ from the public service.’ Lord Clarendon says, ‘ He was of a
 ‘ temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could
 ‘ comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without
 ‘ losing ground by the condescension ; and if he was not superior
 ‘ to Mr. Hampden, he was inferior to no other man, in all
 ‘ mysterious artifices.’

As Sir Henry Vane engaged warmly in the opposition to the measures of King Charles I. it has been intimated, that he entered into this opposition out of resentment, because that Prince had conferred on Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, the dignity of Baron of Raby, in the Diocese of Durham, a house and estate belonging to the Vane family ; and Sir Henry therefore naturally thought that this honour should belong to himself, if to any man. We can have no doubt but this incident exasperated Vane both against the King and Strafford ; but as he had early conceived such a dislike against the established Hierarchy, it seems neither reasonable nor just to impute his opposition to the measures of Government merely to his resentment on account of the King’s conferring that title on Wentworth. However, this circumstance undoubtedly made him not the less active in promoting the prosecution of that Nobleman ; and accordingly he communicated a paper that was laid before the Parliament as evidence against Strafford, and which contributed not a little towards his condemnation (s).

On the 26th of February, 1640-1, Sir Henry Vane carried up to the House of Peers fourteen articles of impeachment against Archbishop Laud. In June, 1643, he was nominated one of the lay-gentlemen appointed to sit in the Assembly of Divines. The following month he was appointed one of the Parliament’s Commissioners, and sent into Scotland, in order to negotiate a treaty with that nation, and engage it to join and assist the Parliament. After his return to London, he took the Covenant ; and about the same time was appointed sole Treasurer of the navy, which place he held till the first wars between the English and Dutch. In that office he shewed an uncommon example of honour and integrity : for the fees were, at that time, four-pence in the pound, which, by reason of the war, honestly amounted, it is said, to little less than 30,000*l.* a year. Sir Henry looking on this as too much for a private man, very generously, of his own accord, gave up his patent, which he had for life from King Charles I. to the then Parliament ; desiring but 2000*l.* a year, for an agent he
 had

had bred up to the business, and the remainder to go to the public : and accordingly it was settled in this manner.

About the beginning of the year 1645, Sir Henry Vane was one of the Parliament's Commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge, as he was again at the treaty in the Isle of Wight in 1648 : but he appears always to have endeavoured to prevent any compromise with the King. He does not, however, appear to have had any share in Charles's trial or death ; but was after that one of the most zealous Commonwealthsmen ; and accordingly very strenuously opposed Cromwell's usurpation of the supreme authority. He was also one of the great opposers of the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

In 1656, he was summoned by Cromwell to appear before him in Council. And, on his appearance, he was charged by the Protector with disaffection to his Government ; which he had shewn in a late book, published by him with a seditious intention, called, " *A Healing Question proposed and resolved.*" Sir Henry did not disown his dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, and owned the writing and publishing of the book. Whereupon Cromwell ordered him to give security, by a day limited, not to disturb the peace of the nation, or else to stand committed. The time being expired, he appeared again before the Council, and delivered into Cromwell's own hand another paper, containing the reasons of his disapproving the present usurpation, and some friendly advice to Cromwell to return to his duty, with a justification of his own conduct with regard to the public. But notwithstanding all this, and several reasons alledged by him to excuse himself from giving the required security, he was sent prisoner to Carisbrook castle in the Isle of Wight. From whence being released about four months after, he came to London, where he met with another kind of persecution : for Cromwell perceiving that the imprisoning of him had proved unsuccessful, he privately encouraged some of the army to take possession of certain forest-walks belonging to him, near Raby-castle, and also gave orders to the Attorney-General, on pretence of a flaw in his title to a great part of his estate, to file a bill against him in the Exchequer. This was designed to oblige him to produce his title, which, if he had done, they doubted not, by the craft of the Lawyers, to find some defect in it, whereby it was hoped he would be forced into a compliance : yet, at the same time, he was privately informed that he should be freed from this, or any other prosecution, and have whatever else he could desire, in case he would comply with the present authority. But he remained inflexible all Oliver's time : and so he did under his successor, the Protector Richard ; against whom there were many meetings of the chief sticklers for a Commonwealth, at Sir Henry's house near Charing-cross.

Great endeavours were used to keep him out of Richard's Parliament in 1659 ; and, by direction, the returning Officers at

Hull and Bristol would not return him, though he is said to have had the majority; yet at last he was chosen for Whitchurch in Hampshire, through the interest of Robert Wallop, Esqr. In that assembly he and other Republicans laboured to overturn the settlement of a Protector and two Houses of Parliament, and to introduce a Commonwealth. By their influence and abilities, they soon lessened Richard's power, and gained an ascendant over his party; to which the following speech, made by Sir Henry Vane in the House of Commons, is said to have not a little contributed.

‘ Mr. SPEAKER,

‘ Among all the people of the universe, I know none who
 ‘ have shewn so much zeal for the liberty of their country, as
 ‘ the English at this time have done: they have, by the help of
 ‘ Divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made
 ‘ themselves free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny
 ‘ of the House of Stuart, at the expence of much blood and
 ‘ treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having
 ‘ shaken off the yoke of Kingship; and there is not a man
 ‘ amongst us, who could have imagined that any person would
 ‘ be so bold as to dare to attempt the ravishing from us that
 ‘ freedom, which has cost us much blood and so much labour.
 ‘ But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are fallen
 ‘ into the error of those who poisoned the Emperor Titus, to
 ‘ make room for Domitian; who made away Augustus, that they
 ‘ might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero. I am
 ‘ sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the
 ‘ Romans in those days were buried in lewdness and luxury;
 ‘ whereas the people of England are now renowned, all over the
 ‘ world, for their great virtue and discipline; and yet suffer an
 ‘ idiot, without courage, without sense, nay without ambition, to
 ‘ have dominion in a country of Liberty. One could bear a
 ‘ little with *Oliver Cromwell*, though, contrary to his oath of
 ‘ fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public,
 ‘ contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from
 ‘ whom he received his authority, he usurped the Government.
 ‘ His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our pas-
 ‘ sions, might be blinded by it. He made his way to Empire by
 ‘ the most illustrious actions; he had under his command an
 ‘ army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had
 ‘ made him their General. But as for *Richard Cromwell*, his
 ‘ son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he
 ‘ had a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what
 ‘ is of more importance in this case? Is he fit to get obedience
 ‘ from a mighty nation, who could never make a footman obey
 ‘ him? Yet we must recognize this man as our King, under the
 ‘ stile of Protector! A man without birth, without courage,
 ‘ without

‘ without conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be
‘ said that I made such a man my master.’

After the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the Long Parliament that had been restored by a general Council of the Officers of the army, constituted Sir Henry one of the Committee of safety on the 9th of May; and the 13th of the same month, one of the Council of State. And the 26th of the same month he was appointed the first of the seven Commissioners for managing the affairs of the Admiralty; and, in September, President of the Council: about which time he proposed a new model of Commonwealth Government. The proceedings of General Monk very much displeased and alarmed him, as well as the rest of the Republicans; and new commissions being ordered for raising of fresh forces, he was nominated Commander of a regiment of horse, which was the only military employment he ever had. He was also appointed one of the Committee of nineteen, to determine the qualifications of Members of Parliament. But upon the re-assembling of the Long Parliament, he was questioned for his compliance with the army during the interruption of the sitting of that Assembly; and for some time was confined to his house at Raby, in the county of Durham.

After the Restoration of Charles II. Sir Henry Vane resided at his house at Hampstead. And it was apprehended, that as the declaration from Breda was full for an indemnity to all, except those who had been actually concerned in the death of the late King, (which he had not), he was included in it; and was therefore thought by his friends to be sufficiently secure. But on the 11th of June, 1660, the House of Commons resolved, that Sir Henry Vane should be one of the twenty persons to be excepted out of the Act of general pardon and oblivion, for and in respect only of such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, not extending to life, as should be thought fit to be inflicted on him. And being suspected of some designs against the Government, he was committed to the Tower in July. The next month both Houses of Parliament joined in a petition to the King, that if he were attainted, yet execution as to his life might be remitted: to which his Majesty agreed. In the mean time, Sir Henry was removed from one prison to another, and at last to the Isle of Scilly. But in July, 1661, the House of Commons recommended it to the Attorney-General to proceed against him according to law; upon which he was brought back to the Tower of London; and on the 2d of June, 1662, he was brought to his trial for high treason on the King's Bench bar.

This prosecution was exceedingly cruel and unjust, and seemed to proceed only from a spirit of revenge; as no illegal action could be charged upon him since the Restoration of the King, the whole accusation being founded on the share he had in the transactions during the course of the civil wars. The substance

of

of the charge against him, was, that he had compassed and imagined the death of the King ; contrived totally to subvert the antient frame of Government ; and to keep out the King from the exercise of his regal Government : to effect which, he had traiterously and maliciously assembled, and consulted, with other false traitors ; and had appointed Officers, and arrayed a multitude, to the number of a thousand persons, with guns, &c.

Sir Henry Vane was not permitted to have Counsel, but he pleaded for himself with great courage, eloquence, and ability. He alledged, that no treason could be committed against a King *de jure*, and not *de facto*, such as King Charles II. was, from 1648 to 1659, when the crimes against him were laid. He observed that Coke, in his Pleas of the Crown, says, that the term *King* is to be understood of a King regnant, and in actual possession of the Crown, and not of a King when he is only *Rex de jure*, and out of possession. Now, said Sir Henry, an *interregnum* is confessed by the indictment. All assigns of authority, and badges of Government, were visibly in another name and stile ; the King's best friends suing, and being sued, in another court. He said further, ' In the late changes and revolutions, from first
' to last, I was never a first mover, but always a follower, chusing
' rather to adhere to *things* than *persons* ; and, where authority
' was dark or dubious, to do things justifiable by the light and
' law of nature, as that law is acknowledged part of the law of
' the land ; things that are in *se bona*, and such, as according to
' the grounds and principles of the common law, as well as the
' statutes of this land, would warrant and indemnify me in doing
' them. For I have observed by precedents of former times,
' when there have arisen disputes about titles to the Crown, between Kings *de facto* and Kings *de jure*, the people of this
' Realm wanted not directions for their safety, and how to behave
' themselves within the duty and limits of allegiance to the King
' and kingdom, in such difficult and dangerous seasons. My
' Lord Coke is very clear in this point, in his Chap. of Treason,
' Fol. 7. And if it were otherwise, it were the hardest case that
' could be for the people of England. For then they would be
' certainly exposed to punishment, from those that are in possession
' of the supreme power, as traitors, if they do any thing
' against them, or do not obey them ; and they would be punishable
' as traitors, by him that hath right, and is King *de jure*,
' in case they do obey the King *de facto* ; and so all the people of
' England are necessarily involved in treasons, either against the
' Powers *de facto* or *de jure*, and may by the same reason be questioned for it, as well as the prisoner, if the Act of Indemnity
' and the King's pardon did not free them from it. The security
' then and safety of all the people of England, is by this means
' made to depend upon a pardon, which might have been granted
' or denied ; and not upon the sure foundations of the Common
' Law ;

‘ Law ; an opinion sure which, duly weighed and considered, is very strange, to say no more.

‘ For I would gladly know that person in England, of estate and fortune, and of age, that hath not counselled, aided or abetted, either by his person or estate, and submitted to the laws and government of the Powers that then were ; and, if so, then by your judgments upon me, you condemn, in effigies, and by necessary consequence, the whole kingdom. And if that be the law, and be now known to be so, it is worth consideration, whether, if it had been *generally known and understood before*, it might not have *hindered his Majesty’s Restoration*.’

Sir Henry further said, ‘ I can truly affirm, that in the whole series of my actions, that which I have had in my eye, hath been to preserve the antient, well-constituted Government of England, on its own basis and primitive righteous foundations, most learnedly stated by Fortescue in his book made in praise of the English laws. And I did account it the most likely means for the effecting of this, to preserve it, at least in its root, whatever changes and alterations it might be exposed unto in its branches, through the blustering and stormy times that have passed over us.

‘ This is no new doctrine, in a kingdom acquainted with political power, as Fortescue shews our’s is, describing it to be, in effect, the common assent of the Realm, the will of the people, or whole body of the kingdom, represented in Parliament. Nay, though this representation (as hath fallen out) be restrained for a season, to the Commons House, in their single actings, into which (as we have seen) when by the inordinate fire of the times, two of the three estates have for a season been melted down, they did but retire into their root, and were not hereby in their right destroyed, but rather preserved, though as to their exercise laid for a while asleep, till the season came of their revival and restoration.’

‘ The resolutions and votes for changing the Government into a Commonwealth, or Free State, were passed some weeks before my return to Parliament. Yet afterwards, so far as I judged the same consonant to the principles and grounds, declared in the laws of England, for upholding that political power, which hath given the rise and introduction in this nation, to Monarchy itself, by the account of antient Writers ; I conceived it my duty, as the state of things did then appear to me, (notwithstanding the said alteration made) to keep my station in Parliament, and to perform my allegiance therein to King and kingdom, under the Powers then regnant, (upon my principles before declared) yielding obedience to their authority and commands. And having received trust, in reference to the safety and preservation of the kingdom, in those times of imminent danger, (both within and without) I did conscientiously

‘tiously hold myself obliged, to be true and faithful therein.
 ‘ This I did upon a public account, not daring to quit my station
 ‘ in Parliament, by virtue of my first writ. Nor was it for any
 ‘ private or gainful ends, to profit myself, or enrich my relations.
 ‘ This may appear as well by the great debt I have contracted,
 ‘ as by the destitute condition my many children are in, as to
 ‘ any provision made for them. And I do publicly challenge all
 ‘ persons whatsoever, that can give information of any bribes or
 ‘ covert ways used by me, during the whole time of my public
 ‘ acting. Therefore, I hope it will be evident to the consciences
 ‘ of the Jury, that what I have done hath been upon principles
 ‘ of integrity, honour, justice, reason, and conscience, and not
 ‘ as is suggested in the indictment, by *insigation of the Devil*,
 ‘ or *want of the fear of GOD*.

‘ A second great change that happened upon the constitution
 ‘ of the Parliament, and in them, of the very kingdom itself
 ‘ and the laws thereof, (to the plucking up the liberties of it by
 ‘ the very roots, and the introducing of an arbitrary regal Power,
 ‘ under the name of Protector, by force, and the law of the
 ‘ sword), was the usurpation of Cromwell, which I opposed
 ‘ from the beginning to the end, to that degree of suffering, and
 ‘ with that constancy, that well near had cost me not only the
 ‘ loss of my estate, but of my very life, if he might have had
 ‘ his will, which a higher than he hindered. Yet I did remain a
 ‘ prisoner, under great hardship, four months in an island, by
 ‘ his orders.’

‘ The third considerable change, was the total disappointing
 ‘ and removing of the said usurpation, and the returning again
 ‘ of the Members of Parliament to the exercise of their primi-
 ‘ tive and original trust, for the good and safety of the king-
 ‘ dom, so far as the state of the times would then permit them,
 ‘ being so much as they were under the power of an army, that
 ‘ for so long a time had influenced the Government. Towards
 ‘ the recovery therefore of things again into their own channel,
 ‘ and upon the legal root of the people’s liberties, to wit, their
 ‘ common consent in Parliament, given by their own deputies
 ‘ and trustees, I held it my duty to be again acting in public af-
 ‘ fairs, in the capacity of a Member of the said Parliament,
 ‘ then re-entered upon the actual exercise of their former power,
 ‘ or at least struggling for it.’

Sir Henry also urged, that as the actions with which he was
 charged were done by authority of Parliament, the supreme
 court of the nation, he could not justly be questioned for them by
 any inferior court. But the strength of his defence availed him
 nothing; it had been previously determined to condemn him,
 and a proper Jury had been packed for that purpose, who accord-
 ingly brought him in guilty of high treason. The manner and
 matter of his defence were by no means agreeable to the court;
 and the King’s Counsel told him, that his defence was a fresh
 charge

charge against him. It is observed in Ludlow's Memoirs, that " Sir Henry Vane was long in his defence, but not tedious : he " much perplexed both Court and Counsel, and has acquired " eternal reputation, by nobly pleading for the dying liberties " of his country."

On the 11th of June he received sentence to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn ; but it was afterwards ordered, that he should be beheaded on Tower-Hill. Some persuaded him to make his submission to the King, and to endeavour by that method to save his life. But he said, " If the King did not " think himself more concerned for his honour and word, than " *he* did for his life, he was very willing they should take it. " Nay, he declared, that he valued his life less in a good cause, " than the King could do his promise (*t*)."

On the 14th of June, 1662, he was drawn on a sledge to Tower-Hill, where a scaffold was erected for his execution. On this occasion a new and very indecent practice was begun. It had been observed, that the dying speeches of the late King's Judges had left impressions on the minds of the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the Government ; and much being apprehended from the well-known eloquence of Sir Henry Vane, it was ordered that drummers should be placed under the scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak to the spectators, upon a signal given, beat their drums so as to prevent his being heard, and trumpets were also sounded for the same purpose. This put him into no disorder ; he only desired they might be stopped, for he understood what was meant by it. Then he went through his devotions ; and as he was taking leave of those about him, happening to say somewhat with relation to the times, the drums struck up a second time. Upon this he gave over, and died with the utmost fortitude and courage.

One Writer observes, that ' he shewed himself to the people ' on the front of the scaffold, with that noble and Christian-like ' deportment, that he rather seemed a looker on, than the person ' concerned in the execution ; inasmuch that it was difficult to ' persuade many of the people that he was the prisoner. But ' when they knew that the gentleman in the black suit and ' cloak (with a scarlet silk waistcoat shewing itself at the breast) ' was the prisoner, they generally admired that noble and great ' presence he appeared with. How chearful he is ! said some : ' he does not look like a dying man ! said others : with many ' like speeches, as astonished with that strange appearance he ' shined forth in.' It is also observed, that in the midst of some disturbance, occasioned by the drums beating, and the behaviour of the Sheriff, which gave great offence to the spectators, ' the

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' prisoner

(*t*) The putting Sir Henry Vane to death was thought by many to be contrary to the King's declaration from Breda : however, it was certainly contrary to his answer to the address of the two Houses for saving his life.

‘ prisoner himself was observed to be of the most constant, composed spirit and countenance ; which he throughout so excellently manifested, that a Royalist swore, *he died like a Prince.*’

‘ His last words of all at the block, were as followeth : *Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of men, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country.* It was observed, that no signs of inward fear appeared by any trembling or shaking of his hands, or any other parts of his body, all along on the scaffold. Yea, an antient traveller and curious observer of the demeanour of persons in such public executions, did narrowly eye his countenance to the last breath, and his head immediately after the separation : he observed, that his countenance did not in the least change ; and whereas the heads of all he had before seen, did some way or other move after severing, which argued some reluctancy and unwillingness to that parting-blow, the head of this sufferer lay perfectly still, immediately upon the separation (*u*).’

Ludlow says, that ‘ he behaved himself on all those occasions, (his trial, sentence, and death), in such a manner, that he left it doubtful, whether his eloquence, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind, his gravity and magnanimity, his constant adherence to the cause of his country, and heroic carriage during the time of his confinement, and at the hour of death ; or the malice of his enemies, and their frivolous suggestions at his trial, the breach of the public faith in the usage he found, the incivility of the bench, and the savage rudeness of the Sheriff, who commanded the trumpets several times to sound, that he might not be heard by the people ; were more remarkable.’

Sir HENRY VANE was a man of great political abilities, and appears to have been influenced by principles of real patriotism. He seems also to have been sincerely pious, but his religion was strongly tinged with enthusiasm. He was extremely eloquent, and had a great command of his temper, which made him very successful in bringing over others to his own sentiments. He published several Pieces, theological and political. He left a son, Christopher, who was created by King William III. a Baron, by the title of Lord Bernard’s-castle, in the Bishopric of Durham.

(*u*) Account of Sir Henry Vane’s trial and death, P. 85, 89, 95.



The Life of Dr. JOHN OWEN.

THIS eminent Divine was born in 1616, at Hadham in Oxfordshire, of which place his father was Vicar. He was instructed in grammar learning by Mr. Edward Sylvester at Oxford; and being a boy of extraordinary parts, he made so great a proficiency, that he was admitted into Queen's College in that University when he was about twelve years of age. His father having a large family, could not afford him any considerable maintenance; but he was liberally supplied by an uncle, one of his father's brothers, a gentleman of a good estate in Wales, who having no children of his own, designed to make him his heir. Thus supported, he pursued his studies with incredible diligence, allowing himself for several years, we are told, not above four hours sleep in a night. His tutor was the learned Dr. Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. His application to his studies did not prevent his taking care of his health, by using such recreations occasionally, as were proper for a robust constitution as his was; such as leaping, throwing a bar, ringing of bells, and the like hardy exercises.

As he did not want ambition, the prospect of his uncle's estate raised his views even to some eminence in Church or State. And he acknowledged afterwards, that being naturally of an aspiring mind, affecting popular applause, and very desirous of honour and preferment, he applied himself at this time very closely to his studies, with a view of attaining those ends. He took his first degree in Arts in 1632, and commenced Master in 1635; but being soon after dissatisfied with Laud's new regulations in the University, he refused to comply with them. This gave great offence to his uncle, and many of his friends forsook him as infected with Puritanism; and from the resentment of the Laudean party, his situation in the College became by degrees so uneasy, that he was forced to leave it in 1637.

He soon after took Priests Orders from the Bishop of the Diocese, and was made Chaplain to Sir Robert Dormer, of Ascot, in Oxfordshire, being tutor also to that gentleman's eldest son. He afterwards became Chaplain to John Lord Lovelace, of Hurley in Berkshire, and was in this situation at the commencement of the civil wars, when he openly avowed the cause of the Parliament. This conduct was so vehemently resented by his uncle,

who was a zealous Royalist, that he absolutely discarded him, settled his estate upon another, and died without leaving him any thing. Lord Lovelace, however, though he had sided with the King, yet continued to use his Chaplain with great civility ; but this Nobleman going at length to the King's army, Mr. Owen went up to London, and shortly after entirely embraced the principles of the Nonconformists.

In 1642, he published his book, intitled, " A Display of Arminianism ;" which met with such a reception, that it laid the foundation of his future advancement. The Committee for purging the church of scandalous Ministers paid such a regard to it, that Mr. White their chairman soon after sent a special messenger to our Author, with a Presentation to the Living of Fordham in Essex, which he accepted, and took a wife soon after, by whom he had several children, but none of them survived him.

When he had been at Fordham about a year and a half, upon the death of the sequestered incumbent, the patron, who had no kindness for Mr. Owen, presented another to the Living ; upon which the Earl of Warwick, being patron of the church of Coggeshall, a market-town about five miles distance, very readily gave him that Living. Hitherto he had connected himself with the Presbyterians ; but he had not long been at Coggeshall, before he declared on the side of Independency ; and he formed a church there upon these principles, which continued long in a flourishing state.

His fame began now to spread through the city and country ; and the Independent party prevailing, he was sent for to preach before the Parliament, on one of their fast-days, the 29th of April, 1646. When Colchester was besieged in 1648, Fairfax quartering some days at Coggeshall, became acquainted with Mr. Owen ; and, upon the surrendry of that town to the Parliament's forces, he preached the thanksgiving sermon there on that occasion. He was again required to preach before the House of Commons, on the next day after the execution of King Charles. He was also ordered to preach before them on the 19th of April, 1649 ; when he gave so much satisfaction, that he was afterwards frequently appointed to the same service ; particularly on the 28th of February that year, being the day of humiliation and prayer on occasion of the intended expedition to Ireland. Cromwell, who had never heard Mr. Owen preach before, was present at this discourse, and was extremely pleased with it. Our Divine now intended to go to his Cure at Coggeshall within two days, but thought himself obliged first to pay his compliments to Fairfax. And while he was for this purpose waiting for admission, Cromwell entered, and at sight of him came up directly to him, and laying his hands in a familiar way on his shoulder, said, " Sir, you are the person that I must be acquainted with." Mr. Owen replied, " That, Sir, will be much more to my advantage
" than

"than your's." "We shall soon see that," said Cromwell; who taking him by the hand, led him into Fairfax's garden, and from that time was always very intimate and friendly with him. At present, he conversed with him on his intended expedition into Ireland, and desired his company to reside there in the College at Dublin; and Mr. Owen objecting his charge at Coggeshall, Oliver wrote to that church for their leave. Accordingly he went to Dublin, not with the army, but more privately, and on his arrival took up his lodgings in the College, preaching there, and overseeing the affairs of that seat of learning (w).

Here he staid half a year, and then returned by Cromwell's leave to England, and went to Coggeshall. But he had scarcely had time to breathe there, before he was called to preach at Whitehall; and in September, 1650, Cromwell procured an order of Parliament for Mr. Owen to go into Scotland. He staid at Edinburgh about half a year, and then returned once more to his congregation at Coggeshall; but this was the last visit he made there, and it happened to be a very short one: for he was promoted to the Deanery of Christ-church in Oxford, by an order of Parliament, on the 18th of March, 1651. When he went to reside at Oxford, Cromwell was Chancellor of that University; and in September, 1652, he nominated our Dean his Vice-Chancellor. He was created Doctor of Divinity by diploma in December, 1653.

Anthony Wood says, that Dr. Owen, by virtue of his office of Vice-Chancellor, "endeavoured to put down habits, formalities, and all ceremony, notwithstanding he before had taken an oath to observe the statutes and maintain the privileges of the University, but was opposed in this also by the Presbyterians. While he did undergo the said office, he, instead of being a grave example to the University, scorned all formality, and undervalued his office by going in quip-like a young scholar, with powdered hair, snake-bone band-strings, (or band-strings with very large tassels) lawn band, a large set of ribbons pointed at his knees, and Spanish leather boots, with large lawn tops, and his hat mostly cocked (x)."

Mr. Granger remarks, that Wood represents Dr. Owen 'as a perjured person, a time-server, a hypocrite whose godliness was gain, and a blasphemer: and, if this were not sufficient, he has also made him a fop. All which means no more than this: that when Dr. Owen entered himself a member of the University of Oxford, he was of the established Church, and took the usual oaths; that he turned Independent, preached and acted as other Independents did, took the oath called the Engagement, and accepted of preferment from Cromwell; that he was a man of a good person and behaviour, and liked to go

"well

(w) Biograph. Britan. (x) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 556. Edit. 1692.

‘ well dressed. — We must be extremely cautious how we form
 ‘ our judgment of characters at this period : the difference of a
 ‘ few modes or ceremonies in religious worship, has been the
 ‘ source of infinite prejudice and misrepresentation. But of all
 ‘ the zealots of this reign, none had a stronger propensity to
 ‘ blacken characters than Mr. Wood himself (y).’

It is certain, that Dr. Owen, while he held the office of Vice-Chancellor, gave many instances of his moderation. Though he was often urged to it, yet he never molested the meeting of the Royalists at the house of Dr. Willis the Physician, where Divine Service was performed according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, not far from his own lodgings at Christ-church. In his office also of Commissioner for ejecting scandalous Ministers, he frequently over-ruled his brethren in favour of such Royalists as were eminently deserving ; and particularly in the case of Dr. Edward Pococke.

In Cromwell's Parliament, which met in September, 1654, Dr. Owen offered himself a candidate for the University ; and to remove the objection of his being a Divine, if we may believe Anthony Wood, he renounced his Orders, and pleaded that he was a mere Layman. He was accordingly returned ; but his election being questioned by the Committee of elections, he sat only a short time in the House. He was continued in the post of Vice-Chancellor for five years ; and in the mean time continued to prosecute his studies with much assiduity, and preached every other Sunday at St. Mary's, and often at Stadham, and other places in the country.

Richard Cromwell succeeding his father as Chancellor in 1657, Dr. Owen was removed from the Vice-Chancellorship, as he was also from Richard's favour, when he became Protector, upon the death of Oliver the following year. This blow is said to have come from the Presbyterians, who also procured him to be excluded from St. Mary's pulpit ; which was resented by him with so much indignation, that he set up a lecture in another church, saying, “ I have built seats at Mary's, but let the Doctors find auditors, for I will preach at Peter's in the East ;” which he accordingly did, and great numbers flocked to him. In the mean time, he was one of the leaders of that Assembly of the Independent party, which met in October, 1658, at the Savoy, and had a principal share in drawing up a confession of their faith, in opposition to the Presbyterians.

At the dawn of the Restoration, in 1659, he was ejected from the Deanery of Christ-church. Upon which he retired to Stadham, where he had a little before purchased a good estate with a handsome house upon it. Here he preached in private, and many went from Oxford to hear him ; till being several times silenced by some soldiers of the militia, his congregation was
 broken

broken up, and he removing from place to place, at last went to London. In the mean time, he employed himself in writing several books. One of these, intitled, "*Animadversions on 'Fiat Lux,'*" in 1662, coming to the hands of the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, he was so much pleased with it, that he sent for Dr. Owen by Bulstrode Whitlocke, and acknowledging the service done to the Protestant religion by this book, assured him that he had deserved the best of any English Protestant of late years, and made him an offer to prefer him in the church, if he would conform. But the Doctor refused that condition, and continued to hold private meetings. In which, however, he met with so much trouble, that he had some thoughts of going to New England, having received an invitation from his brethren there; but he was stopped, as Dr. Calamy informs us, by particular orders from King Charles. He was also invited to be a Professor of Divinity in the United Provinces, but this he declined.

The plague breaking out in 1665, and the fire of London happening in the following year, the public attention was so wholly engaged by these calamities, that the laws against the Dissenters were suffered to lie dormant for some time: and while this liberty continued, Dr. Owen was assiduous in preaching, and many persons of Quality and eminent citizens resorted to him. But upon the proclamation for suppressing unlawful conventicles, on the 10th of March, 1667, he went to visit his old friends at Oxford, and to attend some affairs of his own estate not far from thence. However, he still continued to preach occasionally in a private manner, upon which endeavours were used to apprehend him. And intelligence being given of the house where he lay, some troopers of the militia came, and knocking at the door, the mistress of the house readily opened it, and asked if they sought for Dr. Owen: to which being answered that they did, she told them he went from her house that morning betimes: upon which they immediately rode off. In the mean time the Doctor, who she thought had been gone, as he told her he intended, (but who, as it seems, had fortunately overslept himself,) rose out of bed, and taking horse in a field near the house, rode straight to London. Fresh invitations were now given him to go to New England, but he did not think proper to leave his native country.

In 1671, when the bill to prevent and suppress what were called seditious conventicles was depending before the Lords, Dr. Owen was desired to draw up some reasons against it, and the paper was laid before the Lords by several eminent citizens and gentlemen of distinction: but the bill was notwithstanding passed into a law. However, the Doctor's moderation and learning procured him the friendship and esteem of several persons of honour and Quality, who very much delighted in his conversation; particularly the Earls of Orrery and Anglesey, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Berkeley, and Sir John Trevor, one of the Secretaries of State: and, what is more, even King Charles himself and

the Duke of York paid a particular respect to him. When the Doctor was drinking the waters at Tunbridge, the Duke of York being there, sent for him into his tent, and several conversations passed between them about conventicles and the Dissenters; and, after his return to London, the King sent for him, and discoursed with him about two hours together, assuring him of his favour and respect, and telling him he might have access to him as often as he would. At the same time, the King assured Dr. Owen, that he was much for liberty of conscience, and was sensible that the Dissenters had been injuriously treated; and, as a testimony thereof, gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities. The Doctor accepted the Royal bounty with proper acknowledgments, and faithfully applied it to the intended purpose.

Dr. Owen had also some friends among the Bishops, particularly Dr. Wilkins of Chester, and Barlow of Lincoln, formerly his tutor. Yet we are told that the latter failed him upon a particular occasion. The case was this: John Bunyan, Author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, had been confined to a gaol twelve years on account of his nonconformity. Now there was a law, that if any two persons would go to the Bishop of the Diocese, and offer a cautionary bond, that the prisoner should conform in half a year, the Bishop might release him. Dr. Owen being desired to give his bond in Bunyan's behalf, readily consented; upon which application being made to the Bishop, his Lordship professed he was ready even to strain a point for the Doctor, but that this being a new thing, he desired time to consider of it. Being waited on again about a fortnight after, he said, that indeed he was informed he might do it; but that the law provided, that in case the bishop refused, application should be made to the Lord Chancellor, who thereupon should issue an order to the Bishop, to take the cautionary bond, and release the prisoner. Now, continued he, you know what a critical time this is, and I have many enemies; I would desire you to move the Lord Chancellor in the case, and upon his order I will do it. And when it was replied, that this method would be attended with more expence than Bunyan (z) could supply, yet the Bishop refused to do it upon

(z) JOHN BUNYAN was born at Elitow, near Bedford, in the year 1628. His parents, though very poor, took care to give him that learning which was suitable to their condition, bringing him up to read and write. His father was a tinker, and he exercised the same trade. He was at first very vicious, but at length became a thoughtful and pious man; and, in 1653, was baptized, and admitted among the Baptists; among whom

he afterwards became an eminent and zealous teacher. In 1645, he served as a soldier in the Parliament army, at the siege of Leicester. But some years after he was chosen preacher to a Baptist congregation at Bedford. He suffered much for his attachment to the principles of the Nonconformists, being apprehended as he was preaching and confined twelve years in Bedford gaol. During his imprisonment, we are told that he chiefly supported himself

upon other terms : and this way was at last taken, and the poor man released, but without much obligation to the Bishop.

Dr. Owen began now to sink under the weight of age and infirmities. Some few years before he died, he was often ill, and sometimes kept his bed and chamber ; yet whenever he was able to sit up, he would be continually writing, when not prevented by company. But finding himself grow worse, he went to Kennington for the benefit of the air, and lived there for some time. One day, as he was coming from thence to London, two informers seized upon his coach and horses in the Strand, upon which a

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mob

himself by making many an hundred groce of long-tagged thread laces, which he had learned to do since his confinement. At this time also he wrote many of his tracts. When he obtained his liberty, he employed himself in preaching and writing ; and made it also a part of his business to travel into several parts of England, to visit pious persons of his own opinions, and confirm them in their religious sentiments and practice, which procured him the epithet of Bishop Bunyan. When the declaration of James II. for liberty of conscience was published, he, by the contributions of his followers, built a meeting-house in Bedford, and there preached constantly to a numerous audience. In 1688, having been on a journey to reconcile a young gentleman to his father, which he effected, on his return being overtaken with excessive rains, he contracted a cold, which threw him into a fever, of which he died, at the house of Mr. Straddock, a grocer, on Snowhill, London, on the 12th of August that year. He had by his wife four children, one of whom, named Mary, was blind. This daughter, he said, lay nearer his heart while he was in prison, than all the rest. He wrote a great number of books, as many, it is said, as he was years old : though his library, during his long confinement, consisted only, we are told, of the Bible and the Book of Martyrs. His master-piece is his PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, one of the most popular books ever published. It has passed through at least thirty-three Editions, and has been translated into several languages. The allegory is well car-

ried on in this performance, which, in point of invention, has been preferred to Bishop Patrick's PILGRIM. The Works of Bunyan were collected together in 1736 and 1737, and published in two Volumes, Folio ; and they have been since re-printed. The "Relation of his Imprisonment," with his "Prison Meditations," in verse, were first published in 1765, in 12mo.

The Continuator of his Life, in the second Volume of his Works, tells us, ' that he appeared in countenance ' to be of a stern and rough temper, ' but in his conversation mild and ' affable ; not given to loquacity, or ' much discourse in company, unless ' some urgent occasion required it ; ' observing never to boast of himself ' or his parts, but rather seem low in ' his own eyes and submit himself to ' the judgment of others ; abhorring ' lying and swearing ; being just in ' all that lay in his power to his ' word ; not seeking to revenge injuries ; loving to reconcile differences, ' and making friendship with all. ' He had a sharp quick eye, a companioned with an excellent discerning of ' persons, being of good judgment ' and quick wit. As for his person, ' he was tall of stature, strong boned, ' though not corpulent : somewhat of ' a ruddy face, with sparkling eyes, ' wearing his hair on the upper lip, ' after the old British fashion ; his ' hair reddish, but in his latter days ' time had sprinkled it with grey ; ' his nose well-set, but not declining ' or bending, and his mouth moderate large ; his forehead somewhat ' high, and his habit always plain and ' modest.'

mob quickly gathered about him. But Sir Edmundbury Godfrey happening to come by, and seeing a mob, asked the cause; and being a Justice of peace, ordered the informers and the Doctor to meet him at a Justice of peace's house near Bloomsbury-square upon a day appointed, and he would get some other of his brethren to be there to hear the cause. They met accordingly, and Sir Edmund being in the chair, upon examination they found the informers had acted illegally, and discharged the Doctor, not without reprimanding them; after which he was no more disturbed by them. From Kensington he removed to Ealing, to a house of his own, where he died on the 24th of August, 1683, in the 67th year of his age. His corpse was carried from Ealing to the burying-ground in Bunhill-fields, his hearse being attended with a great number of Noblemen's and gentlemen's coaches and six, and many gentlemen on horseback. He was interred in a new vault towards the east end of that burying-place, over which was erected an altar-monument of free-stone, with an epitaph in Latin.

Dr. OWEN was in his person tall and comely, of a grave and majestic countenance, and had much dignity in his air and manner. He was a man of piety and probity, of great learning and industry, and extremely eloquent. Dr. Calamy says, "he was a man of universal reading, and had digested to it. He was especially conversant in those sciences that are assistant to Divinity, and master of them in an unusual degree. He was reckoned the Brightest Ornament of the University of Oxford, and for several years successively was Vice-Chancellor there (a)." And Anthony Wood, though he says many severe things of Dr. Owen, acknowledges that "he was a person well skilled in the tongues, " Rabbinical learning, Jewish rites and customs; that he had a " great command of his English pen, and was one of the most " genteel and fairest Writers who have appeared against the " Church of England."—He also adds, " His personage was " proper and comely, and he had a very graceful behaviour in " the pulpit, an eloquent elocution, a winning and insinuating " deportment, and could by the persuasion of his oratory, in " conjunction with some other outward advantages, move and " wind the affections of his admiring auditory almost as he " pleased (b)."

Dr. OWEN was a very voluminous Writer, his Works amounting to seven Volumes in Folio, twenty in Quarto, and about thirty in Octavo. Among which are the following: 1. An Exposition on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in four Volumes, Folio, Lond.

(a) Calamy's Abridgement, P. 229. (b) *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Vol. II. Col. 558, 559. Edit. 1692.

Lond. 1668. 2. A Discourse of the Holy Spirit, 1674. Folio.
3. A Collection of Sermons and Tracts, Folio. 4. Theolo-
goumena; sive de Natura, Ortu, Progressu, et Studio, Veræ
Theologiæ, 4to. 1661. 5. An Enquiry into the true nature,
power, and communion of Evangelical churches; in two parts,
4to. 6. A Vindication of the Nonconformists from the charge
of Schism, in answer to Dr. Stillingfleet, 1686. 4to. 7. An
Account of the Nature of the Protestant Religion, 4to. 8. The
Divine Original and Authority of the Scriptures, 1659. 8vo.



The Life of Sir. JOHN MAYNARD.

THIS eminent and learned Lawyer was eldest son to Alexander Maynard, Esq; of Tavistock in Devonshire, where he was born about the year 1602. He became a Commoner of Exeter-College, Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1618, and having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he went to the Middle Temple, and applied himself to the study of the Common Law. And being called to the bar, and countenanced by William Noy, the Attorney-General, he was much resorted to for his counsel.

In 1640, he was chosen a Member for Totness, in his native county, to serve in that Parliament which assembled at Westminster on the 13th of April that year; and again for that Parliament which began on the 3d of November following. He was now become very eminent as a pleader, and having also discovered his aversion to the despotic measures of Charles and his Ministers, he was appointed one of the managers of the evidence against the Earl of Strafford.

On this occasion he very much exerted himself. He asserted, that what was charged against Strafford, 'was a treason not of a single act, but a habit; a trade, which this great Lord had exercised ever since his Majesty had bestowed any favours on him. That it tended to deprive them of their antient laws, and, instead of them, to introduce an arbitrary Government, bounded by no laws, but the evil counsel of such Ministers as he had been. That other treasons could extend but to the life of the reigning Prince, and he might be succeeded by another, who might support the glory and justice of his Throne; but if such a design as this should take effect, *Law and Justice* would be taken from the Throne, and *Will* placed there, and they must despair of seeing any remedy.'

Amongst a great variety of particulars which were charged against the Earl of Strafford, one was, that he had ingrossed all the flax in the kingdom of Ireland, and enjoined it by an arbitrary proclamation to be wrought in such a manner as the natives were unpractised in; and had caused to be illegally seized, all such flax and yarn as had been manufactured in a different manner from what he had prescribed. And evidence was given, that these violent and unjust seizures had occasioned great disorders and much distress in Ireland, the flax manufacture being the greatest in that kingdom; and that in Ulster in particular, the whole

whole province was impoverished by reason of Strafford's proclamations, and many thousands famished, and that great cruelties were used in the execution of his warrants. The Earl observed, amongst other things, in his own justification, that the intent of the proclamations was good, that they were signed by others as well as by him, and that if the Officers had been guilty of any abuse, they must answer for it. To which Mr. Maynard replied, 'That a *good intention* would never bear his Lordship out in such acts of oppression, as the taking away of men's goods, and the applying them to his own use. That there could not be greater evidence against him, than his maintaining, in the face of the kingdom, that a proclamation was a temporary law, by which men's houses might be broke open, and their goods taken away; and this proved what they charged him with, *viz.* *That he would erect a Government that should depend merely upon Will.* And though his Lordship said, he had offended with good company, he himself was the principal: and though they were to blame to be guided by him, it was no extenuation of his crime that he had drawn others in. And as to the Officers employed in the seizure of the subjects goods, he ought to answer for the actions of his agents, who seized for his use, and brought the goods into his looms.'

Mr. Maynard was also appointed one of the managers of the evidence against Archbishop Laud. He was also pitched upon, in 1644, together with Bulstrode Whitlocke, at the particular desire of the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the other Commissioners from that kingdom, to consult with them and the Lord General Fairfax about the best method of proceeding against Cromwell as an incendiary between the two kingdoms. He was also one of the Laymen nominated in the ordinance of the Lords and Commons to sit with the Assembly of Divines.

He had now long been possessed of a very lucrative and extensive practice, in consequence of his great reputation as an eloquent and learned pleader. And Whitlocke tells us, that "it was reported that Mr. Maynard got in one circuit, in 1647, seven hundred pounds, which was believed to be more than any one of the profession ever got before." In 1653, he was by writ called to the degree of Serjeant at Law; and on the 1st of May following he was made, by patent, the Protector's Serjeant.

Notwithstanding the Part which he had taken during the course of the civil wars, he was, after the Restoration, called again to be Serjeant at Law in the beginning of June, 1660, and made the King's Serjeant on the 9th of November following, and received the honour of Knighthood from King Charles II. on the 16th of the same month. He was also about this time appointed to be one of the Judges, but he declined the acceptance of this preferment. He did not, it seems, chuse to give up his practice, for a post which, though of greater dignity, was probably

bably less lucrative, and from which he might be removed at the King's pleasure.

In 1661, he was chosen Member for Beralston in Devonshire ; and when he saw the pernicious tendency of the measures of Charles's Ministers, he engaged in the opposition to Administration. He was also chosen a Member of the next Parliament, and of that which began on the 17th of October, 1679 ; and was one of the Committee appointed to manage the evidence against William Viscount Stafford, impeached of high treason for being concerned in the Popish Plot. And in the Parliament which assembled at Westminster on the 21st of October, 1680, he was Member for the Borough of Plymouth. And in the reign of James II. he again sat in Parliament as Member for Beralston.

Sir John Maynard was a Member of the Convention which brought about the Revolution, and was active in promoting that important event. Being appointed one of the managers of the conference between the Lords and Commons, on the words *Abdicated*, and *Vacancy of the Throne*, in a vote of the Commons (c), he said in the course of the debate, ' If the attempting of the utter destruction of the subject, and subversion of the constitution, be not as much an abdication as the attempting of a father to cut his son's throat, I know not what is.——My Lords, the constitution, notwithstanding the vacancy, is the same ; the laws that are the foundations and rules of that constitution are the same. But if there be, in any particular instance, a breach of that constitution, there will be an *Abdication*, and that *Abdication* will infer a *Vacancy*. '——' When the whole kingdom, and the Protestant religion, our laws and liberties, have been in danger of being subverted, an enquiry must be made into the Authors and Instruments of this attempt ; and if he, who had the Administration intrusted to him, be found the Author and Actor in it, what can that be, but a renunciation of his trust, and consequently his place thereby vacant ? ' And some points of law being started, he said, ' It we look but into the law of nature, (that is above all human laws) we have enough to justify us in what we are now doing, to provide for ourselves and the public weal in such an exigency as this.'

He discovered great vigour of mind at this important crisis, though he was now at a very advanced age. Burnet has recorded a *Bon Mot* of his, on his first waiting on the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III. The Prelate, after having observed that the Bishops, Clergy, and other bodies, went to pay their

(c) The vote was as follows :
 ' Resolved, That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and people ; and
 ' by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath
 ' abdicated the Government, and that
 ' the Throne is thereby vacant.'

their compliments to his Highness, says, ‘ Old Serjeant Maynard came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The Prince took notice of his great age, and said, that he had out-lived all the men of the law of his time. He answered, “ He had like to have out-lived the law itself, if his Highness had not come over.”

On the 2d of March, 1688-9, Sir John Maynard was constituted one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England. Next year he was chosen Member of Parliament for Plymouth; and being grown very infirm in consequence of his great age, he resigned his Commissioner’s place soon after. He died in his house at Gonnersbury, in the parish of Elyng, in the county of Middlesex, on the 9th of October, 1690; and a few days after, his body, being attended thither by a large train of coaches, was interred in the church at Elyng.

Sir JOHN MAYNARD was one of the greatest Lawyers of his time, a very able and eloquent pleader, and profoundly skilled in the laws of his country. He practised at the bar near threescore years, and was always firmly attached to a free and limited Government. Mr. Wood, though he was no friend to him, on account of the cause which he espoused, acknowledges, that he “ was a person who, by his great reading and knowledge in the more profound and perplexed parts of the law, did long since procure the known repute of being one of the chief dictators of the Long Robe, and by his great practice for many years together did purchase to himself no small estate.” The same Writer observes, that he was always a great friend to the University of Oxford; and he is said to have been pious, generous, and charitable.



The Life of JOHN HOWE.

JOHAN HOWE was born on the 17th of May, 1630, at Loughborough in Leicestershire; of which town his father was Minister, having been settled there by Archbishop Laud, but was afterwards ejected by the same Prelate, on account of his connecting himself with the Puritans. This occasioned his removal into Ireland, where he continued till the rebellion which broke out in that kingdom obliged him to return to England. He then settled in the county palatine of Lancaster; where our Author was educated in the rudiments of learning, and the knowledge of the languages. He was sent from thence to Christ's College in Cambridge; 'where (says Dr. Calamy) falling among such persons as Dr. Henry More, and Dr. Cudworth, of both whom he was a great admirer, I think it is not to be wondered at, that in his early days he received that Platonic tincture, which so remarkably runs through the Writings which he drew up and published in his advanced years. As for Dr. More, there was an intimacy between him and Mr. Howe, that continued till the Doctor's death (d).'

He staid at Cambridge till he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then removed to Oxford. Mr. Wood says, that he was of Brazen-nose College in Oxon, and Bible-Clerk there in Michaelmas term, 1648; and that he there took his Bachelor's degree on the 18th of January, 1649, it being no uncommon thing to take the same degree in both Universities. He followed his studies close; and his great attainments in learning, joined with his exemplary piety, so recommended him, that he was at length duly elected Fellow of Magdalen College, after he had been made Demy by the Parliament Visitors.

The famous Dr. Thomas Goodwin (e) was President of the College, at the time that Mr. Howe was one of the Fellows of it.

(d) Memoirs of the Life of the late Rev. Mr. John Howe, collected by Edmund Calamy, D. D. 8vo. 1724. P. 5---7.

(e) Dr. THOMAS GOODWIN was born in the county of Norfolk, and was educated for some time in Christ's College in Cambridge, from whence he removed to Catherine-

Hall, of which he became Fellow. He was one of those who fled into Holland in the time of Charles the First, to avoid the censures of episcopal consistories; where remaining till the beginning of the Long Parliament, he returned to England, and became one of the Assembly of Divines. But disliking their proceedings,

it. And Goodwin had what Dr. Calamy calls a *gathered Church* among the scholars of that house; and finding that Mr. Howe, who had an established reputation among them, did not offer himself to join with them, he took an occasion to speak to him about it, when they two were by themselves; and signified his surprize, that one of his character for serious piety, should not embrace such an opportunity of Christian fellowship, which might be likely to have many good consequences attending it. Mr. Howe with great frankness told him, that the true and only reason why he had been so silent about that matter, was because he understood they laid a considerable stress among them, upon some distinguishing peculiarities, for which he had no fondness, though he could give others their liberty to take their own way, without censuring them, or having any unkind thoughts of them; but that if they would admit him into their society upon *Catholic terms*, he would readily become one of them. Dr. Goodwin embraced him, and told him he would do it with all his heart; and that to his knowledge, it would be much to the satisfaction and edification of all that were concerned: and he thereupon became a member of that society (f).

Mr. Howe's promotion and reputation in the College, and through the University, was an additional motive to his assiduous application to his studies; which was so great, that he furnished himself with a large fund of rational and theological learning, the fruits whereof were very conspicuous in his following life. He took the degree of Master of Arts on the 9th of July, 1652. And by this time he had not only gone through a

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course

ings, he left them, and about the same time had preferment conferred upon him. He was one of the favourites of Oliver Cromwell, who constituted him President of Magdalen College in Oxford, and appointed him a Trier or Commissioner for the approbation of public preachers. He attended Cromwell upon his death-bed, and was very confident that he would not die, from a supposed revelation communicated to him in a prayer, but a few minutes before his death. It is said, that when he found himself mistaken, he exclaimed, in a subsequent address to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." He was removed from his Presidentship soon after the Restoration, and afterwards retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his Ministry as long as he lived. He was a very considerable scholar, and an eminent Divine; and in the common register at Oxford he is said to be *in Scriptis*

in re Theologica quamplurimis orbi notus.

The Authors of his character prefixed to his Works inform us, that "he was much addicted to retirement and deep contemplation, had been much exercised in the controversies agitated in the age in which he lived, and had a deep insight into the grace of GOD, and the covenant of grace." Mr. Wood files him and Dr. Owen "the two Atlases and Patriarchs of Independency." He died on the 23d of February, 1679, aged eighty years, and was buried in Bunhill-fields. His Works have been published in four Volumes, Folio. He was the independent Minister and Head of a College, mentioned in No. 494 of the Spectator. *Vid.* Athen. Oxon. Calamy's Abridgment, P. 225. and Granger's Biographical Hist. of England, Vol. II. P. 211.

(f) Calamy's Life of Howe, P. 10, 11.

course of Philosophy, conversed closely with the Heathen Moralists, read over the accounts we have remaining of Pagan Theology, the Writings of the Schoolmen, and several systems and common places of the Reformers, and the Divines that succeeded them ; but had thoroughly studied the Sacred Scriptures, and from thence drawn up a body of Divinity for his own use.

After taking his last degree, Mr. Howe became a preacher, and was ordained by Mr. Charles Herle at his church of Winwick in Lancashire. This Mr. Herle was a very eminent man in those times ; and upon the death of Dr. Twisse was chosen Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In his parish there were several chapels, and the Ministers who officiated in them assisted at Mr. Howe's ordination. And he would often say, that this Mr. Herle was a primitive Bishop, and the assistants in his several chapels were his Clergy ; and they joining in laying on hands upon him, he thought few in modern times had so truly primitive an ordination as he. And Mr. Howe always spoke of Mr. Herle with a very great and particular respect (g).

Some time after, he was called to the stated exercise of his Ministry in the town of Great Torrington, in the county of Devon, where he discharged the duties of his function in a most exemplary and laborious manner. In 1654, he married the daughter of Mr. George Hughes, an eminent Divine of Plymouth. After this, having had occasion to take a journey to London, and being detained there longer than he intended, he had the curiosity to go one Sunday to be an auditor at the chapel at Whitehall. Cromwell, who was present, and who generally had his eyes every where, spied out Mr. Howe in the auditory, and knowing him by his garb to be a country Minister, and thinking he discerned something more than ordinary in his countenance, sent a message to him, to desire to speak to him when Divine Service should be over. Upon his coming to him, Cromwell requested him to preach before him the Sunday following. Mr. Howe was surprized with the unexpected motion, and modestly desired to be excused. Cromwell told him it was a vain thing to attempt to excuse himself, for that he would take no denial. Mr. Howe pleaded, that having dispatched what business he had in town, he was tending homewards, and could not be absent any longer without inconvenience. Cromwell enquired what great damage he was liable to sustain by tarrying a little longer ? Mr. Howe replied, that his people, who were very kind to him, would be uneasy, and think he slighted them. Cromwell promised to write to them himself, and to send down one to supply his place, and actually did so ; and Mr. Howe staid and preached as he was desired. And when he had given him one sermon, Cromwell still pressed for a second and a third ; and at last, after a great deal of free conversation in private, nothing would serve him, but he must

must have him to be his household Chaplain, and he would take care his place should be supplied at Torrington to the full satisfaction of the people. Mr. Howe did all that lay in his power to excuse himself, and get off; but no denial would be admitted. And at length, though not without great reluctance, he was prevailed with to comply, and removed with his family to Whitehall, where several of his children were born: and Dr. Calamy supposes it to have been at this time that he became, as Wood informs us he was, Lecturer of St. Margaret's church in Westminster. Certain it is, that he was at this period a celebrated preacher, and generally respected: and it has been observed, that there was hardly any man that was in an eminent public station in those critical times, and that was admitted to the knowledge of so many secrets as he, that was so free from censure, in the changes that afterwards succeeded (*b*).

Mr. Howe embraced in his present situation every occasion that offered of promoting the interests of religion and learning, and was very ready to do kind offices to men of merit among the Royalists. He befriended several with his advice and interest upon their being obliged to appear before the *Triers*, in order to the having their approbation before their being allowed to officiate in public as Ministers. Among the rest who applied to him for advice upon that occasion, the celebrated Dr. Thomas Fuller was one. That gentleman, who was generally upon the merry pin, being to take his turn before these *Triers*, of whom he had a very formidable notion, thus accosted Mr. Howe, when he applied to him for advice: "Sir," said he, "you may observe I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait, I beg you would be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through." He freely gave him his advice, and he promised to follow it; and when he appeared before them, and they proposed to him the usual question, "Whether he had ever had any experience of a work of Grace upon his heart?" he gave this in for answer, "that he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts, that he made conscience of his very thoughts:" with which answer they were satisfied. Mr. Howe was, indeed, so generous in using his interest on the behalf of persons of any worth who applied to him, that Cromwell once told him, that he had obtained many favours for others; but, says he, "I wonder when the time is to come that you will move for any thing for yourself, or your family."

Whilst Mr. Howe continued in Cromwell's family, he was often put upon secret services; but they were always honourable, and such as according to the best of his judgment might be to the benefit either of the public, or of particular persons. But notwithstanding the share which he enjoyed of Cromwell's favour, he once offended him by preaching against the notion of a particular

(*b*) Calamy, F. 16, 17, 18.

particular faith in prayer, which prevailed much in the Protector's Court. It was a common opinion among them, that such as were in a special manner favoured of GOD, when they offered up prayers and supplications to him for his mercies, either for themselves or others, often had such impressions made upon their minds and spirits by a Divine Hand, as signified to them, not only in the general that their prayers would be heard, and graciously answered, but that the particular mercies that were sought for, would be certainly bestowed; nay, and sometimes also intimated to them in what way and manner they would be afforded. Mr. Howe being fully convinced of the ill tendency of such an opinion, set himself industriously to oppose it in a sermon before Cromwell, and to beat down that spiritual pride and confidence, which such fancied impulses and impressions were apt to produce and cherish. Oliver heard him with great attention, but was observed sometimes to knit his brows, and discover great uneasiness. When the sermon was over, a person of distinction came to Mr. Howe, and asked him if he knew what he had done? and signified it to him as his apprehension, that Cromwell would be so incensed upon that discourse, that he would find it very difficult ever to make his peace with him, or secure his favour for the future. Mr. Howe replied, that he had but discharged his conscience, and could leave the event with GOD. He told Dr. Calamy, that he afterwards observed, that Cromwell was cooler in his carriage to him than before; and sometimes he thought he would have spoken to him of the matter, but he never did, and rather chose to forbear.

When Oliver died, his son Richard succeeded him as Protector; and Mr. Howe stood in the same relation to the son, as he had done to the father. He was still Chaplain at Court, when in October, 1658, he met with the Congregational Brethren at the Savoy, at the time of their drawing up their Confession of Faith, &c. And though he meddled not with State affairs, neither then nor afterwards, yet he has often been heard to say, that he was in his judgment very much against Richard's parting with his Parliament, which he easily foresaw would issue in his own ruin. A friend of Mr. Howe's once discoursing freely with him, about the setting Richard aside, he intimated to him, that it was but a parenthesis in a public paper, that was the occasion of the great ill will of the Officers to him, which rose at length to that height, that nothing would satisfy him but the pulling him down. And when the same person signified in a conversation with Mr. Howe, that he had heard Richard reflected on as a weak man, he with some warmth made this return, "How could he be a weak man, "when upon the Remonstrance that was brought from the army "by his brother Fleetwood, he stood it out all night against his "whole Council, and continued the debate till four o'clock in "the morning, having none but Thurloe to abet him; main-

"taining,

"taining, that the dissolving that Parliament would be both his
"ruin and their's!"

Upon some farther discourse on the same subject, Mr. Howe told his friend, that Fleetwood undertook with great solemnity, that if Richard would but comply with the proposal that was made him, the army would not do him the least damage. And he said, that when Fleetwood was afterwards put in mind of this, all the answer he returned was, that he thought he had more interest in the army than he found he had. And Mr. Howe added, that accidentally meeting with Major-General Berry, who was in those times very active and busy, some time after the Restoration, when he was but in very mean circumstances, he very freely told him, with tears running down his cheeks, that if Richard had but at that time hanged up him, and nine or ten more, the nation might have been happy (i).

After the deposition of Richard, Mr. Howe returned to his people at Torrington, and continued his labours among them till the Restoration; but he now met with some disturbance in the discharge of his ministerial function, and at length was finally ejected from his Living, in 1662, in consequence of the Act of Uniformity. Some time after this, he accidentally fell into the company of the learned Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, who had a great esteem for him; and who entering into a free and pleasant conversation with him, in his usual manner, told him, that the Act of Uniformity had had such consequences as a little surprized him. Some, he said, that he should have thought much too stiff and rigid ever to have fallen in with the Establishment, had complied and conformed, while others that he thought had a sufficient *latitude* to have conformed, had stood out, and continued Nonconformists: and he intimated to Mr. Howe, that he took him for one of the latter sort, and should therefore be glad to know the reasons of his conduct. Mr. Howe very frankly told him, that he had weighed that matter with all the impartiality he was able, and had not so slender a concern for his own usefulness and comfort, as not to have been willing and desirous to have been under the Establishment, could he but have compassed it with satisfaction to his conscience. But that the giving him a particular account of the workings of his mind upon that occasion, (which he was free to do without any reserve, when a convenient opportunity offered) would take up much more time than they then had to spend together; and that so many things were necessarily to be touched upon in a discourse on that subject, that it was not possible for it to be crowded into a transient conversation, and therefore he should reserve it to a season, when, having more time, he might have more scope for enlarging: but one thing, he added, he could tell him with assurance, which was this, That that *latitude* of his, which he was pleased

(i) Calamy, P. 25, 26.

pleased to take notice of, was so far from inducing him to Conformity, that it was the very thing that made and kept him a Nonconformist. Dr. Wilkins asked him, whether the *Discipline* of the Church was the thing from whence he drew his chief objection? To which Mr. Howe replied, that he could not by any means be fond of a church, that in reality had no *Discipline* at all, and that he thought that a very considerable objection against the Establishment. The Doctor told him, that though he was sensible there might not then be room for coming to a variety of particulars, yet he should be glad of a general hint from him, about what was his great hindrance in the case, leaving the enlargement to a farther opportunity, which he should readily embrace. Mr. Howe then went on, and intimated to him, that he took the public exercise of his Ministry to be like an habitation or dwelling; and that when he was put upon consulting about a dwelling, he could not tell how to reconcile it with common prudence, to enter into an habitation, that he was apprehensive had so weak a foundation, as that it was not likely to stand very long. "I could not," said he, "by any means be for going into a falling house, for fear of its falling about my ears. Of this nature I take the present Constitution to be, compared with that flourishing state of real vital religion, which I think I have sufficient warrant from the word of GOD to expect and look for." To which the Doctor made this reply: "I understand you well; and if that be your sense, take this advice from a friend; don't think to gain any thing by sneaking or crouching, but bear up against us boldly and bravely; stand to your principle, and sooner or later you may hope to carry your point." (k)

Mr. Howe being now ejected and silenced, continued for some time in the county of Devon, preaching in private houses, among his friends and acquaintance, as he had opportunity. Having preached at the house of a gentleman in those parts, and spent some few days with him, he at his return home was told, that an Officer belonging to the Bishop's Court had been to enquire after him, and left word that there was a citation out, both against him, and the gentleman at whose house he had preached. Hereupon he took horse the next morning, and rode to Exeter, and alighting at the inn there which he usually called at, he stood awhile at the gate, considering which way he had best to steer his course. While he stood musing, a certain dignified Clergyman, with whom he was well acquainted, happening to pass by, looked on him with some surprize, and saluted him with this question, Mr. Howe, what do you do here? To which he replied with another question, Pray, Sir, what have I done, that I may not be here? Upon which he told him, that there was a process out against him, and that being so well known as he was,
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he did not at all question but that if he did not take care of himself, he would be taken up in a very little time. Among other discourse that passed, he asked him whether he would not go and wait upon the Bishop? He said, he thought not to do it, unless his Lordship hearing of his being in that city, should think fit to invite him. Upon this, he advised him to call for a room, and wait there a little, and told him he would go to the Bishop, and let him know that he was there, and return to him again, and give him an account what his Lordship said to it. He accordingly left him, and soon returned, and brought him an invitation from the Bishop, who sent word he should be glad to see him. Accordingly waiting on his Lordship, he received him with great civility, as his old acquaintance. The Bishop presently fell to expostulating with him about his Nonconformity. Mr. Howe told his Lordship, he could not have time, without greatly trespassing upon his patience, to go through the several objections which he had to make against the terms of Conformity. The Bishop pressed him to name any one that he reckoned to be of weight. He thereupon instanced in the point of *Re-ordination*. Why, pray, Sir, said the Bishop to him, What hurt is there in being twice ordained? *'Hurt? my Lord,'* says Mr. Howe to him, *'the thought is shocking; it hurts my understanding; it is an absurdity: for nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure, said he, I am a Minister of CHRIST, and am ready to debate that matter with your Lordship, if you please; and I can't begin again to be a Minister.'* The Bishop then dropping that matter, told Mr. Howe, as he had done at other times, that if he would come in amongst them, he might have considerable preferments, and at length dismissed him in a very friendly manner. And as his Lordship did not take the least notice to him of the process that was issued out against him, so neither did he take any notice of it to his Lordship: but, taking his leave, he mounted his horse, and rode home, and heard no more of that matter, either with respect to the gentleman, or himself (1).

In 1671, Mr. Howe went to Ireland, where he lived as Chaplain to Lord Massarene, in the parish of Antrim, and was received and treated with all imaginable respect. His great learning and Christian temper, together with his patron's interest and influence, procured him the particular friendship of the Bishop of that Diocese, who, together with his Metropolitan, without requiring any Conformity, gave him free liberty to preach in the public church in that town every Sunday in the afternoon. And he manifested his truly peaceable and Christian spirit, both in his preaching and conversation, and was very serviceable to many. In 1675, upon the death of Dr. Lazarus Seaman, he received an invitation from a part of that gentleman's congregation to quit Ireland, and come and settle in London as their Minister, which

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he accordingly did, and preached to a considerable and judicious auditory, by whom he was singularly respected. In this situation he was much esteemed not only by his brethren in the Ministry among the Dissenters, but also by several eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Dr. Whichcote, Dr. Kidder, Dr. Fowler, Dr. Lucas (*m*), and others, whom he often conversed with, and that with great freedom and familiarity.

Besides the learned Divines just mentioned, Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of Mr. Howe's friends; and Dr. Calamy has published the following remarkable anecdote relative to this great man. In 1680, Dr. Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, preached a sermon at Court on Joshua, Ch. xxiv. 15. intitled, "The Protestant Religion vindicated from the charge of Singularity and Novelty." In this sermon this notion is advanced: that no man is obliged to preach against the religion of a country, though a false one, unless he has a power of working miracles. King Charles slept most of the time while the sermon was delivered. And a certain Nobleman stepped to him as soon as it was over, and said, "'Tis pity your Majesty slept; for we had the rarest piece of Hobbsism that ever you heard in your life.." "Ods fish, he shall print it then," says the King; and immediately called the Lord

(*m*) Dr. RICHARD LUCAS was the son of Richard Lucas, of Presteigne in Radnorshire, and born in that county about the year 1648. After a proper foundation at school, he was sent, in 1664, to Jesus College, Oxford, where, after taking both his degrees in Arts at the regular times, he entered into Holy Orders, about the year 1672, and was for some time master of the free-school at Abergavenny; but being much esteemed for his talents in the pulpit, he was chosen Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, London, and Lecturer of St. Olave in Southwark, in 1683. In 1691, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and was installed Prebendary of Westminster in 1696. His sight began to fail him in his youth, but he lost it totally about this time, and lived many years after this misfortune. He died on the 29th of June, 1715, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey, but there is no stone or monument there to point out the place of his interment.

It is somewhat remarkable, that so few particulars should have been preserved of the Life and character of a Divine of such distinguished merit.

We are only told in general, that he was greatly esteemed for his piety and learning; and, indeed, that he was a most excellent man, may be justly inferred from his Writings, which are exceedingly valuable, and will preserve his fame to late posterity.—His principal performance is, "An Enquiry after Happiness," in two Volumes, 8vo. which has passed through several Editions, and is justly held in high estimation. He also published, 1. "Practical Christianity, or an Account of the Holiness which the Gospel enjoins, with the motives to it, and the remedies it proposes against temptations." 8vo. 2. "The Morality of the Gospel." 3. "Christian thoughts for every day in the week." 4. "A Guide to Heaven." 5. "The Duty of Servants." 6. Several Sermons, in five Volumes, some of which were published by his son, who was of his own name, and survived him; and who was bred at Sidney College, Cambridge, where he took his Master of Arts degree. Dr. Lucas also translated into Latin the Whole Duty of Man, which was published in 1680, in 8vo.

Lord Chamberlain, and gave him his command to the Dean to print his sermon. When it came from the press, the Dean sent it as a present to Mr. Howe, as he usually did most of the things he printed. Mr. Howe immediately perused it, and was not a little troubled to find a notion advanced in it of so evil a tendency as that which hath been mentioned. Whereupon he drew up a long letter, in which he freely expostulated with the Dean, for giving such a wound to the Reformation; signifying to him, that Luther and Calvin were, happily for us, of another mind. The Christian religion, said he, both as to its precepts and promises, is already confirmed by miracles; and must it be repealed every time a wicked Governor thinks fit to establish a false religion? Must no one stand up for the true religion, till he can work a miracle? He signified to him how much he was grieved, that in a sermon against Popery, he should plead the Popish cause against all the Reformers; and insisted upon it, that we had incontestable evidence of the miracles wrought by the Apostles, and that we were bound to believe them, and take religion to be established by them, without any farther expectations. Mr. Howe carried the letter himself, and delivered it into the Dean's own hands; and he taking a general and cursory view of it, signified his willingness to talk that whole matter freely over; but said, they could not be together where they were without interruption, and therefore proposed a little journey into the country, that they might converse with the greater freedom. They accordingly agreed to go and dine that day with the Lady Falconberg (n) at Sutton-court, and Mr. Howe read over the letter to the Dean, and enlarged upon the contents of it, as they were travelling along together in his chariot. The good man at length, Dr. Calamy tells us, fell to weeping freely, and said that this was the most unhappy thing that had of a long time befallen him. I see, said he, what I have offered is not to be maintained. And he told Mr. Howe, that it was not his turn to preach on that day; but that he who should have been the preacher being sick, he was sent to by the Lord Chamberlain to supply his place. He added, that he had but little notice, and so considered the general

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(n) This Lady, who was third daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and who is said to have been a woman of great beauty, but of greater spirit, was second wife of Thomas Lord Viscount Falconberg. Bishop Burnet, who styles her a wife and worthy woman, says, that "she was more likely to have maintained the post (of Protector) than either of her brothers; according to a saying that went of her, That those who wore breeches deserved petticoats better; but if those in petticoats had been in breeches, they would have held

"faster." After the deposition of her brother Richard, she exerted herself in behalf of Charles II. and is said to have contributed much towards the Restoration. Mr. Granger observes, that he was informed by a person who knew her in the decline of life, that she was known to be very charitable; and that she frequented the established church. When she was in town, she went to St. Anne's, Soho, and when in the country, to Chiswick. --*Vid.* Biograph. Hist. of England, Vol. II. P. 101.

fears of Popery, and this text offered itself, and he thought the notion resulted from it. And, said he, immediately after preaching, I received a command from the King to print the sermon, and then it was not in my power to alter it (e).

In 1685, the Dissenters being much persecuted in every part of the kingdom, and Mr. Howe having an invitation given him by the Lord Wharton, to travel with him abroad into foreign parts, readily embraced it. And in the course of his travels with this Nobleman, he had the satisfaction of seeing many parts of Europe, and conversing freely, not only with a number of learned Papists, but several Protestant Divines, both Lutherans and Calvinists. In the mean time, he was not a little affected with the melancholy news of the swift advances they were making in England towards Popery and Slavery, which he most heartily lamented, as well as the hardships and severities which his non-conforming brethren met with in particular. And not having any encouragement from the present state of affairs to return home, he at length, in the year 1686, settled in the pleasant city of Utrecht. Here he took a house, and resided for some time, and had the Earl of Sutherland and his Countess, and some other English gentlemen, together with his two nephews, Mr. George and Mr. John Hughes, boarding with him. He took his turn of preaching at the English church in that city, with Mr. Matthew Mead, Mr. Woodcock, and Mr. Cross, who were there at the same time. They kept frequent days of solemn prayer together, on account of the threatening state of affairs in their own country: and Mr. Howe preached almost every Sunday evening in his own family. And there being several English Students then at that University, in order to their being fitted for future usefulness, Mr. Howe favoured some of them with hearing their orations and disputations in private, and giving them his particular instruction and advice in the prosecution of their studies, which some of them afterwards acknowledged to have been of great advantage to them. There were also several other worthy persons of the English nation at that time there, and in other parts of the United Provinces, that they might shelter themselves from prosecutions in their own country: such as Sir John Thompson, afterwards Lord Flaversham, Sir John Guise, Sir Patience Ward, and Mr. Papillon; among whom there was a good harmony and correspondence; and Mr. Howe received much respect from them, as well as from the Professors in that University (p).

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(e) Dr. Calamy, after relating the above, says, 'I am the better satisfied that there is no mistake as to the substance of this passage, because he from whom I had it, did not trust to his bare memory, but committed it to writing, presently after he received the account from Mr. Howe himself. And though such a story as this may make us sensible that the very best of men have their slips, yet am I far from thinking it a dishonour to this great man, to be open to conviction.'—*Life of Mr. John Howe*, P. 77, 78.

(p) Calamy, P. 126, 127.

Among others by whom he was visited while he continued at Utrecht, one was Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who also preached in the English church there, and very frankly declared for occasional communion with those of different sentiments. He and Mr. Howe conversed very freely upon a variety of subjects: and once discoursing of *Nonconformity*, Dr. Burnet told him, he was apprehensive that it could not subsist long; but that when Mr. Baxter, and Dr. Bates (q.), and he, and a few more, were once laid in their graves, it would sink and die, and come to nothing. Mr. Howe replied, that that must be left to GOD; though he at the same time intimated, that he had different apprehensions; and did not reckon it to depend upon *persons*, but upon *principle*, which, when taken up on grounds approved upon serious and sincere enquiry, could not be laid aside by men of conscience. The best way, he said, to put an end to *Nonconformity*, would be by giving due liberty under the national settlement, and laying aside needless clogs, that would give occasion to endless debates. Were this once done, there would be no room for a conscientious *Nonconformity*: but that without it, they could expect no other than that as some passed off the stage, others would rise up and fill their places, who would act upon

(q) WILLIAM BATES was born in the year 1625, and educated at the University of Cambridge. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1647, and was admitted Doctor of Divinity in 1660. Soon after the Restoration, he was appointed Chaplain to King Charles II. He was also Minister of St. Dunstons in the West, but was ejected from thence by the Act of Uniformity. He was one of the Commissioners at the conference in the Savoy in 1660, for reviewing the public Liturgy, and assisted in drawing up the exceptions against the Common Prayer. He was likewise chosen on the part of the Nonconformist Ministers, together with Dr. Jacob and Mr. Baxter, to manage the dispute with Dr. Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Sparrow, afterwards Bishop of Norwich.

Dr. Bates was honoured with the friendship of the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, the Lord Chancellor Finch, the Earl of Nottingham, and Archbishop Tillotson. He had been offered at the Restoration the Deanery of Coventry and Litchfield, which he re-

fused; and, according to Dr. Calamy, might have been afterwards raised to any Bishopric in the kingdom, if he would have conformed to the established Church. He resided for the latter part of his life at Hackney, and died on the 19th of July, 1699, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. During his life, he published a Collection of Lives of several eminent persons in Latin; and since his death his Works have been printed in one Volume, Folio.

Dr. Calamy says, that Dr. Bates "was generally reputed one of the best orators of the age; and was well-versed in the politer parts of learning, which so seasoned his conversation, as to render it highly entertaining to the more sensible part of mankind. His apprehension was quick and clear; and his reasoning faculty acute, prompt, and expert." — "His judgment penetrating and solid, stable and firm. His memory was admirable, and never failed that any one could observe, nor was impaired to the last at the age of seventy-four. His language was always neat and fine, but unaffected. — His method in all his discourses might be exposed to the most critical

upon the same principles as they had done before them ; though he hoped with a due moderation and temper towards those of different sentiments (*r*).

While Mr. Howe continued in Holland, the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III. did him the honour to admit him several times into his presence, and discoursed with him with great freedom : and he ever after retained a particular respect for him. Dr. Calamy tells us, that Mr. Howe himself once informed him of some very private conversation he had with that Prince, upon his sending for him, not long before his death. Among other things, the King then asked him a great many questions about his old master Oliver, as he called him, and seemed not a little pleased with the answers that were returned to some of his questions.

After the Revolution, Mr. Howe discharged the duties of his ministerial function in a diligent and exemplary manner, labouring much to promote the interests of real, practical religion ; and endeavouring as much as he could to diffuse a spirit of candour, charity, and mutual forbearance, among the rest of his dissenting brethren. He died on the 2d of April, 1705, (*s*) and was interred in St. Allhallow's church in Bread-street.

JOHN HOWE was a man of distinguished piety and virtue, of great learning and abilities, of a generous, benevolent, and candid spirit, and of polite and engaging manners. Dr. Calamy says, " As to his person he was very tall, and exceeding graceful.

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critical censurer. His stile was inimitably polite, and yet easy, and his very voice was charming. His conversation was much coveted by persons of all qualities, and that even when those of his character were prosecuted with the utmost rigours.—He had a Catholic spirit, and was for an entire union of all visible Christians, upon moderate principles and practices. He was not for further impositions than the nature of things required ; nor for having the church less free than CHRIST had left it. And yet for peace and union's sake, he would have yielded to any thing but sin. He was for free communion of all visible Christians, of whatsoever persuasion in extra-essential matters, if they pleased."

Mr. Granger says, that Dr. Bates " was a man of a good and amiable character ; much a scholar, much a gentleman, and no less a Christian. His moderation, and sweetness of temper, were known to all that conversed with him ; among whom were emi-

nent and pious men of various persuasions. Dr. Tillotson's friendship for him began early ; and as his merit was invariably the same, it continued without interruption, to the end of that Prelate's life. His abilities qualified him for the highest dignities in the church ; and it is certain that great offers were made him ; but he could never be prevailed with to conform.—He is esteemed the politest Writer of his age, among the Presbyterians."

(*r*) Calamy, P. 128.

(*s*) Among others who visited him in his last sickness, one was Richard Cromwell, who was now grown old, and had lived many years retired from the world, since the time when Mr. Howe was his domestic Chaplain. But hearing that he was near his end, he came to make him a respectful visit, and take his farewell of him before he died. There was much serious discourse passed between them, and their parting was solemn and affectionate.

He had a very good presence, and a piercing, but pleasant eye ; and there was that in his looks and carriage, that discovered he had something within that was uncommonly great, and tended to excite veneration. His intellectual accomplishments were eminent. He was one of great abstractedness of thought, a strong reasoner, and one that had a very penetrating judgment, which carried him as deep into a subject, as most men ever went that handled it. He had bright natural parts, and they were greatly improved by study and experience. He had an admirable way of thinking upon any subject that offered ; and many times very surprizing turns in discoursing upon it.—His ministerial qualifications were singular : he could preach off hand with as great exactness, as many others upon the closest study. He delivered his sermons without notes, though he did not impose that method upon others.”

“ He had a truly great soul, and at the same time a very cool and moderate spirit ; and was an utter enemy to that uncharitable and censorious humour that is visible in so many. He did not (as appears from all his Writings) look upon religion as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, so much as a Divine discipline to reform the heart and life. In lesser matters, he could freely give others the liberty of their own sentiments ; and was as unwilling to impose, as to be imposed upon.”

“ He seems to have been born into this world, to support generous principles, a truly Catholic spirit, and an extensive charity. He was for carefully concealing or lessening the failings and imperfections of others.—But whenever he found men impetuous in asserting their own opinions, and peremptory in rejecting the judgment of others, when they had taken care to set things in a due light, and add a suitable evidence, 'twas his way to answer with silence ; not at all caring to argue with those, who instead of soberly and modestly enquiring into truth, were always for the last word, for which (for his part) he was for giving them full leave.”

Mr. Granger says, “ Mr. Howe was one of the most learned and polite Writers among the Dissenters. His reading in Divinity was very extensive : he was a good Orientalist, and understood several of the modern languages.—He was an admired preacher, but was sometimes too profound for ordinary capacities. There is an uncommon depth of thought in several of his Works.”

We have also the testimony of Anthony Wood in favour of our Author's character, though the Oxford Antiquarian is well known to have been no friend to Nonconformists. He tell us, that Mr. Howe “ was a person of neat and polite parts, and not of that “ sour and unpleasant converse, as most of his persuasion were : “ so moderate also and calm in those smaller matters under debate between the church and his party, that he had not so “ much as once interested himself in any fruitless quarrels of
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“ this kind, but hath applied himself wholly to more beneficial
 “ and useful discourses on practical subjects ; in which under-
 “ taking he hath acquitted himself so well, that his books are
 “ much read and commended by very many Conformists, who
 “ generally have them in good esteem.”

Among the Works of Mr. Howe, are the following : 1. A Treatise on the Blessedness of the Righteous, 8vo. 1668. 2. A Treatise of delighting in GOD, published in 1674. 3. The Reconcilableness of GOD's Prescience of the sins of men, with the wisdom and sincerity of his counsels and exhortations, and whatever other means he uses to prevent them : written by way of letter to the Honourable Robert Boyle. 4. A Treatise on the vanity of man as mortal. 5. Of Thoughtfulness for the morrow ; with an Appendix concerning the immoderate desire of foreknowing things to come. 6. Sundry Sermons and Discourses on different subjects. 7. Several Letters, &c. inserted in Dr. Calamy's account of his Life.



The Life of Dr. THOMAS WILLIS.

THIS eminent Physician was of a reputable family, and born at Great Bedwin in Wiltshire, on the 27th of January, 1621. He was instructed in grammar learning by Mr. Edward Sylvester, a school master of great note (1) in the parish of All-Saints, Oxford; and, in 1636, became a member of Christ's-church College. He applied himself to his studies with great vigour and industry, and in 1639 took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1642 that of Master. It is said, that he had at this time some thoughts of chusing Divinity for his profession; but he afterwards changed his mind, and applied himself to medical studies.

When Oxford was a Royal garrison, Mr. Willis with other students bore arms for the King; but he devoted his leisure hours to the study of physick, and took a Bachelor's degree in that faculty in 1646, when Oxford was surrendered to the Parliament. And Mr. Wood informs us, that he now "fell to the practice of physick, and every Monday kept Abingdon market. So that by his great care and industry he in short time became famous in those parts." He settled in a house opposite to Merton College, and appropriated a room in it to Divine service; where Mr. John Fell, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, whose sister

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(1) Of whom Mr. Wood gives the following account. 'EDWARD SYL-
' VESTER, who was a professed tutor
' in the Latin and Greek tongues for
' many years in a private house in
' All-Saints parish in Oxon, was born
' at Mansfield in Nottinghamshire,
' and had his sole education in Baliol-
' College. [He took the degree of
' Bachelor of Divinity in 1642.] He
' was the common drudge of the
' University, either to make, correct,
' or review the Latin sermons of cer-
' tain dull Theologits thereof, before
' they were to be delivered at St.
' Mary's; as also the Greek or Latin
' verses of others (as dull as the
' former) that were to be put in, or
' before books that occasionally were
' published. He lived to see several
' of his scholars to be heads of houses
' in this University: among whom
' were John Owen, Dean of Christ-
' church, John Wilkins, Warden of
' Wadham College, Henry Wilkin-
' son, Principal of Magdalen-hall,
' &c. who, with other scholars of his
' that were Doctors, Bachelors of
' Divinity, Law, and Physick, and
' Masters of Arts, had an annual feast
' together; to which their Master was
' always invited, and being set at the
' upper end of the table, he would
' feed their minds with learned dis-
' courses, and criticisms in grammar.
' He died on the first of December,
' 1653, aged sixty-seven, or more, and
' was buried in the chancel of All-
' Saints church in Oxon.—Fasti Oxo-
' nienfes, Vol. II. Col. 703. Edit.
' 1692.

he had married, Mr. John Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York, and sometimes Mr. Richard Allestree, afterwards Provost of Eton College, administered the Sacraments, and read the Liturgy of the Church of England, and many Royalists resorted thither.

In 1659, he published his treatise of Fermentations, of Fevers, and of Urines. And, in 1660, he was made Sedleian Professor of natural Philosophy; and the same year took the degree of Doctor of physic. Being sent for to most of the people of Quality about Oxford, and even at great distances, he visited the Lady Keyt in Warwickshire; and is supposed to have been going to her in April, 1664, when he discovered, and made experiments upon, the famous medicinal spring at Alstrop, or Altrop, near Brackley, which was once in high repute (1). The same year he published his celebrated treatise on the Anatomy of the Brain: and the plague raging this and the following year, Dr. Willis drew up, in 1666, "A plain and easy Method for preserving those that are well, from the infection of the plague, or any contagious distemper, in city, camp, country, fleet, &c. and for curing such as are infected with it."

He was one of the first members of the Royal Society; and being now become a Physician of great eminence, he removed to Westminster, after the fire of London, upon an invitation from Archbishop Sheldon, and took a house in St. Martin's Lane. He soon grew into the most extensive practice of any Professor at that time in the faculty; and he executed it with distinguished skill, care, and industry. Yet, as he was a very pious man, he attended the duties of religion with great regularity. And as he rose early in the morning, to attend Divine Service, which he scarce ever failed of frequenting before he visited his patients, he agreed with the school-master, who taught in the vestry-room of St. Martin's church, to read prayers at six in the morning at summer, and at seven in the winter half-year; and at five in the evening. And seeing the service at these times much attended, after having continued to pay the salary during his life-time, he settled at his death twenty pounds a year for that purpose.

Having been elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians in London, he was also appointed Physician in ordinary to King Charles II. who afterwards offered to confer upon him the honour of Knighthood. But this dignity he declined, his heart being more set on procuring a fortune for his family. Mr. Wood tells us,

(1) Mr. Granger says, 'Willis and 'him by an infamous woman of that
' Lower first recommended the waters ' place. Upon this the Doctor de-
' of Alstrop, which were afterwards ' clared, "that he would put a toad
' decryed by Radcliffe. The reason " into their well," and accordingly
' which I have heard assigned for his ' cried down the waters, which soon
' decrying them, was, because the ' lost their reputation.'—Biogra-
' village insisted upon his keeping a ' phical Hist. of England, Vol. II.
' bastard child, which was laid to P. 311.

us, that ' soon after his settling in Westminster, he became so ' noted, and so infinitely resorted to, for his practice, that never ' any Physician before went beyond him, or got more money ' yearly than he.' And the Oxford Antiquarian farther asserts, that ' the drudgery which he underwent mostly for the sake of ' lucre, contributed very much to the shortening of his life.' However that be, the acquisition of riches appears to have been the predominant passion of his consort: for being in a consumption, and finding herself grow worse, the Doctor proposed to leave the town, and go with her into the country, as the likeliest means to obtain the recovery of a person so dear to him as she was; but she could not be brought to consent to it, as this would be putting an end to those great gains which flowed in upon him from his business; thus preferring, we are told, her children's encrease of fortune, even before her own life itself. Accordingly she soon after died, in 1670, in St. Martin's Lane, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey (u).

Some time before this, Dr. Willis had published at Oxford, "*Pathologiæ cerebri et nervosi generis specimen in quo agitur de morbis convulsivis et scorbuto.*" Some Animadversions being made upon this Piece by Dr. Nathaniel Highmore in 1670, our learned Author, in answer thereto, published "*Affectionum quæ dicuntur hysteriæ & hypocondriæ pathologiæ spasmodica vindicata, contra responsionem epistolarem Nathanielis Highmore, M. D. cui acceperunt exercitationes medicophysicæ de sanguinis accensione et motu musculari.*" Lond. 1670. 4to. & Leyden, 1671, 12mo. Dr. Willis imagined hysteric fits to proceed from the brain; Dr. Highmore, from the blood and lungs.

In 1672, Dr. Willis published in 4to. "*De Anima Brutorum, quæ hominis vitalis ac sensitiva est, exercitationes duæ; quarum prior physiologica, ejus naturam, partes, potentias, et affectiones tradit; altera pathologica, morbos, qui ipsam et sedem ejus primariam, cerebrum nempe et nervosum genus afficiunt, explicat, eorumque Therapeias instituit.*" This was afterwards re-printed in 8vo. and at Amsterdam in 1674, in 12mo. The Doctor maintains the souls of brutes, as being only vital and sensitive, to be constituted of mere matter, and to perish naturally with their bodies; as he does also the sensitive soul of man; asserting immateriality, and consequently immortality, to be the prerogative of the rational soul.

In 1672, Dr. Willis entered a second time into the married state, by marrying a Knight's widow, named Elizabeth Cawley; but he did not long survive this marriage, for putting his "*Pharmaceuticæ Rationalis, five Diatribe de Medicamentorum operationibus in corpore humano,*" to the press in 1673, he lived

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(u) *Vid. Biograph. Britan.*

not to see the publication of the whole Work, the second part being published by Dr. Fell at Oxford, and licensed the day after the Author's death, which happened at his house in St. Martin's Lane, on the 11th of November, 1675, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His death was occasioned by a pleurisy. He was buried in Westminster-Abbey, in the same grave with his first wife. He left three sons, and five daughters.

Dr. WILLIS was the most famous English Physician of his time, a man of great learning and piety, and extremely charitable to the poor. He always devoted a part of his gains to benevolent purposes; and we are told that in his latter years his custom was to allot his Sunday fees, which amounted to more than any other day in the week, entirely for charitable uses. He was exact and regular in all his hours, and his table was much resorted to by many of the greatest men in London. He was esteemed one of the most elegant Writers of his age, in the Latin tongue; and his Works were much celebrated both abroad and at home, though the reputation of them is now much diminished.

Mr. Wood tells us, that though Dr. Willis 'was a plain man, a man of no carriage, little discourse, complaisance, or society, yet for his deep insight, happy researches in natural and experimental Philosophy, Anatomy, and Chymistry, for his wonderful success and repute in his practice, the natural smoothness, pure elegance, delightful unaffected neatness of Latin stile, none scarce hath equalled, much less outdone him, how great soever. When at any time he is mentioned by Authors, as he is very often, it is done in words expressing their highest esteem of his great worth and excellency, and placed still as first in rank among Physicians.'

He was a very skilful and accurate Anatomist. Dr. Wotton observes, that Dr. Willis, in his *Cerebri Anatome*, 'was so very exact, that he traced the medullar substance of the brain thro' all its insertions into the cortical, and the medulla oblongata; and examined the rises of all the nerves; and went along with them into every part of the body with wonderful curiosity. Hereby not only the brain was demonstrably proved to be the fountain of sense and motion, but also by the courses of the nerves, the manner how every part of the body conspires with any others to procure any one particular motion, was clearly shewn; and thereby it was made plain, even to sense, that wherever many parts joined at once to cause the same motion, that motion is caused by nerves that go into every one of those parts, which are all struck together. And though Vieussens and du Verney have in many things corrected Dr. Willis's anatomy of the nerves, yet they have strengthened his general hypothesis, even at the time when they discovered his mistakes.'

A Dutch Physician also, named Schelhammer, in a book *de auditu*,

auditu, printed at Leyden in 1684, took occasion to animadvert upon a passage in Dr. Willis's book *De Anima Brutorum*; and in such a manner, as reflected not only upon his skill, but also upon his integrity. But Dr. Derham observes, that 'this is a severe and unjust censure of our truly famous countryman, a man of known probity; who hath manifested himself to be as curious and sagacious an Anatomist, as great a Philosopher, and as learned and skilful a Physician, as any of his censurers; and his reputation for veracity and integrity was no less than any of their's too.'

Dr. Willis's Works have often been printed separately; but they were collected together, and printed in two Volumes, 4to. at Geneva, in 1676, and at Amsterdam in 1682, in one Volume, 4to.

Before we conclude, we shall here give some account of a learned Antiquarian, nearly related to our Author.---BROWNE WILLIS, grandson to Dr. Thomas Willis, was born in 1682, at Blandford in Dorsetshire. He received part of his education at Westminster-school, and the adjoining Abbey very much engaged his attention. Here he first imbibed his love of antiquities; for he took great delight in walking and contemplating the solemnity of the building, and in reading the inscriptions on the monuments. At the age of seventeen he lost his father, which being followed in less than three months by the death of his mother, he was so greatly affected by these misfortunes, that it brought on him the falling sickness, with which he was afflicted for many years. In 1699, he was admitted a Gentleman Commoner at Christ-Church College, Oxford, where he continued four years, and then left the University without taking any degree. In 1705, he was chosen Member of Parliament for the town of Buckingham. In 1715, he published the first Volume of his elaborate Work, entitled, *Notitia Parliamentaria*, and the following year he published the second Volume. Some years after, he re-printed the first Volume, with additions. In 1717, he was admitted a member of the society of Antiquarians. In 1723, the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts by diploma, as a reward of his literary merit. In 1741, he presented that University with his fine cabinet of English coins, at that time looked upon as the most complete collection in England, and which he had been upwards of forty years in collecting. In 1749, the same University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws by diploma. He died on the 5th of February, 1760, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was a man of great eminence for his knowledge in British antiquities, and much distinguished by his piety, virtue, and generosity to the poor. During the course of his long life, he had visited every cathedral in England and Wales, except Carlisle; which journeys

he used to call his pilgrimages. He was sincere and hearty in his friendships ; always communicative, and ever ready to assist studious and inquisitive persons ; which occasioned an acquaintance and connexion between him and most of his learned contemporaries (*w*).

(*w*) *Vid.* Biograph. Britan.



T H E

The Life of Sir GEORGE JEFFERIES, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and Lord High Chan- cellor of England.

GEORGE JEFFERIES was born at Aston, near Wrexham, in Denbighshire, in Wales, where his father possessed a small estate, on the produce of which he supported his family in a reputable and decent manner. His behaviour whilst a youth seems not to have been very promising; for we are told by several Writers, that his father used to say of him, that he "believed his son George would die "in his shoes." He is said to have received part of his education at Westminster-school; and afterwards applying himself to the study of the law in the Inner Temple, he was very early called to the bar (x).

He at first practised chiefly in the courts at Guildhall, where there was much business; which being considered by this person (we are told) as more beneficial than that at Westminster, by reason of its frequency, and being carried on briefer, and with less difficulty; which induced him to give his attendance, as also at Hicks's Hall, and other inferior courts and places; insomuch that he being of a bold presence, and having naturally a fluent tongue, an audible voice, and good utterance, he had not pleaded often before he was very much taken notice of; and gained so much credit with the people, that they preferred him before any of the younger sort of Barristers (y).

The same Writer proceeds to inform us, that Jefferies, thus flushed with success, now thought of nothing more than how he might climb; nor did he want an opportunity; for the next station we find him in, is that of Common Seajeant to the great and honourable city of London; and so much fortune favoured him at this time, that Alderman Jefferies, the great smoker, having often observed his discourse and actions, took such a liking to him, that being of the same name, though not
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(x) Life and Death of George Lord Jefferies, late Lord Chancellor of England, 8vo. 1693. P. 6, 7. and Panegyric on the late Lord Jefferies, 8vo. 1701. P. 17, 18. (y) Life and Death of George Lord Jefferies, P. 8.

* in the least any relation, he backed him with his purse and interest, which was not inconsiderable (*z*).

He also strengthened his interest in the city, by marrying a young widow, daughter of Sir Thomas Bloudworth, Alderman of London. But she being soon after brought-to-bed of a son, much too early for the date of her marriage, occasioned afterwards a smart repartee from a Lady, who was evidence in a cause in which Jefferies was Counsel. He being displeased with her replies to some questions put to her, told her, that she was very quick in her answers. "As quick as I am, Sir George, (said she) I was not so quick as your Lady."

Roger North, who personally knew Jefferies, informs us, that his beginnings at the Inns of Court, and practice, were low. After he was called to the bar, he used to sit in coffee-houses, and order his man to come and tell him that company attended him at his chamber; at which he would huff, and say, *Let them stay a little; I will come presently.* This made a shew of business; of which he had need enough, being married, and having several children. One of the Aldermen of the city was of his name; which, probably, inclined him to steer his course that way: where, having got acquaintance with the city Attornies, and drinking desperately with them, he came into full business amongst them, and was chosen Recorder of the city. That let him into knowledge at Court, and he was entertained as the Duke of York's Solicitor, and was also of the King's Council (*a*).

It must have been before this that an incident happened, which is mentioned by some Writers, and which is said to have occasioned his being taken notice of at Court. Some persons had printed a new Psalter, and entitled it *the King's Psalter*; which being complained of by the Company of Stationers as an injury done to them, the affair was referred to an hearing before the King and Council at Whitehall; where Jefferies being Council for the Company of Stationers, in the course of his pleading made use of this expression: "They have teemed with a spurious brat, which being clandestinely midwived into the world, the better to cover the imposture, they lay it at your Majesty's door." This, though the King, it is observed, might have taken it, for sundry reasons, as a reflection upon his Royal person, yet he was so far from resenting it, that he only turned to one of the Lords who sat next him, and said, "This is a bold fellow, I'll warrant him." And the Stationers had, we are told, by his good pleading, the matter declared in their favour (*b*).

Mr. North informs us, that Jefferies, on his first appearance in the city, began with a most turbulent spirit against the Mayor and court

(*z*) Life, as before, P. 9. (*a*) Life of the Lord Keeper North, by the Honourable Roger North, Esqr. (*b*) Panegyric on the late Lord Jefferies, P. 20, 21. Life and Death of George Lord Jefferies, P. 11.

court of Aldermen, taking part with the Commons ; though this method was the direct contrary to that which raised him, and which in his following behaviour he practised. ' For he became an high flyer for the authority of the Mayor and court of Aldermen. He was of a fierce, unquiet disposition ; and, being at first but low himself, could act only among inferiors, whom he instigated to be troublesome ; and, like others of ambitious tempers, or, which is nearly the same, necessitous, he put himself into all companies ; for which he was qualified, by using himself to drink hard ; and so made himself a general acquaintance, and some friendships, in the city. And upon this course originally taken, he grounded his pretensions to an interest in the citizens. Then, being acquainted with Will. Chiffinch, (the trusty Page of the back stairs) he struck in and was made Recorder. This Mr. Chiffinch was a true Secretary as well as Page ; for he had a lodging at the back stairs, which might have been properly termed the Spy-Office ; where the King spoke with particular persons, about intrigues of all kinds : and all little informers, projectors, &c. were carried to Chiffinch's lodging. He was a most impetuous drinker, and, in that capacity, an admirable spy ; for he let none part from him sober, if it were possible to get them drunk ; and his great artifice was pushing idolatrous healths of his good master, and being always in haste ; *for the King is coming* ; which were his words. Nor, to make sure work, would he scruple to put his master's salutiferous drops (which were called the King's, of the nature of Goddard's) into the glasses ; and, being an Hercules, well breathed at the sport himself, he commonly had the better ; and so fished out many secrets, and discovered men's characters, which the King could never have obtained the knowledge of by any other means. It is likely that Jefferies, being a pretender to main seats with the citizens, might forward himself, and be entertained by Will. Chiffinch, and that which at first was mere spying, turn to acquaintance, if not friendship, such as is apt to grow up between immane drinkers ; and from thence might spring recommendations of him to the King, as the most useful man that could be found to serve his Majesty in London (a).'

After Jefferies was made Recorder of London, he embraced every opportunity of recommending himself to the Court, and was very active in promoting all its measures, though of the most unjustifiable nature. In 1680, the measures of Charles the Second's Government being such as alarmed all the honest, sensible, and independent part of the nation, and no Parliament being now assembled, petitions were sent to the King from all parts of the kingdom, earnestly insisting on a Session of Parliament. This gave much offence to the Court ; and there being at this time, as

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there have been in much later times, too many persons of mean and slavish principles, and such as were disposed to sacrifice the public freedom, and the best interests of their country, to their own private advantage : men of this character, among whom was Sir George Jefferies, joined in framing and presenting addresses, containing expressions of the highest regard to the person of his most sacred Majesty, the most entire acquiescence in his Royal wisdom and goodness, the most dutiful submission to his prerogative, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those who endeavoured to encroach on it, by prescribing to him any time for assembling the Parliament. The servile behaviour of these *Abhorrents*, as the addressers were termed, excited the contempt and indignation of all those who were zealous for the liberty of their country ; and the conduct of Jefferies in particular rendered him so obnoxious to the citizens of London, that when a Parliament was assembled soon after, they petitioned the House of Commons against him, and a Committee being appointed to examine the complaint against him, they passed the following vote on the 13th of November, 1680 : ‘ Resolved, that this Committee is of opinion, ‘ that by the evidence given to this Committee, it does appear, ‘ that Sir George Jefferies, Recorder of the city of London, by ‘ traducing and obstructing petitioning for the sitting of the ‘ Parliament, hath betrayed the rights of the subject ;’ to which the House agreed : and it was also ordered, that an address should be made to his Majesty, to remove him from all public offices. In consequence of this, Sir George Jefferies was removed from his Recordership. But as his conduct, however disagreeable to the people, had been very acceptable to the Court, he was a few months after made Chief Justice of Chester.

Jefferies, as a pleader, was remarkable for brow-beating witnesses, and for uncommon insolence and scurrility of language ; but he sometimes met with smart rebuffs ; and on such occasions, notwithstanding his well known assurance, was exceedingly disconcerted.—Being once Counsel in a cause about the validity of a lease, wherein a gentleman who was a witness made use of several law terms, as *Lessee* and *Lessor*, *Assignee* and *Assignor*, and his evidence being directly against Jefferies’s client, to take him off, and daunt him, he said to him, ‘ You there with your law ‘ terms, of your *Lessee* and your *Lessor*, and of your *Assignee* and ‘ your *Assignor*, do you know what a *Lessee* or a *Lessor* is ? I don’t ‘ believe you know that, for all your formal evidence.’ To which the gentleman answered, ‘ Yes, Sir George, but I do, and ‘ I’ll give you this instance of it ; if I nod to you, I am the *Nodder* ; and if you nod to me, then you are the *Noddee* :’ which answer put the whole court into a laughter (*b*).

When he once happened to be Counsel in a cause in opposition to Serjeant Maynard, that famous Lawyer having said something

thing which Jefferies did not like, he told the Serjeant (who was of a very advanced age) that he was now grown so old that he had forgot the law. "'Tis true, Sir George, (replied Maynard) 'I have forgotten more law than you ever knew.'——We are also told, that a plain country fellow being a witness in a cause in which he was concerned; and Jefferies not liking his evidence, amongst other interrogations, called out, "You fellow in the leather doublet, pray what have you for swearing?" The man upon this, looking steadily on him, replied, "Truly, Sir, if you had no more for lying than I have for swearing, you might wear a leather doublet as well as me."——It is likewise said, that when he afterwards sat at a country assize as Judge, an old man with a great beard came to give evidence before him, and not doing it to his mind, he began to cavil with his beard, and, amongst other expressions, told him, "That if his conscience was as large as his beard, he might well swear any thing." This so nettled the old man, that he immediately replied, "My Lord, if you go about to measure consciences by beards, your Lordship has none." (c)

Whilst Jefferies was Recorder, he was one of the Counsel against Coleman (d), against whom, however, he did not exert himself much; though he treated some others who were prosecuted for being concerned in the Popish Plot very roughly. He was one of the Counsel against Lord Russell, and took great pains to bring that famous Nobleman to the block; and for this, and many other pleasing services to the Court, he was, at the close of the year 1683, raised to the post of Lord Chief Justice of the

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(c) Life and Death of George Lord Jefferies, P. 18---20.

(d) It is observable that Mr. Hume, in his History of England, (Vol. VIII. P. 88. Edit. 8vo. 1763.) says of Coleman's letters, that "they contained, as he himself confessed, much indiscretion: but unless so far as it is illegal to be a zealous Catholic, they seem to contain nothing criminal, much less treasonable, against him." But what can this ingenious Historian mean by such an assertion? It is certain from Coleman's letters, as inserted in his Trial, published by authority, that he, having been Secretary to the Dutchess of York, corresponded with Father La Chaise, Confessor to the French King, and had used all the arguments he could to induce that Monarch to remit money to King Charles, to en-

able him to govern, for some time at least, without Parliamentary aid; by which means he would be able to dissolve the Parliament; and this event, Coleman said, would inevitably bring on a peace. And Coleman, in order to induce La Chaise to use his interest with his master the French King to afford King Charles some private pecuniary assistance, tells him, that there were never such hopes of success, in subduing the Protestant religion, which he terms a pestilent heresy, since the days of Queen Mary, as there were at that time. If such a correspondence as this was not criminal in a British subject, we can form no idea of criminality. To us it appears, that by this correspondence alone, Coleman was, to all intents and purposes, guilty of treason against the State.

Court of King's Bench, in the room of Sir Edmund Saunders (e).

Bishop Burnet says, ' All people were apprehensive of very black designs, when they saw Jefferies made Lord Chief Justice, who was scandalously vicious, and was drunk every day ; besides a drunkenness of fury in his temper, that looked like enthusiasm. He did not consider the decencies of his post : nor did he so much as affect to seem impartial, as became a Judge ; but run out upon all occasions into declamations, that did not become the bar, much less the bench. He was not
' learned

(e) The following remarkable account is given of Sir EDMUND SAUNDERS by Roger North. ' His character, and his beginning, were equally strange. He was at first no better than a poor beggar boy, if not a parish foundling, without known parents or relations. He had found a way to live by obsequiousness (in Clement's Inn, as I remember) and courting the Attornies Clerks for scraps. The extraordinary observance and diligence of the boy, made the Society willing to do him good. He appeared very ambitious to learn to write; and one of the Attornies got a board knocked up at a window on the top of a stair-case; and that was his desk, where he sat and wrote after copies of court and other hands the Clerks gave him. He made himself so expert a writer, that he took in business, and earned some pence by hackney-writing. And thus, by degrees, he pushed his faculties, and fell to forms, and, by books that were lent him, became an exquisite entering Clerk; and, by the same course of improvement of himself, an able Counsel, first in special pleading, then at large. And, after he was called to the bar, had practice, in the King's Bench Court, equal with any there. As to his person, he was very corpulent and beastly; a mere lump of morbid flesh. He used to say, *Ey his Treggs* (such an humorous way of talking he affected) *none could say he wanted issue of his body, for he had nine in his back.* He was a fetid mass; that offended his neighbours at the bar in the sharpest degree.

' Those, whose ill fortune it was to stand near him, were Confessors, and, in summer-time, almost Martyrs. This hateful decay of his carcase came upon him by continual sottishness; for, to say nothing of brandy, he was seldom without a pot of ale at his nose, or near him. That exercise was all he used; the rest of his life was sitting at his desk, or piping at home; and that home was a taylor's house in Butcher-Row, called his Lodging, and the man's wife was his nurse, or worse; but, by virtue of his money, of which he made little account, though he got a great deal, he soon became master of the family; and, being no changeling, he never removed, but was true to his friends, and they to him, to the last hour of his life.

' So much for his person and education. As for his parts, none had them more lively than he. Wit and repartee, in an affected rusticity, were natural to him. He was ever ready, and never at a loss; and none came so near as he to be a match for Serjeant Maynard. His great dexterity was in the art of special pleading, and he would lay snares that often caught his superiors, who were not aware of his traps. And he was so fond of success for his clients, that, rather than fail, he would set the court hard with a trick; for which he met sometimes with a reprimand, which he would wittily ward off, so that no one was much offended with him. But Hale could not bear his irregularity of life; and for that, and suspicion of his tricks, used to
' bear

‘ learned in his profession : and his eloquence, though viciously
‘ copious, yet was neither correct nor agreeable (f).’ One of
the first services in which he was employed after his promotion,
was the trial of the celebrated Algernon Sydney ; and on this oc-
casion he exerted himself to gratify the desires of the Court, by
bringing that great man to the block, contrary to every principle
of law and justice.

In February, 1683, Sir Samuel Bernardiston, Bart. was tried
before Sir George Jefferies for the publication of several scanda-
lous and malicious libels. This gentleman was well known to
be no friend to the despotic measures of Charles the Second, and
was therefore obnoxious to the Court ; but nothing could be
found on which to ground a prosecution against him, but by the
scandalous practice of intercepting his private letters. Four of
these, written in confidence to his friends, and containing nothing
more than some free remarks on the state of public affairs at that
time, were the libels which he was prosecuted for publishing, by
sending them to the post-office ; for that was the only method in
which he had published them. Jefferies took abundant pains to
cause this gentleman to be condemned ; and the Jury being either
weak or wicked enough to bring him in guilty, the Chief Justice
had the conscience to fine him ten thousand pounds.

It being observed on this occasion by Sir Samuel Bernardiston’s
Counsel, that no evidence had been given to the Jury, that the let-
ters in question were written *falsly, scandalously, maliciously, and*
seditionly, Jefferies made the following remarks in his charge to
the

‘ bear hard upon him in the court.
‘ But no ill usage from the bench was
‘ too hard for his hold of business,
‘ being such as scarce any could do
‘ but himself. With all this, he had
‘ a goodness of nature and disposition
‘ in so great a degree, that he may be
‘ deservedly stiled a *Philantrophe*. He
‘ was a very *Silenus* to the boys, as, in
‘ this place, I may term the students
‘ of the law, to make them merry
‘ whenever they had a mind to it. He
‘ had nothing of rigid or austere in
‘ him. If any, near him at the bar,
‘ grumbled at his stench, he ever con-
‘ verted the complaint into content
‘ and laughing with the abundance of
‘ his wit.-----As to his ordinary
‘ dealing, he was as honest as the
‘ driven snow was white ; and why
‘ not, having no regard for money, or
‘ desire to be rich ? And, for good
‘ nature and condescension, there was
‘ not his fellow. I have seen him,
‘ for hours and half hours together,
‘ before the court sat, stand at the

‘ bar, with an audience of students
‘ over-against him, putting of cases,
‘ and debating so as suited their ca-
‘ pacities, and encouraged their in-
‘ dustry. And so in the Temple, he
‘ seldom moved without a parcel of
‘ youths hanging about him, and he
‘ merry and jelling with them.

‘ While he sat in the Court of
‘ King’s Bench, he gave the rule to
‘ the general satisfaction of the Law-
‘ yers. But his course of life was so
‘ different from what it had been, his
‘ business incessant, and, withal, crab-
‘ bed, and his diet and exercise
‘ changed, that the constitution of his
‘ body, or head rather, could not
‘ sustain it, and he fell into an apo-
‘ plexy and palsy, which numbed his
‘ parts ; and he never recovered the
‘ strength of them.’-----Life of the
Lord Keeper North, P. 223---225.

(f) Burnet’s Hist. of his Own
Times, Vol. I, P. 567, 568. Edit.
Folio. 1721.

the Jury : ‘ It has been objected (said he) that inasmuch as the
 ‘ words *falsly, seditiously, maliciously, factiously*, and the like
 ‘ words, are in the information, they would have you believe,
 ‘ That there being no evidence of any such thing as Faction,
 ‘ Malice, or Sedition, or that the man did it maliciously, and
 ‘ advisedly, and seditiously, (which are the words in the pre-
 ‘ mises, as I may call them, or the preamble of the information),
 ‘ therefore they must be acquitted of that part. Now as to that,
 ‘ I told them then, and tell you now, gentlemen, that no man
 ‘ living can discover the malicious evil designs and intentions of
 ‘ any other man, so as to give evidence of them, but by their
 ‘ words and actions. No man can prove what I intend, but by
 ‘ my words and actions. Therefore, if one doth compass and
 ‘ imagine the death of the King, that, by our law, is High
 ‘ Treason ; but whether or no he be guilty of this treason, so as
 ‘ to be convicted of it by another, is not proveable, or discover-
 ‘ able, but by some words or actions, whereby the imagination
 ‘ may be manifested. And therefore my imagining, my com-
 ‘ passing, which is private in my own mind, must be submitted
 ‘ to the judgment that reason and the law passeth upon my words
 ‘ or actions ; and then the action itself being proved, that disco-
 ‘ vers with what mind the thing was done.———Suppose any
 ‘ man, without provocation, kills another ; the words of the in-
 ‘ dictment are, That he did it maliciously, feloniously, not
 ‘ having the fear of GOD before his eyes, but being moved and
 ‘ seduced by the instigation of the Devil. Now all these things,
 ‘ whether he had the fear of GOD before his eyes, or not ; or
 ‘ whether he were moved by the instigation of the Devil, and of
 ‘ his malice fore-thought, or no ; these cannot be known, till
 ‘ they come to be proved by the action that is done. So in case
 ‘ any person doth write libels, or publish any expressions, which
 ‘ in themselves carry sedition, and faction, and ill-will towards
 ‘ the Government ; I cannot tell well how to express it other-
 ‘ wise in his accusation, than by such words, that he did it sedi-
 ‘ tiously, factiously, and maliciously. And the proof of the
 ‘ thing itself, proves the evil mind it was done with. If, then,
 ‘ gentlemen, you believe the defendant, Sir Samuel Bernardiston,
 ‘ did write and publish these letters, that is proof enough of the
 ‘ words maliciously, seditiously, and factiously, laid in the in-
 ‘ formation (g).’

We have the rather made this quotation from Jefferies’s speech on this occasion, because arguments to the same purpose, and indeed nearly in the same words, have been since made use of in libel-causes, by men who would not be thought to imitate this infamous Chief Justice. But every man must see the fallacy of this kind of reasoning. In the case Jefferies mentions, of compassing and imagining the death of the King, there must be a
 proof

proof of some overt-act to evidence such a treasonable design. In the case of murder, the proof of the act itself is a sufficient evidence of guilt; because to kill any man, unless it be by accident, or in self-defence, is an illegal and wicked act. But the case of libels is essentially different. If, in a trial for a libel, nothing is proved but the writing or publication, there is no *guilt* of any kind proved, unless it be proved to the Jury, that the book or writing really is what it is styled in the information or indictment; for writing or publishing are, in themselves, innocent and indifferent actions. Jefferies indeed says, "in case any person doth write libels, or publish any expressions, which in themselves carry sedition, and faction, and ill-will towards the Government, I cannot tell well how to express it otherwise in his accusation, than by such words, that he did it seditiously, factiously, and maliciously." And this observation might be allowed, if Jefferies, and those who have imitated him, had left it to the Jury to determine, whether the writings or books in question did really contain "expressions, which in themselves carry sedition, and faction, and ill-will towards the Government." But neither Jefferies, nor his imitators, have ever done this. They have always laboured to make Juries take it for granted, on their mere *ipse dixit*, that the books or writings in question were scandalous, seditious, and malicious libels, or whatever else they have thought proper to stile them. And this practice, and these doctrines, have been much inculcated by certain Crown Lawyers, and such Judges as have been disposed at all events to gratify the Court. But it is the duty of Jurymen to judge for themselves; and that they should do so, is of the utmost importance to the Freedom of the Press; on the preservation of which all our other rights do most essentially depend.

In 1684, a remarkable cause was tried before Lord Chief Justice Jefferies. Mr. Thomas Rosewell, a Nonconformist Minister, was indicted for high treason, being accused by three women of having spoken treasonable words in a sermon at Rotherhith. They swore to two or three periods, in which they agreed with great exactness. Rosewell, on the other hand, made an exceeding good defence. He proved, that the witnesses were lewd and infamous persons. He proved, that, even during Cromwell's Usurpation, he had always been loyal; that he prayed constantly for the King in his family, as well as in public; and that in his sermons he often inculcated the obligations of loyalty. And as to the sermon, of which he was accused, many witnesses who heard it, and some who wrote it in short-hand, deposed that he had used no such expressions as those objected to him. He offered his own notes as a farther proof. The women could not shew by any circumstance or witnesses, that they were at his meeting. And the expressions, which they swore against him, were so gross, that it was not credible that any man in his senses should make use of them before a mixed audience. It was also urged,

urged, that it was next to impossible for three women to remember so long a period upon one single hearing, and to remember it with so much exactness. But notwithstanding the strength of Mr. Rosewell's defence, and though the words alledged against him appeared evidently not to be treason, if they had been spoken, yet the jury thought proper to bring him in guilty. In justice to Jefferies it should be observed, that when Rosewell afterwards offered several things to the court in arrest of judgment, the Chief Justice was very favourable to him, and in some measure supported what he said; and soon after Mr. Rosewell obtained his pardon from the King.

After the accession of King James the Second, an insurrection was raised in favour of the Duke of Monmouth, who was joined by many zealous Protestants, who were greatly alarmed at the dangerous situation in which their religion and liberties were under a Popish Prince. But after the defeat and execution of Monmouth, Lord Chief Justice Jefferies was sent on the Western circuit, to try and punish those who had engaged in the rebellion; and of his behaviour on this occasion, Bishop Burnet gives the following account: "Jefferies (says the Prelate) was sent the Western circuit to try the prisoners. His behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized nation. He was perpetually either drunk, or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a Judge. He required the prisoners to plead guilty; and in that case he gave them some hope of favour, if they gave him no trouble: otherwise he told them he would execute the letter of the law upon them in its utmost severity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great defence in law. But he shewed no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to say their prayers. He hanged, in several places, about six hundred persons. The greatest part of these were of the meanest sort, and of no distinction. The impieties with which he treated them, and his behaviour towards some of the Nobility and Gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of some prisoners, would have amazed one, if done by a Bashaw in Turkey. England had never known any thing like it."

Mr. Hume says, Jefferies "set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. He began at Dorchester; and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to save him, by their free confession, the trouble of trying them: and when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional punishment of their disobedience, to be led to immediate execution. Most of the other prisoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no less than two hundred and ninety-two received sentence at Dorchester. Of these eighty were executed. Exeter was the next stage of his cruelty: two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He also opened his com-

mission at Taunton and Wells; and every where carried terror and astonishment along with him. The Juries were so struck with his menaces, that they gave their verdicts with precipitation, and many innocent persons were involved with the guilty. And on the whole, besides those butchered by the Military Commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almost beheld the dead carcase of a wretched inhabitant. And all the rigours of justice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully displayed to the people by the inhuman Jefferies (*b*)."

At Winchester, the Lady Alicia Lisle was brought to her trial before Jefferies. She was the daughter of Sir White Beconsaw, and the widow of Lord-Commissioner Lisle, who was one of King Charles's Judges, and who had been assassinated by three Irish ruffians in Switzerland. This Lady was now prosecuted for harbouring two rebels the day after the battle of Sedgmoor; and Jefferies pushed on the trial with the utmost partiality and violence. In vain did the aged prisoner plead, that these persons had been put into no proclamation, nor convicted by any verdict; that it appeared not by any sufficient proof, that she was so much as acquainted with the guilt of the persons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth: that though she might be obnoxious on account of her family, it was well known that her heart was ever inclined to the Royal cause; and that the same principles which she herself had embraced, she had carefully instilled into her son, and had, at that very time, sent him to fight against those rebels whom she was now accused of harbouring. Though these arguments did not move Jefferies, they had some influence on the jury. Twice they seemed inclined to bring in a favourable verdict: they were as often sent back with menaces and reproaches, and at length were weak enough to bring in a verdict against the prisoner. Her trial was on the 27th of August, 1685; and the next day Jefferies passed sentence on her to be burnt alive, and at first ordered her to be executed on the afternoon of the same day; but he was afterwards prevailed on to respite her for five days. In the mean time, she petitioned King James, that the manner of her death might be altered from burning to beheading, and that she might be respited for four days more. The King answered, "That he would not reprieve her one day; but for altering the sentence, he would do it, if there were any precedents for it." Accordingly she was beheaded on the 2d of September, on a scaffold erected in the market-place of the city of Winchester, dying with great piety and composure (*i*).

Vol. VI. 4.

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Besides

(*b*) Hist. of England, Vol. VIII. P. 226. Edit. 8vo. 1763.

(*i*) Equal cruelty was shewn about

this time in the case of Mrs. Gaunt, which deserves to be taken notice of, though she was not tried before Jefferies.

Besides those who were put to death for being concerned in Monmouth's rebellion, or under that pretence, Mr. Hume observes, that "even those multitudes, who received pardon, were obliged to atone for their guilt by fines, which reduced them to beggary; or where their former poverty made them incapable of payment, they were condemned to cruel whippings, or severe imprisonments. Nor could the innocent escape the hands, equally rapacious as cruel, of the Chief Justice. Prideaux, a gentleman of Devonshire, being thrown into prison, and terrified with the severe and arbitrary measures, which at that time met with no controul, was obliged to buy his liberty of Jefferies at the price of fifteen thousand pounds; though he could never so much as learn the crime of which he was accused (k)."

The last place at which Jefferies presided as Judge in the course of his Western circuit, was the city of Bristol; and of his behaviour there, Roger North gives us the following account. 'There is (says he) one branch of that Chief's expedition in the West, which is his visitation of the city of Bristol, that hath some singularities, of a nature so strange, that I think them worth my time to relate. There had been an usage among the Aldermen and Justices of the city (where all persons, even common shop keepers, more or less, trade to the American plantations) to carry over criminals, who were pardoned with condition of transportation, and to sell them for money. This was found to be a good trade; but, not being content to take such felons as were convicted at their assizes and sessions, which produced but a few, they found out a shorter way, which yielded a greater plenty of the commodity. And that was this. The Mayor and Justices, or some of them, usually met at their Tolsey (a court-house by their exchequer) about noon, which was the meeting of the merchants, as at the Exchange at London; and there they sat and did Justice business, that was brought before them.

' When

Jefferies. Mr. Hume says, "Mrs. Gaunt was an Anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane character, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. Hearing of the proclamation, which offered an indemnity and rewards to such as discovered criminals, he basely betrayed his benefactress, and bore evidence against her. He received a pardon for his treachery; she was burned alive for her charity." Hist. of Eng. Vol. VIII. P. 226, 227. It appears that there

was at this time more than one Judge who was a disgrace to the bench. The evidence against Mrs. Gaunt being hardly sufficient at any rate to convict her, there being no proof that she knew the person she had concealed to have been in the rebellion, Jones, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, before whom she was tried, infamously endeavoured to entrap her by his questions, and to bring her to accuse herself.-----*Vid.* State Trials, Vol. III. P. 593. Folio Edit.

(k) Hist. of England, Vol. VIII. P. 228.

When small rogues, and pilferers, were taken and brought there, and, upon examination, put under the terror of being hanged, in order to which mittimus's were making, some of the diligent Officers attending, instructed them to pray transportation, as the only way to save them; and, for the most part, they did so. Then, no more was done; but the next Alderman in course took one and another, as their turns came, sometimes quarrelling whose the last was, and sent them over and sold them. This trade had been driven for many years, and no notice taken of it. Some of the wealthier Aldermen, although they sat in the court and connived, as Sir Robert Cann for instance, never had a man; but yet they were all involved in the guilt, when the charge came over them. It appears not how this outrageous practice came to the knowledge of the Lord Chief Justice; but, when he had hold of the end, he made thorough-stitch work with them; for he delighted in such fair opportunities to rant. He came to the city, and told some, that "he had brought a broom to sweep them." The city of Bristol is a proud body, and their Head, the Mayor, in the assize commission, is put before the Judge of assize; though, perhaps, it was not so in this extraordinary commission of Oyer and Terminer. But for certain, when his Lordship came upon the bench, and examined this matter, he found all the Aldermen and Justices concerned in this kidnapping trade, more or less, and the Mayor himself as bad as any. He thereupon turns to the Mayor, accoutred with his scarlet and furs, and gave him all the ill names that scolding eloquence could supply; and so, with rating and staring, as his way was, never left off till he made him quit the bench, and go down to the criminal's post at the bar; and there he pleaded for himself, as a common rogue, or thief, must have done: and when the Mayor hesitated a little, or slackened his pace, he bawled at him, and, stamping, called for his guards; for he was General by Commission. Thus the citizens saw their scarlet chief Magistrate at the bar, to their infinite terror and amazement. He then took security of them to answer informations, and so left them to ponder their cases among themselves. At London Sir Robert Cann applied, by friends, to appease him, and to get from under the prosecution, and at last he granted it, saying, *Go thy way; sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee:* The prosecutions depended till the Revolution, which made an amnesty; and the fright only, which was no small one, was all the punishment these juridical kidnappers underwent; and the gains acquired by so wicked a trade, rested peacefully in their pockets (1).

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(1) Life of the Lord Keeper North, P. 216, 217.

The severities and cruelties which Jefferies had practised in his Western circuit, and of which we have given an account, appear to have been very agreeable to King James. Burnet says, "that which brought all Jefferies's excesses to be imputed to the King himself, and to the orders given by him, was, that the King had a particular account of all his proceedings writ to him every day. And he took pleasure to relate them in the drawing-room to foreign Ministers, and at his table, calling it *Jefferies's Campaign*; speaking of all he had done in a stile, that neither became the Majesty, nor the mercifulness, of a great Prince. Dykvelt was at that time in England, one of the Ambassadors whom the States had sent over to congratulate the King's coming to the Crown. He told me (says the Bishop) that the King talked so often of these things in his hearing, that he wondered to see him break out into those indecencies. And upon Jefferies's coming back, he was created a Baron, and Peer of England: a dignity which, though antiently some Judges were raised to it, yet in these latter ages, as there was no example of it, so it was thought inconsistent with the character of a Judge (*m*)."

Jefferies being thus raised to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Jefferies, of Wem, in the county of Salop, was also on the 28th of September, 1685, constituted Lord High Chancellor of England. But it appears, that he made no great figure in the House of Peers. Some opposition being made there to the measures of the Court, Burnet informs us, that "Jefferies began to argue in his rough manner; but he was soon taken down; it appearing, that how furiously soever he raved on the bench, where he played the tyrant, yet where others might speak with him on equal terms, he was a very contemptible man: and he received as great a mortification, as such a brutal man as he was capable of (*n*)."

In January, 1686, he presided as Lord High Steward at the trial of Henry Lord Delamer. When an illegal court of ecclesiastical commission was established, he was one of the Commissioners, and in that capacity laboured to promote the unjustifiable views of King James. He also asserted his Majesty's right to suspend the penal laws, and was active in every other arbitrary measure of that misguided Prince. His conduct had, indeed, rendered him so generally odious, that we are told, that when he went to Wales, on a visit to his father, after he was made Chancellor, the old man was so much ashamed of having such a son, that he would not permit him to see him.

It is not worth while to make any enquiry about the religion of such a man as Jefferies; but it appears, however, that he was not willing to turn Papist, though it would have gratified the King.

(*m*) Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, Vol. I. P. 648. Edit. Folio, 1724. (*n*) Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, Vol. I. P. 665.

King (o). Mr. Hume says, "The prostitute Jefferies himself, though he had sacrificed honour, and justice, and humanity, to the Court; yet because he refused also to give up his religion, was very fast declining in favour and interest."

England was now in the most imminent danger of being overwhelmed with Popery and arbitrary power, when the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III. came over to save the nation from those impending evils. And after King James had quitted the kingdom, Jefferies began to think himself in danger. Burnet says, "Jefferies finding the King was gone, saw what reason he had to look to himself: and, apprehending that he was now exposed to the rage of the people, whom he had provoked with so particular a brutality, he had disguised himself to make his escape. But he fell into the hands of some who knew him. He was insulted by them with as much scorn and rudeness as they could invent. And, after many hours tossing him about, he was carried to the Lord Mayor, whom they charged to commit him to the Tower, which the Lord Lucas had then seized, and in it had declared for the Prince. The Lord Mayor was so struck with the terror of this rude populace, and with the disgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits upon it, of which he died soon after."

Roger North, who was cotemporary with Jefferies, and who personally knew him, has given a more particular account of the manner of his being discovered and apprehended; and as his account is somewhat curious, we shall insert it in his own words. He previously observes, that it was common for Jefferies to use 'such Billingsgate language, as should not come out of the mouth of any man. He called it *giving a lick with the rough side of his tongue*. It was ordinary to hear him say, *Go, you filthy, lousy, knitty rascal*; with much more of like elegance. Scarce a day passed, that he did not chide some one, or other, of the bar, when he sat in the Chancery: and it was commonly a lecture of a quarter of an hour long. And they used to say, *This is your's; my turn will be to-morrow*. He seemed to lay nothing

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of

(o) The same thing is said of General Kirk, (who, as well as Jefferies, had rendered himself infamous by his cruelties in the West of England, after Monmouth's rebellion,) concerning whom the following story is related. Kirk had served many years at Tangier; and some time after his return to England, was pressed by King James II. to become a profelyte to the Romish religion, as the most acceptable means of recommending himself to favour and preferment.

As soon as the King had done speaking, Kirk expressed great concern that it was not in his power to comply with his Majesty's desire, because he was really pre-engaged. The King smiled, and asked him what he meant? "Why, truly, (answered Kirk) when I was abroad, I promised the Emperor of Morocco, that if ever I changed my religion, I would turn Mahometan---and I never did break my word in my life, and must beg leave to say I never will."

of his business to heart, nor care what he did, or left undone ;
 and spent, in the Chancery court, what time he thought fit to
 spare. Many times, on days of causes at his house, the com-
 pany have waited five hours in a morning, and, after eleven,
 he hath come out inflamed, and staring like one distracted. And
 that visage he put on when he animadverted on such as he took
 offence at, which made him a terror to real offenders ; whom
 also he terrified, with his face and voice, as if the thunder of
 the day of Judgment broke over their heads.——He loved to
 insult, and was bold without check ; but that only when his
 place was uppermost.——One of these intemperances was
 fatal to him. There was a scrivener of Wapping brought to
 hearing for relief against a bummery bond ; the contingency
 of losing all being shewed, the bill was going to be dismissed.
 But one of the plaintiff's Counsel said that he was a strange
 fellow, and sometimes went to church, sometimes to conven-
 ticles ; and none could tell what to make of him ; and *it was*
thought he was a Trimmer. At that the Chancellor fired ; and
A Trimmer ! said he, *I have heard much of that Monster, but*
never saw one. Come forth, Mr. Trimmer, turn you round, and
let us see your shape : and, at that rate, talked so long that the
 poor fellow was ready to drop under him ; but, at last, the
 bill was dismissed with costs, and he went his way. In the
 hall, one of his friends asked him how he came off ? *Came off,*
 said he, *I am escaped from the terrors of that man's face, which I*
would scarce undergo again to save my life ; and I shall certainly
have the frightful impression of it as long as I live. Afterwards,
 when the Prince of Orange came, and all was in confusion, this
 Lord Chancellor, being very obnoxious, disguised himself in
 order to go beyond sea. He was in a seaman's garb, and drink-
 ing a pot in a cellar. This scrivener came into the cellar after
 some of his clients ; and his eye caught that face, which made
 him start ; and the Chancellor, seeing himself eyed, feigned a
 cough, and turned to the wall with his pot in his hand. But
 Mr. Trimmer went out, and gave notice that he was there ;
 whereupon the mob flowed in, and he was in extreme hazard
 of his life ; but the Lord Mayor saved him, and lost himself.
 For the Chancellor being hurried with such croud and noise
 before him, and appearing so dismally, not only disguised, but
 disordered ; and there having been an amity betwixt them, as
 also a veneration on the Lord Mayor's part, he had not spirits
 to sustain the shock, but fell down in a swoon ; and, in not
 many hours after, died (p).

Jefferies was soon after, at his own desire, committed to the
 Tower, in order to be secured from the rage of the people. He

was

was conducted thither, by some of the city trained bands, on the 12th of December, 1688. He died in the Tower a few months after, on the 18th of April following, and was there buried. His death is supposed to have been occasioned partly by excessive drinking, and partly by the bruises which he received from the populace.

Such was the end of GEORGE LORD JEFFERIES, Lord Chief Justice and Lord High Chancellor of England ! He was a man of good natural parts, though not very learned in the law : but he was undoubtedly one of the worst Judges who ever disgraced a bench of justice. And he is a striking instance what infamous persons Princes will sometimes condescend to employ, in the highest and most important offices, in order to carry on their own unjustifiable and arbitrary designs. The immoralities of his private life appear to have nearly equalled the iniquities of his public conduct. He was much addicted to excessive drinking, and spent his leisure hours in the most licentious company. Mr. North says, ‘ his friendship and conversation lay much among the good fellows and humourists ; and his delights were, accordingly, drinking, laughing, singing, kissing, and all the extravagancies of the bottle.’ Sir John Reresby informs us, that Jefferies had like to have died of a fit of the stone, which he brought upon himself by a furious debauch of wine at Mr. Alderman Duncomb’s ; where he, the Lord-Treasurer, and others, drank themselves to such a pitch of frenzy, ‘ that among friends it was whispered they had stripped into their shirts ; and that, had not an accident prevented them, they had got up on a sign-post to drink the King’s health ; which was the subject of much derision, to say no worse.’

In a speech of Henry Lord Delamer’s, on the corruption of Judges, published in that Nobleman’s Works, is the following passage. ‘ The county for which I serve is Cheshire, which is a county palatine, and we have two Judges peculiarly assigned us by his Majesty : our puisne Judge, I have nothing to say against him, for he is a very honest man for ought I know. But I cannot be silent as to our Chief Judge, and I will name him, because what I have to say will appear more probable. His name is Sir George Jefferies, who I must say behaved more like a jack-pudding, than with that gravity that befits a Judge. He was mighty witty upon the prisoners at the bar, he was very full of his jokes upon people that came to give evidence, not suffering them to declare what they had to say in their own way and method, but would interrupt them, because they behaved themselves with more gravity than he ; and, in truth, the people were strangely perplexed, when they were to give in their evidence ; but I do not insist upon this, nor upon the late hours he kept up and down our city. It is said he was every
‘ night

‘ night drinking till two o’clock, or beyond that time, and that
 ‘ he went to his chamber drunk : but this I have only by com-
 ‘ mon fame, for I was not in his company ; I bleſs GOD, I am
 ‘ not a man of his principles or behaviour ; but in the mornings
 ‘ he appeared with the ſymptoms of a man that over night had
 ‘ taken a large cup.’



The Life of Dr. THOMAS SYDENHAM.

THIS eminent Physician was the son of William Sydenham, Esq; of Winford Eagle in Dorsetshire, where he was born about the year 1624. In 1642, he became a Commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford; but left that place, when it was turned into a garrison for King Charles I. He then repaired to London, where he fell accidentally into the company of Dr. Cox, a Physician of considerable note at that time; who finding Mr. Sydenham to be a person of more than ordinary parts, encouraged and put him into a method of studying physic, at his return to the University. After the garrison was delivered up to the Parliament, he retired again to Magdalen-Hall, entered on the physic line, and was created Bachelor of physic on the 14th of April, 1648, not having before taken any degree in Arts. About that time subscribing and submitting to the authority of the Visitors appointed by the Parliament, he was, through the interest of a near relation, made Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford. After he had continued some years there, in a close application to the study of physic, he left the University, without taking any other degree there; and afterwards settling in Westminster, and having taken the degree of Doctor of physic at Cambridge, and been admitted a Licenciate of the College of Physicians, he acquired by his uncommon skill and success the highest reputation as a Physician.

It has been unjustly insinuated by some Writers, that Dr. Sydenham engaged in the practice of physic without being much acquainted with the theory: and to this purpose Sir Richard Blackmore, having observed, that a man of good sense, vivacity, and spirit, may arrive to the highest rank of Physicians, without the assistance of great erudition, and the knowledge of books, tells us, that 'this was the case of Dr. Sydenham, who became 'an able and eminent Physician, though he never designed to 'take up the profession, till the civil wars were composed; and 'then being a disbanded Officer (q), he entered upon it for a
Vol. VI. 4. U maintenance,

(q) It has been said, that Sydenham had a commission in the King's army; but no account is given of his military conduct, nor are we told what rank he obtained whilst in the army, nor on what occasion he retired from it.---*Vid.* Floyd's *Bibliotheca Biographica*,

‘ maintenance (r), without any learning properly preparatory for the undertaking of it. And to shew the reader what contempt he had for the Writings in physick, when one day I asked him what books I should read to qualify me for practice, he replied, “ Read Don Quixote, it is a very good book ; I read it still :” so low an opinion had this celebrated man of the learning collected out of the Authors, his predecessors. And a late celebrated Physician, (meaning Dr. John Radcliffe) whose judgment was universally relied upon as almost infallible in his profession, used to say, as I am well informed, that when he died, he would leave behind him the whole mystery of physick in half a sheet of paper. It is true, that both these Doctors carried the matter much too far by vilifying learning, of which they were no masters, and, perhaps, for that reason.’ The Writer of Sydenham’s article in the General Dictionary, quoting this passage from Sir Richard Blackmore, has thought proper to qualify it a little with the following anecdote : ‘ Sir Hans Sloane,’ says he, ‘ to whom this article was read, and who was very well acquainted with Dr. Sydenham, told me, that he never knew a man of brighter natural parts, than that Physician ; that he believed what is here said about Don Quixote to be merely out of joke ; and that Tully was Dr. Sydenham’s favourite Author, he having a fine busto of him in his study.’ And accordingly it is observed elsewhere, that the *advice* here mentioned was plainly a banter ; and shews, what a low opinion Dr. Sydenham had of the then young Mr. Blackmore’s genius and capacity, and that he thought him fitter to study Don Quixote than physick (s).

It is certain that Blackmore was mistaken in asserting, that Dr. Sydenham entered upon the profession of physick, “ without any learning properly preparatory for the undertaking of it.” For Sydenham himself declares, that after he had, in consequence of a conversation with Dr. Cox, determined upon the practice of physick, “ he applied himself in earnest to it, and spent several years in the University before he began to practise in London.” Nor was he satisfied with the opportunities of knowledge which Oxford afforded, but travelled to Montpelier, at that time the most celebrated school of physick ; so far was he from any contempt of academical institutions, or from thinking it reasonable to learn physick from experience alone. It appears, however, from his Writings, that he regulated his practice more by his own observations and enquiries, than by the method either of his predecessors or cotemporaries.

Having

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(r) It has been observed, that Sydenham could not be reduced to the necessity of undertaking the profession of physick merely for a maintenance, because his father was a gentleman possessed of a good estate. (s) Biograph. Britan. *Vid.* also General Dict. Folio. and New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo.

Having acquired great fame as a Physician both at home and abroad, as well by the uncommon skill and judgment which he displayed in his practice for many years, as by various medical treatises which he published, about the year 1670 he began to be so much afflicted with the gout, as to be thereby much hindered in the exercise of his profession; he lived, however, many years after; but the frequent attacks of the gout, accompanied with the stone in the kidneys, at length put a period to his life on the 29th of December, 1689, at his house in Pall-Mall. He was buried in the South Isle of St. James's church, Westminster.

Dr. SYDENHAM was not only a Physician of the greatest eminence, but a generous, charitable, and public-spirited man. He was the first that introduced the cool regimen in the small-pox; he was also the first that used laudanum with success, and that gave the bark after the paroxysm in agues. Sydenham has frequently been called the Father of physic among the moderns. He tells us, in the Preface which stands before his Works, that the increase and perfection of the medical art is to be advanced by these two means: by composing an History of distempers, or a natural and exact description of distempers, and their symptoms; and by deducing and establishing a method of cure from thence. This is the way which that great delineator of the right road to real knowledge in all its various branches, the Lord Bacon, had pointed out; and its being more closely pursued by Sydenham than by any modern Physician before him, is what has justly entitled him to those high encomiums which have ever been paid him.

Sir Richard Blankmore observes, and the truth of this observation of his has been generally admitted, that 'Sydenham, who built all his maxims and rules of practice upon repeated observations on the nature and properties of diseases, and the power of remedies, has compiled so good an History of distempers, and so prevalent a method of cure, that he has improved and advanced the healing art much more than Dr. Willis with all his curious speculations and fanciful hypotheses.'

Sydenham relates of himself, in his Dedication to Dr. Mapletost, that ever since he had applied himself to the practice of physic, he had been of opinion, and the opinion had been every day more and more confirmed in him, that the medical art could not be learned so surely, as by use and experience; and that he, who should pay the nicest and most accurate attention to the symptoms of distempers, would infallibly succeed best in searching out the true means of cure. For this reason, says he, I gave myself up entirely to this method of proceeding, perfectly secure and confident, that while I followed nature as my guide, I could never err. He tells him afterwards, that Mr. Locke approved his method, which he considered as no small sanction to it.

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There is a Latin copy of hexameter and pentameter verses by Mr. Locke, addressed to Sydenham, and prefixed to his treatise upon fevers.

The ingenious Dr. Sewell, in some verses prefixed to Blackmore's treatise on consumptions, gives the following high character of our celebrated Physician.

' SYDENHAM, at length, a mighty genius came,
' Who founded medicine on a nobler frame.
' Who studied Nature through, and Nature's laws,
' Nor blindly puzzled for the peccant cause.
' Father of physic he—immortal name !
' Who leaves the Grecian but a second fame ;
' Sing forth, ye muses, in sublimer strains,
' A new Hypocrates in Britain reigns ;
' With every healing plant his grave adorn,
' Saviour of many millions yet unborn :
' Forgive this tribute to the glorious dead,
' You knew *the man*, whom I have only read ;
' More is his due who freed me from the rules
' Of tyrant notions, and pedantic schools.
' Keep him ye humbler sons of art in view,
' Hopeless to teach, ambitious to pursue.'

Dr. Sydenham's medical treatises were published separately, and at different times, in Latin (†) ; but in 1693 they were collected together, and published at London in 8vo. and afterwards reprinted several times at London, and also at Amsterdam, Leyden, Leipzig, and Geneva. They were translated into English by Dr. Pechey, and published in one Volume, 8vo. under the following title : ' The whole Works of that excellent practical Physician, Dr. Thomas Sydenham. Wherein not only the History and cures of acute diseases are treated of, after a new and accurate method ; but also the shortest and safest way of curing most chronical diseases.' Another translation of them was published by Dr. Swan, in 1749, in 8vo. It is remarked by Mr. Granger, that Dr. Sydenham's Works are more esteemed by foreign Physicians than by the generality of the faculty in his own country ; and that they were much read and commended by the famous Boerhaave.

Our Physician had an elder brother, William Sydenham, who was some time Gentleman-Commoner of Trinity-College in Oxford,

(†) They were written by himself in English, but translated into Latin before they were published by some of his friends, particularly Dr. Mapletost and Mr. Gilbert Havers.---*Vid.* Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, P. 275.

Oxford, and entering into the Parliament's army, acquitted himself with so much military skill and bravery, that he rose by several gradations to considerable posts and dignities. In 1649, he was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and made Vice-Admiral of that Isle and Hampshire. In 1653 he was summoned to Parliament for Dorsetshire, in 1654 made Commissioner of the Treasury, and Member of the Privy Council; and, in 1658, summoned to Parliament by the Protector Richard Cromwell.



The Life of *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Earl of Shaftesbury.

THIS eminent Statesman was born at Winborne St. Giles, in the county of Dorset, on the 22d of July, 1621. He was son to Sir John Cooper, of Rockborn in the county of Southampton, Bart. by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley, of Winborne St. Giles, Knight and Baronet. He had the misfortune to lose his father before he was ten years of age; and by his father's death, being an only child, became entitled to an estate of eight thousand pounds a year. Being a youth of uncommon parts, he was sent to Oxford at fifteen years of age, and became a Fellow Commoner of Exeter-College, under the tuition of the famous Dr. John Prideaux (u), who was then Rector of it. He is said to have studied hard there for about two years, and was generally considered as a singular and extraordinary genius. He removed from thence to Lincoln's Inn, where he applied himself with great vigour and diligence to the study of the Law; but more especially endeavoured to gain a thorough knowledge of the constitution of his native country.

In

(u) Of this eminent Divine, who was afterwards raised to the Bishopric of Worcester, Mr. Granger gives the following account. "JOHN PRIDEAUX, some time Rector of Exeter-College in Oxford, and King's Professor of Divinity in that University, was deservedly esteemed one of the most learned men of that age. He was so well known abroad, that foreigners came from all parts of Europe to be instructed by him. Before he applied himself to learning, he stood candidate for the office of parish Clerk, at Ugborow in Devonshire; and, to his great mortification, saw another chosen into that place. Such was his poverty, at his first coming to Oxford, that he was employed in servile offices in the kitchen, at Exeter College, for his support. But he was

soon taken notice of for his admirable parts, and eager pursuit of knowledge, and admitted into that society. In process of time he became Rector of it, and was by Charles I. preferred to the Bishopric of Worcester. He has been often heard to say, that if he had been elected Clerk of Ugborow, he should never have been a Bishop. He was so far from being ashamed of his original poverty, that he kept the leather-breeches which he wore to Oxford, as a memorial of it. He was reputed the best disputant of his time in the University, and was Author of many learned Works, of which there is a catalogue in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*. He died on the 29th of July, 1650, aged seventy-two."-----*Biographical History of England*, Vol. I. P. 386.

In the nineteenth year of his age he was elected Member for Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, in that Parliament which met at Westminster in April, 1640, but which was soon after dissolved. When the civil war broke out, he sided with the Royal party, and after it had continued some time, he formed a scheme for restoring peace to the kingdom; of which Mr. Locke has given us an account to the following purpose. Sir Anthony being at Oxford, when the King was there, he was brought one day to his Majesty by his friend the Lord Falkland, then Secretary of State, and presented to him as having something to offer to his Majesty worth his consideration. At this audience he told the King, that he thought he could put an end to the war if his Majesty pleased, and would assist him in it. Charles answered, that he was a very young man for so great an undertaking. Sir Anthony replied, "That, Sir, will not be the worse for your Affairs, provided I do the business;" whereupon the King shewing a willingness to hear him, he discoursed to him to this purpose. The gentlemen and men of estates who first engaged in this war, seeing now after a year or two that it seems to be no nearer the end than it was at first, and beginning to be weary of it, he was very well satisfied, he said, that they would be glad to be at quiet at home again, if they could be assured of a redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to them. This being the present temper generally through all England, and particularly in those parts where his estate and concerns lay, he told his Majesty that if he would empower him to treat with the Parliament garrisons to grant them a full and general pardon, with an assurance that a general amnesty (arms being laid down on both sides) should re-instate all things in the same posture they were before the war, and then a free Parliament should do what more remained to be done for the settlement of the nation. In that case, he said, he would begin to try the experiment first in his own country, and doubted not but the good success he should have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garrisons, bringing them the news of peace and security in laying down their arms. Charles assented to this proposal, at least in appearance; for he furnished Sir Anthony with the powers that he required; upon which he immediately went into Dorsetshire, where he managed a treaty with the garrisons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others; and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been some few days after. But Prince Maurice, who commanded some of the King's forces, being then with his army in those parts, no sooner heard that the town was surrendered, but he presently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to his soldiers. This Sir Anthony saw with the utmost displeasure, and could not forbear to express his resentments to the Prince; so that there passed some pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his design broken.

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All that he could do was, that he sent to the other garrisons he was in treaty with, to stand upon their guard, for he could not secure his articles to them; and so this design proved abortive, and died in silence (*w*). Indeed, it cannot reasonably be supposed that the King ever entered seriously and heartily into Sir Anthony's scheme, notwithstanding the powers which he apparently gave him; for redressing the national grievances, and giving any proper security to the people for the preservation of their liberties, which was part of Sir Anthony's project, was utterly incompatible with Charles's views, character, and conduct.

This scheme of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper's for putting an end to the civil war being thus frustrated, it was not long before his active mind had framed another design to the same purpose. The first project of it took its rise in a debate between him and Serjeant Fountain in an inn at Hungerford, where they accidentally met; and both disliking the continuance of the war, and deploring the ruin it threatened, it was started between them, that the counties all through England should arm and endeavour to suppress the armies on both sides. This proposal, which, in one night's debate, looked more like a wish than a formed design, he afterwards considered more at leisure, and framed and fashioned it into a well ordered and practical contrivance, and never left working in it till he had brought many gentlemen of both sides all through England into the scheme. This was that which gave rise to that third sort of army, which of a sudden started up in several parts of England, with so much terror to the armies both of King and Parliament; and had not some of those who had engaged in it, and had undertaken to rise at the time appointed failed, the Clubmen (for so they were called) had been strong enough to carry their point, which was to make both sides lay down their arms; and, if they would not do it, to force them to it, to declare for a general amnesty, to have the then Parliament dissolved, and to have a new one called for redressing the grievances and settling the nation. He was for some time in Dorsetshire, forming and combining the parts of this great project, till at length he got it to begin to be put in execution. But those who had been forward to enter into the design, not being resolute enough to appear and act when the time came; and the Court, who had learnt or suspected that it had its rise and life from Sir Anthony, having so strict an eye upon him, that he could not maintain correspondence with distant counties, and animate the several parts as it was necessary, before it was his time to stir, he received a more than ordinary civil letter from the King to come to him at Oxford. But he wanted not friends there to inform him of the danger it would be to him to appear there, and to confirm him in
a suspicion

(*w*) Memoirs relating to the Life of Anthony, first Earl of Shaftesbury, written by Mr. Locke, and inserted among his posthumous Works, 8vo. Edit. 1706. P. 281—283.

a suspicion which he had entertained, that no such kindness was really intended him as was expressed in the King's letter. And, indeed, the Lord Goring, who lay with an army in those parts, had orders from the Court to seize him; and, in order to effectuate this, had civilly sent him word, that he would come such a day and dine with him. Finding, therefore, that he could be no longer safe at home, nor in the King's quarters, he repaired to the Parliament's quarters, and took shelter in Portsmouth. In this manner did Sir Anthony quit the Royal party, to which he was now become very obnoxious. For the Court, says Mr. Locke, that was then high, in hopes of nothing less than perfect conquest, and being masters of all, had a great aversion to moderate Counsels, and to those of the Nobility and Gentry of their party, who were authors or favourers of any such proposals as might bring things to a composition. Such well-wishers to their country, though they had spent much, and ventured all on the King's side, when they appeared for any other end of the war but dint of arms, and a total reduction of the Parliament by force, were counted enemies; and any contrivance carried on to that end was interpreted treason (x).

A person of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper's consideration, thus rejected and cast off by the King, and taking sanctuary with the Parliament party, was received by them with open arms; and though he came in from the other side, and put himself into their hands without any terms, yet there were those among them that so well knew his worth, and what value they ought to put upon it, that he was soon after offered considerable employments under them, and was actually entrusted with command, without so much as ever being questioned concerning what he knew of persons or councils on the other side, where they knew that his great penetration and forward mind would not let him live in ignorance among the great men, who are said to have been most of them his friends, and all his acquaintance (y).

But though Sir Anthony left the Royal party, with whom he had lived in confidence, and went over to the Parliament, he carried thither himself only, says Mr. Locke, and nothing of any body's else: he left them, and all their concerns, actions, purposes, and counsels, perfectly behind him; and no body of the King's side could complain of him after he left them, that he had any memory of what he had known when one of them. This forgetfulness, so becoming a gentleman and a man of honour, he had established so firmly in his own mind, that his resolution to persist in it had like afterwards to have cost him no little trouble. Mr. Denzil Holles (afterwards Lord Holles) had been one of the Commissioners employed by the Parliament in the treaty at Uxbridge, where he had had some secret and separate transactions with the King. This could not be kept so secret, but that it

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got

(x) *Memoirs*, as before, P. 284--286. (y) *Locke*, as before, P. 287.

got some vent, and some of the Parliament had intimation of it. Mr. Holles being afterwards attacked in Parliament by a contrary party, there wanted nothing, it is said, perfectly to ruin him, but some witness to give credit to such an accusation against him. They thought Sir Anthony would answer this purpose, because they had no doubt but he was acquainted with the affair; and they made sure that he would not fail to embrace such a fair opportunity of ruining Mr. Holles, who had been long his enemy upon a family quarrel, which he had carried so far, as, by his influence in the House, to hinder him from sitting in the Parliament upon a fair election for that Parliament. - Upon this presumption he was summoned to the House; and being called in, was there asked, whether when he was at Oxford, he knew not, or had not heard something concerning Mr. Holles's secret transaction with the King at the treaty at Uxbridge? To this question he told them he could answer nothing at all; for though possibly what he had to say would be to the clearing of Mr. Holles, yet he could not allow himself to say any thing in the case, since whatever answer he made, it would be a confession that if he had known any thing to the disadvantage of Mr. Holles, he would have taken that dishonourable way of doing him a prejudice, and wreak his revenge on a man that was his enemy. Those who had brought him there, pressed him earnestly to declare what he knew, but in vain, though threats were added of sending him to the Tower. He persisting resolutely silent, was ordered to withdraw, and those who had depended upon his discovery being disappointed, and consequently very much displeased, moved warmly for his commitment; of which he, waiting in the lobby, having notice, unmoved expected his doom, though several of his friends coming out, were earnest with him to satisfy the House; but he kept firm to his resolution, and found friends enough among the great men of the party that opposed Mr. Holles, to bring him off; who very much applauded the generosity of his behaviour, and shewed that it deserved the commendation, rather than the censure of the House; so that the angry men were ashamed to insist further on it, and therefore dropped the debate.

Some days after, Mr. Holles came to his lodging, and having in terms of great acknowledgment and esteem expressed his thanks for his late behaviour in the House with respect to him; Sir Anthony replied, that he pretended not thereby to merit any thing of him, or to lay an obligation on him; that what he had done was not out of any consideration of him, but what was due to himself, and what he should equally have done, had any other man been concerned in it; and therefore he was perfectly as much at liberty as before to live with him as he pleased. But, at the same time, he added, he was not so ignorant of Mr. Holles's worth, nor knew so little how to put a just value on his friendship, as not to receive it as a very great and sensible favour, if he
thought

thought him a person worthy on whom to bestow it. Mr. Holles, not less taken with his discourse than with what had occasioned it, gave him fresh and repeated assurances of his sincere and hearty friendship; which were received with suitable expressions. And thus an old quarrel, between two men of high spirits and great estates, neighbours in the same county, ended in a sound and firm friendship, which lasted as long as they lived. Mr. Locke, after relating this transaction, observes, that it brought to his remembrance what he had often heard Sir Anthony say concerning a man's obligation to silence, in regard to discourse made to him, or in his presence. It was this. That it was not enough to keep close, and uncommunicated what had been committed to him with that caution; but there was a general and tacit trust in conversation, whereby a man was obliged not to report again any thing that might be any way to the speaker's prejudice, though no intimation had been given of a desire not to have it spoken of again (z).

In the year 1644, Sir Anthony raised forces in the county of Dorset for the Parliament, was made Colonel of a regiment of horse, and took the Covenant. He marched with his own regiment, and Colonel Jephson's, to Wareham, then in the King's possession; and though he had not above 1500 men with him, yet he assaulted the out-works, carried one of them, and beat the Royalists into the town, which they surrendered on terms; three hundred of the garrison lifting themselves to serve the Parliament against the Irish rebels. While Sir Anthony was at Wareham, Sir Lewis Dives assembled together two thousand men in Dorsetshire, and wanted an opportunity to join the King's forces before Taunton. Sir Anthony, with an equal number of men, took the field to observe him, and hindered him from marching to the West. In 1643, he was chosen Sheriff of Norfolk; and, in 1646, Sheriff of the county of Wilts, having a particular ordinance of Parliament to live out of the county. He discharged his office in both those counties to general satisfaction, which was no easy matter in those difficult times; and though the business of the field was not so agreeable to his genius as that of the cabinet, yet he displayed in his military capacity a great deal of courage and conduct (a).

In 1651, Sir Anthony was one of the Committee of twenty, appointed to consider of ways and means for reforming the Law. They made considerable progress in this business; but the Parliament did not sit long enough to bring it to maturity. Cromwell put an end to their session, and summoned a Convention to meet on the 4th of July, 1653, in which Sir Anthony was chosen Member for the county of Wilts. He was also appointed one of the Protector's Council, and it is said that Oliver at first found

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him

him very complying. It is added, though there seems not sufficient authority for this, that Sir Anthony, in order ' to make his court to Cromwell, desired one of his daughters in marriage, his first wife being dead ; but Cromwell, who though he had not so much learning, yet had as much cunning as Cooper, began to grow jealous of Sir Anthony's politics and ambition, and refused to take him so near into his bosom. This disgusted the Privy-Counsellor, and he afterwards fell in with the country party against the Protector's Court (*b*).' It is certain, that he opposed the illegal proceedings of Cromwell with great vigour ; and he was one of the principal persons who signed that famous protestation, charging the Protector with tyranny and arbitrary Government.

After the death of Oliver, and the deposition of the Protector Richard, Sir Anthony was nominated one of the Council of State, and a Commissioner for managing the army. He was returned a Member for Dorsetshire, in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which assembled in April, 1660 ; and a motion being made to restore the Regal Government, he was appointed one of the twelve Members of the House of Commons, who were to carry their invitation to the King. It was in performing this service, that he had the misfortune to be over-turned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was Lord-Chancellor.

Sir Anthony had, indeed, a considerable hand in bringing about the Restoration ; but it must be remembered to his honour, that he was not for restoring the King without terms, but was desirous that he should have been obliged to fulfil the conditions of the Isle of Wight treaty, in order to secure the liberties of the people : but this was prevented by Monk. Sir Anthony has, however, been justly censured, for sitting as one of the Commissioners to try King Charles the First's Judges ; which was not very decent or consistent in a man who had been actively engaged in the opposition to that weak and tyrannical Prince. Some others of the great men of that age behaved in a much more commendable manner on this occasion. Ludlow informs us, that ' the Earl of Northumberland was heard to say, That though he had no part in the death of the King, he was against questioning those who had been concerned in that affair ; that the example might be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future Kings, by deterring them from future exorbitancies. And the Lord Fairfax, on that subject, plainly said, that if any person must be excepted, he knew no man that deserved it more than himself ; who, being General of the army at that time, and

(*b*) *Lives English and Foreign*, Vol. II. P. 204. See also Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. Col. 541. Edit. 1692.

• and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the King, had not thought fit to make use of it to that end.’

In June, 1660, Sir Anthony was sworn a Member of the Privy Council; and on the 20th of April, 1661, he was created Baron Ashley of Winborne St. Giles. * He was soon after made Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and afterwards Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorset; and upon the death of the Earl of Southampton, he was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of High Treasurer. His abilities undoubtedly qualified him for the highest posts; but it must be confessed, that his conduct as a Minister of State was in many respects extremely censurable. He had a principal share in the proceedings of that Ministry which was termed the *Cabal*; a word consisting of the initial letters of the names of those which composed it, namely, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale.

On the 23d of April, 1672, he was created Baron Cooper of Pawlet, in the county of Somerset, and Earl of Shaftesbury; and on the 4th of November following, he was made Lord High Chancellor of England. His great knowledge in the laws and constitution of his country, together with his eminent oratorical talents, enabled him to make a great and distinguished figure in this important post; the duties of which he discharged with uncommon abilities, and the utmost integrity, as is acknowledged even by those who in other respects have spoken of him with great severity.

In November, 1673, King Charles thought proper to remove the Earl of Shaftesbury from the post of Chancellor; and the following account is given of the manner of his resignation, by Echard, in his History of England. “ Soon after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl was sent for, on a Sunday morning, to Court, as was also Sir Heneage Finch, Attorney-General, to whom the Seals were promised. As soon as the Earl came, he retired with the King into the closet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph to see him return without the purse. His Lordship being alone with the King, said, “ Sir, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney-General, but I am sure “ your Majesty never intended to dismiss me with contempt.” The King, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, “ God’s fish, my Lord, I will not do it with any circumstance “ that may look like an affront.” “ Then, Sir,” said the Earl, “ I desire your Majesty will permit me to carry the Seals before “ you to chapel, and send for them afterwards from my house.” To which his Majesty readily complied, and the Earl entertained the King with news, and other diverting stories, till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to amuse the Courtiers and his successor, who he believed was upon the rack for fear he should prevail upon the King to change his mind. The King and the still Chancellor came out of the closet talking together, and

and smiling, and went together to chapel, which surprized them all, who could have no opportunity to inform themselves what was to be expected, and some ran immediately to tell the Duke of York all their measures were broken, and the Attorney-General was said to be inconsolable. After sermon the Earl went home with the Seals, and that evening the King gave them to the Attorney-General."

After his removal from the Chancellorship, Lord Shaftesbury connected himself with the party in opposition to the Court. In April, 1675, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, by which all Officers of State, and Members of both Houses of Parliament, were to be obliged to take an oath, declaring, "that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King." This bill occasioned very warm debates: and Bishop Burnet says, that "Lord Shaftesbury distinguished himself more in this session, than ever he had done before. He spoke once a whole hour, to shew the inconvenience of condemning all resistance upon any pretence whatsoever. He said, it might be proper to lay such ties upon those who served in the Militia, and in corporations, because there was still a superior power in Parliament to declare the extent of the oath: but it might be of very ill consequence to lay it on a Parliament; since there might be cases, though so far out of view that it was hard to suppose them, in which he believed no man would say it was not lawful to resist. If a King would make us a province, or tributary to France, and subdue the nation by a French army, or to the Papal authority, must we be bound in that case tamely to submit? Upon which he said many things that did cut to the quick. And yet, though his words were watched, so that it was resolved to have sent him to the Tower, if any one word had fallen from him that had made him liable to such a censure, he spoke both with so much boldness, and so much caution, that though he provoked the Court extremely, no advantage could be taken against him. The Court carried every question in favour of the test, though with great opposition, and a protestation made upon every step that was carried. So that the bill was in a fair way to have passed: and very probably it would have passed in the House of Commons, when by an unlooked for emergent the session was broke (c)."

The affair to which the Bishop refers, was the disagreement between the two Houses in the case of Dr. Shirley, who had brought an appeal into the House of Lords against Sir John Fag, a Member of the House of Commons (d). The contest between the two Houses on this subject being carried to a great height, occasioned the prorogation of the Parliament. But in the course

(c) Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, Vol. I. P. 384, 385. (d) *Vid.* Parliamentary Debates, published by Torphuck in 1741. Vol. I. P. 115--166.

course of the debates on this occasion, Lord Shaftesbury made a very long and very eloquent speech, from which we shall extract the following remarkable passage: ' I have often seen in this House, that the arguments with strongest reason, and most convincing to the Lay-Lords in general, have not had the same effect upon the *Bishop's bench* : but that they have unanimously gone against us in matters, that many of us have thought essential and undoubted rights. And I consider, that 'tis not possible that men of great learning, piety, and reason, as their Lordships are, should not have the same care of doing right, and the same conviction of what is right upon clear reason offered, that other of your Lordships have. And, therefore, my Lords, I must necessarily think we differ in principles, and then 'tis very easy to apprehend, that what is the clearest sense to men of my principle, may not at all persuade or affect the conscience of the best man of a different one. I put your Lordships the case plainly as 'tis now before us. My principle is, *That the King is King by law, and by the same law that the poor man enjoys his cottage* ; and so it becomes the concern of every man in England, that has but his liberty, to maintain and defend, to his utmost, the King in all his rights and prerogatives. My principle is also, That the Lords House, and the judicature and rights belonging to it, are an essential part of the Government, and established by the same law : the King governing and administering justice by his House of Lords, and advising with both his Houses of Parliament in all important matters, is the Government I own, am born under, and am obliged to. If ever there should happen in future ages (which GOD forbid) a King governing by an army, without his Parliament, 'tis a Government I own not, am not obliged to, nor was born under. According to this principle, every honest man that holds it must endeavour equally to preserve the frame of the Government, in all the parts of it, and cannot satisfy his conscience to give up the Lords House for the service of the Crown, or to take away the just rights and privileges of the House of Commons to please the Lords. But there is another principle got into the world, my Lords, that hath not been long there ; for Archbishop Laud was the first author that I remember of it ; and I cannot find that the Jesuits, or indeed the Popish Clergy, have ever owned it, but some of the episcopal Clergy of our British isles ; and withal, as 'tis new, so 'tis the most dangerous, destructive doctrine to our Government and law, that ever was. 'Tis the first of the Canons published by the Convocation, in 1640, *That Monarchy is of Divine Right*. This Doctrine was then preached up, and maintained by Sibthorp, Manwaring, and others ; and of later years by a book published by Dr. Sanderfon, Bishop of Lincoln, under the name of Archbishop Usher ; and how much it is spread amongst our dignified Clergy, is very easily known. We all agree, that the

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King

‘ King and his Government is to be obeyed for conscience sake ;
 ‘ and that the Divine precepts require not only here, but in all
 ‘ parts of the world, obedience to lawful Governors. But that
 ‘ family are our Kings, and this particular frame of Government
 ‘ is our lawful constitution, and obliges us, is owing only to the
 ‘ particular laws of our country. This Laudean doctrine was
 ‘ the root that produced the bill of Test last session ; and some
 ‘ very perplexed oaths, that are of the same nature with that, and
 ‘ yet imposed by several Acts this Parliament.

‘ In a word, if this doctrine be true, our Magna Charta is of
 ‘ no use, our laws are but rules amongst ourselves during the
 ‘ King’s pleasure. Monarchy, if of Divine right, cannot be
 ‘ bounded or limited by human laws ; nay, what’s more, cannot
 ‘ bind itself : and all our claims of right by the law, or consti-
 ‘ tution of the Government, all the jurisdiction and privilege of
 ‘ this House, all the rights and privileges of the House of Com-
 ‘ mons, all the properties and liberties of the people, are to give
 ‘ way not only to the interest, but the will and pleasure of the
 ‘ Crown. And the best and worthiest of men, holding this prin-
 ‘ ciple, must vote to deliver up all we have, not only when rea-
 ‘ son of State, and the separate interest of the Crown require it ;
 ‘ but when the will and pleasure of the King is known, would
 ‘ have it so. For that must be, to a man of that principle, the
 ‘ only rule and measure of right and justice. Therefore, my
 ‘ Lords, you see how necessary it is, that all our principles be
 ‘ known ; and how fatal to us all it is, that this principle should
 ‘ be suffered to spread any farther.’

In 1676, the Duke of Buckingham made a speech, endeavour-
 ing to shew that the Parliament was in effect dissolved, in conse-
 quence of its having been prorogued for above a year ; and he
 was seconded by the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Salisbury,
 and the Lord Wharton ; whereupon they were all four sent to the
 Tower, for contempt of the authority of the Parliament. Buck-
 ingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, were soon after dismissed on
 their submission ; but Shaftesbury refusing to make any acknow-
 ledgment, was continued in his confinement for thirteen months.
 This long imprisonment very much impaired his health, and his
 physicians declared that his life was in danger ; and though he
 recovered his liberty, yet he never after was of so sound and
 healthy a constitution as before his confinement.

After Lord Shaftesbury’s enlargement, he managed the opposi-
 tion to the Earl of Danby’s administration with great vigour and
 dexterity. And the King at length finding it necessary to make
 a change in his Ministry, he dismissed all the Privy Council at
 once, and formed a new one. This was declared on the 21st of
 April, 1679 ; and at the same time the Earl of Shaftesbury was
 appointed Lord President : but he did not hold this employment
 above six months. He drew upon himself the implacable hatred
 of the Duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally
 inventing,

inventing, the project of an exclusion-bill; and the Duke's party was therefore constantly at work against him. Upon the King's summoning a Parliament to meet at Oxford, on the 21st of March, 1681, he joined with several Lords in a petition to prevent its meeting there; which, however, failed of success. He was present at that Parliament, and strenuously supported the exclusion-bill: which induced the Duke of York and his party to do all they could to ruin him. For which purpose a bill of indictment of high treason was presented to the Grand Jury at the Old Bailey against the Earl; but after examining the witnesses in open court, the jury threw out the bill, and he was soon after set at liberty. Great rejoicings were made upon account of his Lordship's acquittal and discharge both in the city of London and in the country, and a medal was struck upon the occasion.

Lord Shaftesbury did not, however, yet think himself safe, as his bitterest enemies were now in the zenith of their power. He, therefore, embarked for Holland in November, 1682; and arriving safely at Amsterdam, was soon after visited by the States-Deputies, and other persons of quality. He hired a noble house, and was making the necessary preparations for living there in a manner suitable to his rank and fortune; when the gout seizing him, (a disorder with which he had been much afflicted) and flying upwards to his stomach, put a period to his life on the 22d of January, 1683, in the sixty-second year of his age. His body was embalmed, and transported into England. The ship was hung with mourning; and the corpse being landed at Poole in Dorsetshire, the gentlemen of that county, without any invitation, went to meet it, and accompanied it to Wimborne St. Giles, his antient seat, where he was interred with his ancestors.

The Earl of SHAFTESBURY was a man of very great abilities, profoundly skilled in the laws and constitution of his country, and one of the greatest Statesmen and most accomplished Orators of the age in which he lived. He has been much censured for his ambition, and the mutability of his conduct; and it must be confessed that his behaviour when in power was, in many respects, very exceptionable; though it may, perhaps, be doubted, whether there is sufficient foundation for the severity with which he has been treated by some ingenious Writers. He is said to have been too much addicted to a licentious intercourse with the female sex. We are told, that King Charles II. who would both take liberties, and bear them, once said to the Earl at Court, in a vein of raillery and good humour, and in reference only to his amours, "I believe, Shaftesbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions." To which, with a low bow, and a very grave face, the Earl replied, "May it please your Majesty, of a *Subject* "I believe I am:" at which the merry Monarch is said to have laughed very heartily. His Lordship was three times married:

by his second Lady he had one son, who succeeded him in his honours and estate.

Mr. Peck has published an extraordinary character, written by this Earl of Shaftesbury, of the Hon. William Hastings, of the Woodlands, in the county of Southampton, who was second son to Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; and which we shall here insert, because it is, as Mr. Horace Walpole observes, "a curious and well-drawn portrait of our antient English Gertry."

' In the year 1638 lived Mr. HASTINGS; by his quality son, brother, and uncle, to the Earls of Huntingdon. He was peradventure an original in our age, or rather the copy of our antient Nobility in hunting, not in warlike, times. He was low, very strong, and very active; of a reddish, flaxen hair. His clothes always green cloth, and never all worth (when new) five pounds. His house was perfectly of the old fashion, in the midst of a large park, well stocked with deer. And, near the house, rabbits to serve his kitchen, many fish-ponds, great store of wood and timber; a bowling-green in it, long, but narrow, full of high ridges; it being never levelled since it was plowed. They used round sand bowls; and it had a banquetting-house, like a stand, a large one, built in a tree.

' He kept all manner of sport-hounds, that ran buck, fox, hare, otter and badger; and hawks, long and short-winged. He had all sorts of nets for fish. He had a walk in the New Forest; and the manor of Christ's-Church: this last supplied him with red deer, sea and river fish. And indeed all his neighbours grounds and royalties were free to him; who bestowed all his time on these sports, but what he borrowed to carefs his neighbours wives and daughters; there being not a woman, in all his walks, of the degree of a yeoman's wife, or under, and under the age of forty, but it was extremely her fault, if he was not intimately acquainted with her. This made him very popular; always speaking kindly to the husband, brother, or father; who was, to boot, very welcome to his house, whenever he came. There he found beef, pudding, and small beer, in great plenty; a house, not so neatly kept as to shame him, or his dusty shoes; the great hall strewed with marrow-bones, full of hawks perches, hounds, spaniels, and terriers; the upper side of the hall, hung with the fox skins of this and the last year's killing, here and there a pole-cat intermixed; game-keepers and hunters poles, in great abundance.

' The parlour was a large long room, as properly furnished. On a great hearth, paved with brick, lay some terriers, and the choicest hounds and spaniels. Seldom but two of the great chairs had litters of young cats in them, which were not to be disturbed; he having always three or four attending him at

‘ dinner, and a little white round stick of fourteen inches long lying by his trencher, that he might defend such meat as he had no mind to part with to them. The windows, which were very large, served for places to lay his arrows, cross-bows, stone-bows, and other such-like accoutrements. The corners of the room, full of the best chose hunting and hawking poles. An oyster table, at the lower end ; which was of constant use, twice a day, all the year round. For he never failed to eat oysters, before dinner and supper, through all seasons : the neighbouring town of Poole supplied him with them.

‘ The upper part of the room had two small tables and a desk, on the one side of which was a church-bible, and, on the other, the book of Martyrs. On the tables were hawks hoods, bells, and such like ; two or three old green hats, with their crowns thrust in, so as to hold ten or a dozen eggs, which were of a pheasant kind of poultry he took much care of, and fed himself. Tables, dice, cards, and boxes, were not wanting. In the hole of the desk were store of tobacco pipes, that had been used.

‘ On one side of this end of the room was the door of a closet, wherein stood the strong beer and the wine, which never came thence but in single glasses ; that being the rule of the house exactly observed. For he never exceeded in drink, or permitted it. On the other side was the door into an old chapel, not used for devotion. The pulpit, as the safest place, was never wanting of a cold chine of beef, venison pasty, gammon of bacon, or great apple-pye, with thick crust, extremely baked.

‘ His table cost him not much, though it was good to eat at. His sports supplied all but beef and mutton ; except Fridays, when he had the best salt-fish (as well as other fish) he could get ; and was the day his neighbours of best quality most visited him. He never wanted a London pudding, and always sung it in, with *my pert eyes therein-a*. He drank a glass or two of wine at meals ; very often syrup of gillyflowers in his sack ; and had always a tun glass, without feet, stood by him, holding a pint of small beer, which he often stirred with rosemary.

‘ He was well-natured, but soon angry ; calling his servants bastards and cuckoldly knaves ; in one of which he often spoke truth to his own knowledge, and sometimes in both, though of the same man. He lived to be an hundred ; never lost his eyesight, but always wrote and read without spectacles, and got on horseback without help. Until past fourscore he rid to the death of a stag as well as any (*e*). There is a picture of this Mr. Hastings at the seat of Lord Shaftesbury, at St. Giles’s, near Cranborne, in Dorsetshire.

(*e*) Peck’s Collection of Curious Historical Pieces, 4to. 1740. P. 89--91.

The Life of ROGER BOYLE, Lord Broghill, and Earl of Orrery.

THIS Nobleman was the fifth son of Richard Boyle, often stiled the Great Earl of Corke, of whom we have given an account in the fourth Volume of our Work (*f*). He was born on the 25th of April, 1621, and created Baron Broghill, in the kingdom of Ireland, when he was only seven years old. He was educated at the College of Dublin; and, about the year 1636, was, by his father, sent with his elder brother, Lord Kynalmeaky, to make the tour of France and Italy. After his return, he married Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk. During the rebellion, which about this time broke out in Ireland, he commanded a troop of horse in the forces raised by his father, and on many occasions gave the most unquestionable proofs both of his courage and capacity.

After the cessation of arms, which was concluded on the 15th of September, 1643, Lord Broghill came over into England, and represented the true character of the Irish Papists in such a light to King Charles I. that his Majesty, we are told, was convinced they never meant to keep the cessation, and therefore sent a commission to Lord Inchiquin, President of Munster, to act against the rebels. Lord Broghill employed his interest in that country to assist him in this service; and he also acted under the Parliamentary Commissioners against the rebels, till the execution of the King. But that event is said to have so much shocked him, that he immediately quitted the service of the Parliament; and looking upon the estate he had in Ireland as utterly lost, he embarked for England, and retired to Marston, a seat which he had in Somersetshire, where he lived privately till the year 1649.

In this retirement, reflecting on the distress of his country, and the personal injury he suffered whilst his estate was held by the Irish rebels, he resolved, under pretence of going to the Spaw for his health, to cross the seas, and apply to King Charles II. for a commission to raise forces in Ireland, in order to restore his Majesty, and recover his own estate. He desired the Earl of Warwick, who had an interest in the prevailing party, to procure a
licence

licence for him to go to the Spaw. He pretended to the Earl, that his sole view was the recovery of his health ; but, to some of his friends of the Royal party, in whom he thought he could confide, he discovered his real design ; and, having raised a considerable sum of money, came up to London to prosecute his voyage. But whilst he was making the necessary preparations for that purpose, a gentleman belonging to Cromwell, who was then made General of all the Parliament's forces in the room of Sir Thomas Fairfax, came to his lodgings, to let him know that the General, his master, intended to wait upon him, if he knew but the hour when he would be at leisure to receive him. Lord Broghill was exceedingly surprized at this message, having never had the least acquaintance, or exchanged a single word with Cromwell. He, therefore, told the gentleman, that he presumed he was mistaken, and that he was not the person to whom the General had sent him. The gentleman readily replied, that he was sent to the Lord Broghill ; and therefore, if he was that Lord, he was sent to him. His Lordship finding there was no mistake in the delivery of the message, acknowledged that he was the Lord Broghill ; and desired the gentleman to present his humble duty to General Cromwell, and to let him know, that " he would not give him the trouble to come to him, but that he himself would wait upon his Excellency, if he knew at what hour it would be most proper for him to do so ; and that, in the mean time, he would stay at home, to receive his farther commands." The gentleman replied, that he would return directly, and acquaint the General with what his Lordship said ; and accordingly departed for that purpose.

In the mean time, Lord Broghill was under a good deal of concern, at what should be the meaning of this message ; though he never once suspected that his design was discovered. But while he was musing upon what had passed, and expecting the return of the gentleman, he saw Cromwell himself, to his great surprize, enter the room. When some mutual civilities had passed between them, and they were left alone, Cromwell told him in few words, " That the Committee of State were apprized of his design of going over, and applying to Charles Stuart for a commission to raise forces in Ireland ; and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himself had not diverted them from that resolution." Lord Broghill interrupted him here, and assured him, that the intelligence the Committee had received was false ; that he was neither in a capacity, nor had any inclination, to raise disturbances in Ireland ; and concluded with intreating his Excellency to have a kinder opinion of him. Cromwell, instead of making any reply, drew some papers out of his pocket, which were the copies of several letters Lord Broghill had sent to those persons in whom he most confided, and put them into his hands. Upon the perusal of
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these papers, Lord Broghill finding it was to no purpose to dissemble any longer, asked his Excellency's pardon for what he had said, returned him his humble thanks for his protection against the Committee, and intreated his directions how he ought to behave in so delicate a conjuncture. Cromwell told him, "that though till this time he had been a stranger to his person, he was not so to his merit and character; that he had heard how gallantly his Lordship had already behaved in the Irish wars; and therefore since he was named Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the reducing that kingdom was now become his province, he had obtained leave of the Committee to offer his Lordship the command of a General Officer, if he would serve in that war; that he should have no oaths or engagements imposed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his sword against any but the Irish rebels."

Lord Broghill was much surprized at so generous and unexpected an offer: he saw himself at liberty, by all the rules of honour, to serve against the Irish, whose rebellion and barbarities were equally detested by the Royal party and the Parliament. He desired the General, however, to give him some time to consider of what had been proposed to him. Cromwell briskly told him, that "he must come to some resolution that very instant; that he himself was returning to the Committee, who were still sitting; and if his Lordship rejected their offer, had determined to send him immediately to the Tower." Lord Broghill, finding that his liberty and life were in imminent danger, and charmed with the frankness and generosity of Cromwell's behaviour, gave him his word and honour, that he would faithfully serve him against the Irish rebels. Upon which Cromwell once more assured him, that the conditions he had made with him, should be punctually observed; and then ordered him to repair immediately to Bristol, to which place forces should be sent him, with a sufficient number of ships to transport them into Ireland. He added, that he himself would soon follow him; and was as good as his word in every particular (g).

Lord Broghill, pursuant to the Lord Lieutenant's order, hastened to Bristol, where every thing was soon sent to enable him to pass over into Ireland. Upon his arrival in that kingdom, so much had he gained the affections of all who had served under him before, that they immediately repaired to him; so that he had soon a troop of horse, which consisted all of gentlemen, and a regiment of fifteen hundred men well appointed. With these he hovered up and down the country, till the Lord-Lieutenant himself landed with an army of twelve thousand horse and foot, whom he joined at Wexford. Lord Broghill had been advised by
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(g) Budgell's *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles*, Edit. 1737. P. 41---48.

some of his friends to have a care of Cromwell, and not to put himself in his power, but to act at least at the head of a separate army. But his Lordship, considering how much encouragement it would give the rebels, should they perceive any jealousies amongst those who acted against them, resolved to rely entirely upon the Lord-Lieutenant's honour; and he found no reason to repent of his confidence (*b*).

Whilst Cromwell was employed in besieging Clonmell, Lord Broghill was detached to disperse a body of five hundred men, which had assembled to relieve the place; and accordingly his Lordship, with two thousand horse, came up with the enemy at Maccroom, on the 10th of May, 1650; and, without waiting for the arrival of his foot, immediately attacked and routed them, making their General, the titular Bishop of Ross, prisoner. He offered this martial Prelate his life, if he would order the garrison of Carrigdroghid castle to surrender; which the Bishop promised; but, when conducted to the place, he advised them to defend it to the last extremity: upon which Lord Broghill ordered him to be hanged. He also sent a summons to the castle to surrender, and acquainted them that if they did not do this before the arrival of his battering cannon, they were to expect no quarter. His own army was surprized at his throwing out this menace, as knowing he had not one piece of heavy cannon; but Broghill had ordered the trunks of several large trees to be drawn at a distance by his baggage horses; which the besieged perceiving, and judging from the slowness of the motion that the guns must be of a vast size, immediately capitulated. After this he marched to the assistance of Cromwell, who was still engaged in the siege of Clonmel; and his Lordship contributed not a little to the reduction of that place.

Soon after this, Cromwell was sent for by the Parliament to oppose the Scots: upon which, making Ireton his deputy, and Commander in Chief of the forces in Ireland, and leaving Lord Broghill at the head of a flying camp in Munster, he embarked for England. Lord Broghill, with his little army, took several places, routed the enemy in several encounters, and gave undeniable proofs of great conduct, and an undaunted courage, hazarding his own person upon several occasions with the utmost frankness and gallantry. His successes and victories, joined to the affability of his behaviour, acquired him so great a reputation, that Ireton (who suspected he had still a hankering towards the Royal party) is reported to have said to one or two of his friends, "We must take off Broghill, or he will ruin us all (*i*)."

During the siege of Limerick, in which Broghill served under Ireton, he performed a very gallant action. He was commanded by Ireton to prevent the Lord Muskerry's joining the Pope's Nuncio, who had already got together a body of eight thousand men.

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and determined, as soon as he was joined by Muskerry, to attempt the relief of Limerick. Lord Broghill had but six hundred foot and four hundred horse assigned him for this service: however, he marched with so much expedition, that he came up with Muskerry before he was able to join the Nuncio. Muskerry was at the head of one thousand horse and dragoons, and about two thousand foot; notwithstanding which, Lord Broghill fell resolutely upon him. The charge was desperate on both sides: the Irish, who were three to one, at last surrounded the English, but offered quarter to Lord Broghill; who, to encourage his men, exposed his own person wherever his enemies seemed most likely to prevail. His Lordship refusing to accept of the quarter which was offered him, the Irish cried out, "Kill the fellow in the gold-laced coat;" which in all probability they had done, if a reformado Lieutenant, of his own troop, had not come in to his rescue; who, before he could bring him off, was shot twice himself, and had his horse killed under him. The English, after the example of their Commander, resolving now either to conquer or die, fought with so desperate a courage, that they at last routed their enemies, of whom they killed six hundred upon the spot, and took a good number prisoners (k).

After Cromwell had assumed the Protectorship, he sent for Lord Broghill over into England, and made him one of his Privy Council, and (though perhaps he trusted no man more than he was obliged to) is said to have allowed him as great a share of his confidence as to any man, excepting Thurloe. It is also said, that he once advised Cromwell to restore Charles the Second to the Throne, and to secure himself, his family, and his friends, by marrying one of his daughters to the King. And to this purpose Burnet gives us an account of a conversation on the subject between Cromwell and Lord Broghill, which we have already inserted in the Life of Cromwell (l).

In 1656, the Protector wanting a man of ability to preside in Scotland, pitched upon Lord Broghill. His Lordship, who was sensible that this great, but ticklish post, might prove his ruin, would have declined accepting it; but Cromwell telling him that it was necessary for his service, Broghill was obliged to submit. However, before he went into Scotland, he obtained a promise from the Protector, that he should be recalled in one year; and that his Highness would believe no complaints that might be made against him, till he had an opportunity of vindicating himself. Cromwell, conformable to this promise, recalled him at the end of one year; and though, as Lord Broghill had foreseen, the most violent complaints had been made against him, Cromwell would credit none of them, till he had heard what his Lordship could say for himself. Upon his return to London, he gave so clear an account of his conduct in every particular, and

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of the reasons which induced him to act as he had done, that Cromwell conceived a much higher esteem for him than ever (*m*).

Lord Broghill continued to be much in Oliver's confidence and favour till his death, and he afterwards did all he could to serve his son Richard Cromwell, and to support his authority ; but finding his endeavours for that purpose ineffectual, and that the family of Cromwell would inevitably be laid aside, he was henceforward very active and zealous to restore the King, and for that purpose went over into Ireland, where he determined to endeavour to get the whole army in Ireland to join with him in his design ; to gain, if possible, Sir Charles Coote, who had great power in the North ; and then to send to Monk in Scotland. But whilst he was busied in these thoughts, a summons came to him from the Parliament Commissioners lately arrived from England, which required him to appear forthwith before them at the castle in Dublin. He acquainted his most intimate friends with this message ; who all advised him to stand upon his guard, and not put himself in the power of his enemies : but as he thought himself not strong enough yet to take such a step, he resolved to obey the Commissioners summons. He, therefore, took his own troop with him as a guard, and set out for Dublin. When he came to the city, leaving his troop in the suburbs, he acquainted the Commissioners, that in obedience to their commands, he was come to know their farther pleasure. The day after his arrival, the Commissioners met in council ; and Lord Broghill appearing before them, they told him, that it was apprehended that he had some design to practise against the present Government ; and that therefore they had orders to confine him, unless he would give sufficient security for his peaceable behaviour. He desired to know what security they expected. They told him, that since he had a great interest in Munster, they only desired him to engage, on the forfeiture of his life and estate, that there should be no commotion in that province. He now, we are told, plainly saw the snare that was laid for him ; and that if he entered into such an engagement, his enemies themselves might raise some commotion in Munster. He saw himself, however, in their power ; and made no manner of doubt, but that if he refused to give them the security they demanded, they would immediately clap him up in a prison. He, therefore, desired some time to consider of their proposal ; but was told, they could give him no time, and expected his immediate answer. Finding himself thus closely pressed, he humbly desired to be satisfied in one point, namely, ' If they intended to put the whole power of Munster into his hands ?-- If they did, he said, he was ready to enter into the engagement they demanded : but if they did not, he must appeal to all the world how cruel and unreasonable

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‘ it was, to expect he should answer for the behaviour of those people over whom he had no command.’

The Commissioners found themselves so much embarrassed with this question, that they ordered him to withdraw ; and as soon as he had left the Council-chamber, fell into a warm debate among themselves, and were of very different opinions how they ought to proceed with them. At last Steele, who was not only one of the Commissioners, but also Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, declared, “ he was afraid that even the honest party in Ireland would think it very hard to see a man clapped up in prison, who had done such signal services to the Protestants ; but that, on the other hand, he could never consent to an increase of the Lord Broghill’s power, which the State was apprehensive might one day be employed against them.” He, therefore, proposed, that things should stand as they did at present ; that his Lordship should be called in, sent back to Munster in a good humour, and be suffered, at least, to continue there till they received further instructions from England. This proposal was agreed to by the majority of the board ; and Lord Broghill, being called in, was told in the most obliging manner, that “ the board was so sensible of the gallant actions he had performed in the Irish wars, and had so high an opinion of his honour, that they would depend upon that alone for his peaceable behaviour.”

Upon his return to Munster, Lord Broghill applied himself with great assiduity to form a party for the King’s Restoration. The first person of consideration whom he engaged in the design was Colonel Willson, Governor of Limerick, where there was a garrison of 2000 men ; and having himself secured all Munster, he sent a trusty Agent to Sir Charles Coote, and prevailed upon that gentleman to do in the North of Ireland, what he himself had done in the South. And Lord Broghill at length, being empowered by most of the chief Officers in Ireland, under their hands, dispatched his brother, the Lord Shannon, to the King, then in Flanders, with a letter quilted in the neck of his doublet, to acquaint his Majesty with the measures he had taken, and inviting him to come into his kingdom of Ireland, assuring him, that if he pleased to land at Corke, he should be received with a sufficient force to protect him against all his enemies. Charles was extremely pleased at the receipt of Lord Broghill’s letter ; but was prevented from making any voyage to Ireland, by receiving letters from England soon after, acquainting him, that in all probability he would very soon be invited thither.

When the Restoration had actually taken place, Lord Orrery came to England, in order to congratulate the King upon his return ; but, instead of being thanked for his services in Ireland, he was received with the utmost coolness. Upon enquiry, he learnt, that Sir Charles Coote had assured the King, that he was the first man that stirred for him in Ireland ; and that Lord Bro-

hill opposed his Majesty's return, and was not at last brought to consent to it without much difficulty. His Lordship recollecting that he had still by him a letter from Sir Charles to himself, in which were these Words, 'Remember my Lord, that you first put me on this design; and, I beseech you, forsake me not in that which you first put me upon, which was, to declare for King and Parliament,' desired his brother Shannon to put it into the hands of the King, who being fully convinced by it how serviceable Broghill had been to him, looked upon him with as gracious an eye as he could himself desire or expect. And accordingly his Lordship was soon after made Earl of Orrery, sworn of the Privy Council, appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, and Lord President of Munster. And his conduct, while at the head of affairs in that kingdom, was such, as greatly added to the general esteem in which his character was before held.

Lord Orrery drew with his own hand the famous Act of Settlement, by which he fixed the property, and gave titles to their estates to a whole nation, and the most lasting security to the Protestant interest in Ireland. When the Duke of Ormond was declared Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom, the Earl of Orrery went into Munster; and by virtue of his office of President of that province, he heard and determined causes in a court called the Residency-Court; and acquired so great a reputation in this judicial capacity, that he is said to have been offered the Seals both by the King and the Duke of York, after the fall of the Earl of Clarendon; but being very much afflicted with the gout, he declined a post that required constant attendance. During the first Dutch war, wherein France acted in confederacy with Holland, Lord Orrery defeated the scheme formed by the Duke de Beaufort, Admiral of France, to get possession of the harbour of Kinsale; and his Lordship took advantage of the terror of the people, and the alarm of the Government, to get a fort erected under his own directions, which was named Fort Charles. He also promoted a scheme for enquiring into and improving the King's revenue in Ireland; but his Majesty having applied great sums out of the revenue of that kingdom, which were not properly brought to account, the enquiry was never begun.

In the mean time, his old friend the Duke of Ormond (m) began to entertain a jealousy of Lord Orrery, and prevailed with the King to direct him to lay down his presidential court; as a compensation for which, his Majesty, it is said, made him a present of 8000*l*. However, Sir Thomas Clifford, who had been brought into the Ministry in England, being apprehensive that Lord Orrery would prevent his carrying on his designs in Ireland, in consequence of his interest in Munster, procured articles of impeachment of high treason and misdemeanours to be exhib-

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bited against him in the English House of Commons. On the day appointed for him to make his defence, his Lordship, attended by a great number of his friends, went from his house in Leicester-Fields to Westminster; but being much troubled with the gout, he went up the stairs leading from Westminster-Hall to the Court of Requests but heavily; which a friend of his observing, and expressing his concern for his Lordship's pain and trouble, he answered him immediately in these words: "It is true, Sir, my feet are weak, but if my heels will serve to carry me up, I promise you my head shall bring me safe down again." The event shewed that he was in the right; for tho' there had been abundant pains taken in forming the accusation against him, yet his answer was so clear, so circumstantial, and so ingenuous, that his enemies found it necessary to drop any further proceedings against him.

The Earl of Orrery was often consulted by King Charles on affairs of the utmost consequence; and it is said that on all occasions he gave his opinion and advice with an honest freedom. His Majesty laboured in vain to reconcile him to the French alliance, and the war with the Dutch: however, in order to hinder his returning to Ireland, and to keep him about his person, the King offered him the place of Lord-Treasurer: but Lord Orrery plainly told his Majesty, that he was guided by unsteady Counsellors, with whom he could not act. His Lordship died on the 16th of October, 1679, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, greatly regretted by all ranks of people.

The Earl of ORRERY was a man of parts and learning, a good soldier, and an able Statesman, and remarkable for his presence of mind, which enabled him to extricate himself with extraordinary dexterity from the greatest difficulties. His courage and generosity were eminent; he was an affectionate husband, a tender and careful father, and a kind master. He was extremely liberal to men of merit in distress, and very charitable to the poor; for the benefit of whom he erected several schools and alms-houses. His wit, his knowledge of the world, and his learning, rendered his conversation highly entertaining and instructive. As to his person, he was of a middle size, well shaped, and comely. He married the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk; by whom he had two sons, and five daughters. Roger, his eldest son, succeeded him in his honours and estates.

He was the Author of several Pieces; but his literary productions have not added much to his reputation, though they have been much commended by some Writers. His Works are as follows: 1. A Treatise on the Art of War. Lond. 1677. Folio. 2. Parthenissa, a Romance, in one Volume, Folio. 3. The History of Henry V. a Tragedy. 4. Mustapha, the son of Solyman the Magnificent, a Tragedy. 5. The Black Prince, a Tragedy. 6. Tryphon,

6. Tryphon, a Tragedy. 7. Mr. Anthony, a Comedy. 8. Guzman, a Comedy. 9. Herod the Great, a Tragedy. 10. Altemira, a Tragedy. 11. State-Letters, in one Volume, Folio, first published in 1742. 12. Several Poems, and other small Pieces. All his dramatic performances (except Mr. Anthony) were re-printed together in two Volumes, 8vo. in 1739.



The Life of THEOPHILUS GALE.

THIS learned Divine was born in the year 1628, at King's Teignton in Devonshire; where his father, Dr. Theophilus Gale, was then Vicar. His education was begun under a private preceptor in his father's Vicarage-house, from whence being sent to a grammar-school in the neighbourhood, he made great proficiency in classical learning. He was removed to Oxford in 1647, where he was entered a Commoner in Magdalen College. In 1649, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the following year he was chosen Fellow of his College, and in 1652 he commenced Master of Arts, and soon became an eminent tutor, and a distinguished preacher in the University (n).

Mr. Gale continued to prosecute his studies with great assiduity, and particularly applied himself to Divinity. Among other Pieces on that subject, he took into his hands Grotius's excellent treatise on the "Truth of the Christian religion," which had been lately translated into Arabic by Dr. Pococke. From some remarks of that celebrated foreigner, he began to think it possible to make it appear, that the wisest and most esteemed of the Pagan Philosophers, borrowed the most rational of their sentiments, and were indebted for their more sublime contemplations, as well natural and moral, as divine, from the Scriptures: so that, how different soever they might be in their appearance, not only their Theology, but their Philosophy and Philology, were derived from the Sacred Writings. The more he considered and reflected on this proposition, of the greater importance it appeared to him; and his conviction was the stronger, when he found that some of the most able and judicious critics, in different ages, had expressed their approbation of this opinion; particularly, Josephus, in his book against Appion; Origen, in his defence of Christianity against Celsus; Clement of Alexandria, in the first book of his Miscellanies; Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation; Tertullian, in many of his Writings; Augustine, in his book of the City of GOD; and also Julius and Joseph Scaliger, Vossius, Heinsius, Bochart, Selden, Hammond, Usher, Owen, &c. He thought that so many great men could not be deceived; and he was fully satisfied, that if, upon a close and strict examination, this proposition could be made out to the satisfaction

tisfaction of reasonable and learned men, it would be attended with many very great advantages to the Christian religion. Upon this principle, he undertook that arduous and laborious Work, intitled, "The Court of the Gentiles;" which, from this time, became the object of his theological researches for many years.

His attention to this Work did not prevent him from performing the duties of his ministerial office in the most conscientious manner. He was a diligent preacher; and his discourses from the pulpit were so many conspicuous proofs of his distinguished piety and learning. He was invited to Winchester, and became a stated preacher there in 1657; in which station he continued for several years, generally admired and esteemed, both for his excellent sermons, and his exemplary life and conversation. But as he had long imbibed Nonconformist principles, upon the re-establishment of the Church by King Charles II. at the Restoration, he could not prevail with himself to comply with the Act of Uniformity in 1661; and, rather than violate his conscience, chose to suffer all the penalties of the law.

Thus excluded from the public service of his function, and deprived of his Fellowship at Oxford, he found friends among those of his own sentiments; and was taken into the family of Philip, Lord Wharton, in quality of tutor to his two sons, Thomas and Godwin. And the state of the Universities at home, being now very discordant to the principles and sentiments of Lord Wharton, he determined to have his sons educated in some foreign academy. Agreeable to this resolution, he sent them under the care of Mr. Gale, in September, 1662, to Caen in Normandy, a seminary which flourished at that time, under the direction of the most distinguished professors of the reformed religion in France. Among these was the celebrated Samuel Bochart, with whom Mr. Gale commenced an acquaintance, as he did also with several other persons of distinguished erudition, whom he found there.

In 1665, he returned to England with his pupils, and attending them home to their father's seat at Quainton in Buckinghamshire, continued in the family till the beginning of September the following year: when being released from this employ, he set out for London, and was struck on the road with the dreadful sight of the city in flames. The first shock being over, his papers came immediately into his thoughts: these were his greatest treasure, and at his going to France he had committed them to the care of a particular friend in London. The concern he felt for his friend, as well as his own effects, naturally prompted him to enquire of almost all he met, whether such a street (naming the place where his friend lived) was in danger? To which they very uniformly answered, that it was burnt to the ground. This was very bitter news; and, at the first hearing, he could not help regretting the loss of so many years reading, and the large collections

tions which had cost him so much time and pains, and which he had now little spirit left to think of going through a second time. By degrees, however, he composed his thoughts, and submitted patiently to an evil which he concluded was past remedy. It was not long before he met with his friend, and having received from him a detail of this dreadful calamity, with this alleviating circumstance, however, that by timely and vigorous precautions he had happily saved a good part of his effects, Mr. Gale could not help interjecting this short question, "And what is become of my desk?" --- "Why, truly, (replied his friend) that is saved too, and by a very singular accident: it stood in my computing-house, the contents of which being thrown into a cart, I thought there was still room for something more to make up the load; and in that instant, casting my eyes upon your desk, in it went among the rest, and you may have it returned when you please."

This, as may easily be imagined, filled the mind of our Author with much joy; and, as it was a very acceptable thing to him, so was it no inconsiderable benefit to the learned world; for if that desk had perished, "The Court of the Gentiles" had never appeared. (o). But having received his papers, he was resolved to prosecute that great Work, and accordingly applied himself to it with great assiduity. And, in the mean time, not to neglect any part of his duty as a Minister, though deprived, he became assistant to Mr. John Rowe, his countryman, and a Nonconformist, who then had a private congregation in Holborn.

In 1669, Mr. Gale published at Oxford, in 4to. the first part of "The Court of the Gentiles; or, a Discourse touching the Original of Human Literature, both Philology and Philosophy, from the Scriptures and Jewish Church, &c." This was received by the public with great applause, and was re-printed in 1672. The second part was printed at Oxford in 1671, and at London in 1676. The third and fourth parts were printed at London in 1677. The whole was speedily translated into Latin, by which the reputation of the Author was spread into all parts of Europe, but especially in Germany, where his performance was much read and admired.

In the first part of this learned Work, Mr. Gale endeavours to prove, that all languages have their origin and rise from the Hebrew, instancing particularly in the Oriental tongues, as the Phœnician, Coptic, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Samaritan, and Ethiopic; and then in the European, especially the Greek, Latin, the old Gallic, and Britannic. To which he adds a Deduction, importing, that the Pagan Theology, Physic, Politics, Poetry, History, Rhetoric, are traduced from sacred names, persons,

(o) New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. See also Calamy's Account of the Ejected Ministers, Vol. II. P. 65. Edit. 1713.

persons, rites, and records, and shewing withal, how the Jewish traditions came to be corrupted and mistaken by Pagans.

In the second part, he makes it his business to evince, that Philosophy also hath its original from the Jewish Church; beginning to shew this of the Barbaric Philosophy, under which he comprehends the Egyptian, Phœnician, Chaldean, Persian, Indian, Ethiopic, Scythian, and Britannic; and thence, proceeding to the Grecian, and chiefly to the Ionic and Italic, or Pythagorean, where he shews great reading and learning, while he deduces this doctrine of Judaic origin, from the testimonies of Heathen, Jewish, and Christian Authors, passing through all the particular sects of Philosophers, with great care and industry.

In the third part, the vanity of Pagan Philosophy is demonstrated from its causes, parts, properties, and effects; namely, Pagan Idolatry, Judaic Apostacy, Gnostic Infusions, Errors among the Greek Fathers, especially Origen, Arianism, Pelagianism, and the whole system of Popery, or Antichristianism, distributed into three parts, Mystic, Scholastic, and Canonic Theology.

In the fourth part, he treats of reformed Philosophy, wherein Plato's moral and metaphysic, or prime Philosophy, is reduced to an useful form and method. He divides this, which is larger than any of the former parts, into three books, discoursing in the first of Moral Philosophy, in the second of Metaphysics, and in the third of Divine Predetermination.

Mr. Gale continued to be an assistant to Mr. Rowe, before-mentioned, till the death of that gentleman in 1677, and then he was appointed to succeed him as pastor of the congregation. He chiefly resided at Newington, where he instructed a few young persons under his own roof. But he was frequently visited by persons of distinction, and by some of different sentiments from him in religious matters, who were desirous of testifying their esteem for his unaffected piety and extensive learning. In 1678, he published proposals for printing by subscription, a Lexicon of the Greek Testament, in which he had made considerable progress, and which, Dr. Calamy tells us, would have been much compleater than any then extant; but he was prevented from finishing it by his death, which happened about the beginning of March the same year, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was decently interred in the burying-ground near Bunhill-fields.

Mr. THEOPHILUS GALE was a man of very extensive learning, of great piety, and zealous for what he thought the truth, but candid towards those of different sentiments. His great merit, and the irreproachableness of his life, made him esteemed by all parties. The Oxford Historian, Mr. Wood, says, that his Writings shew him to have been well read in, and conversant with, the Works of the Fathers, the old Philosophers, and those who have given any account of them or their Writings; as

also to have been a good Metaphysician and School-Divine; and an exact Philologist and Philosopher. He was steady in his attachment to the principles of Nonconformity; and indeed his zeal in their support extended itself beyond the grave; so that he resolved to perpetuate them as far as he was able. Accordingly he bequeathed all his estate, real and personal, to young students of his own principles, and appointed trustees to manage it for their support. He bequeathed also his well-chosen library towards promoting useful learning in New England, where those principles universally prevailed. He excepted, however, his philosophical books, which he reserved for the use of young students here at home.-----Besides his great Work, "The Court of the Gentiles," Mr. Gale also published the following Pieces:

I. *Philosophia Generalis in duas partes determinata, una de Ortu & Progressu Philosophiæ, &c. Altera, 1. De Minorum Gentium Philosophia. 2. De 9 Habitibus intellectualibus. 3. De Philosophiæ Objecto.* London, 1676. 8vo. This Latin treatise is very learned, and in which, in a very narrow compass, the sentiments of the antients may be found upon a great variety of subjects of importance. The chief design of the Author is the same with that in his "Court of the Gentiles;" only here he writes more concisely, and fitter for the perusal of such as were engaged in a regular course of study, to whose use it was especially designed. This Work is more read and admired abroad, than it is in England, where it is but little known.

II. *Theophily; or, a Discourse of the Saint's Amity with GOD in CHRIST, &c.* Lond. 1671. 8vo.

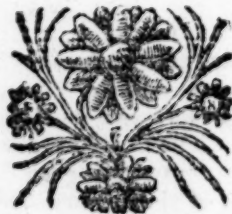
III. *The true Idea of Jansenism, both Historic and Dogmatic,* Lond. 1669. 8vo.

IV. *The Anatomy of Infidelity; or, an Explication of the nature, causes, aggravations, and punishment of unbelief.* Lond. 1672. 8vo.

V. *A Discourse of CHRIST's Coming, &c.* Lond. 1673. 8vo.

VI. *Idea Theologiæ tam contemplativæ quam activæ, ad formam S. Scripturæ delineata.* Lond. 1673. 12mo.

VII. *The Life and Death of Thomas Tregosse, late Minister of the Gospel, at Milar and Mabe in Cornwall, with his character.* Lond. 1671. 8vo.





LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL.

The Life of Lord WILLIAM RUSSEL.

LORD WILLIAM RUSSEL was the third son of William the fifth Earl, and first Duke of Bedford, by his Lady Anne, daughter to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset (p). It is said, that in his youth he indulged somewhat freely in the gaieties of the voluptuous Court of Charles the Second; but quitting those irregularities in a few years, he entered, in 1667, into a marriage with Rachel, second daughter and co-heir of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and widow of Francis, Lord Vaughan, eldest son of Richard, Earl of Carberry. And now beginning to turn his thoughts to public business, he obtained a seat in the House of Commons before the dissolution of the second Parliament held in this reign; and continued a Member of the three subsequent Parliaments.

Lord Russel's noble birth, added to his eminent worth and abilities, gave him great weight among the Whigs, to which party he always adhered: so that when the Privy Council was new-modelled in April, 1679, in a manner that it was supposed would be acceptable to that party, he was taken into it, Lord Shaftesbury being then made President. The Duke of York was also sent out of the kingdom with the same view; namely, to give satisfaction to the Whigs: but his Majesty, on the 28th of January following, having declared to that board, that he would send for his brother, the Duke of York, to Court, not finding any good effects from his absence, Lord Russel petitioned to be discharged from his new post of Privy Counsellor, which was complied with on the 31st of that month (q).

Lord Russel, with many other public-spirited Englishmen, and zealous Protestants, considered the liberties of the people, and the Protestant religion, to be greatly endangered, by the prospect which there was of the Duke of York's succeeding to the Crown. And accordingly the House of Commons voted, that the Duke

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(p) The date of his birth cannot be ascertained with certainty. In a book, intitled, *An impartial and full Account of the Life and Death of William, Lord Russel*, published in 1684. 8vo. it is said, that "he was born at Bedford-house, in the Strand, September the 29th, in the year 1637."

But from an extract from a letter in Strafford's State-papers, in the *Biographia Britannica*, it should seem that his father was not married till 1637, and his Lordship had two sons born before Lord William Russel, one of whom died in his infancy.

(q) Biograph. Britan.

of York being a Papist, the hopes of his succeeding to the Crown had given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the conspiracies of the Papists against the Government and the Protestant religion: and Lord Russel carried up this vote to the Lords for their concurrence. And on the 26th of June, 1680, several persons of the greatest eminence in the kingdom for birth, fortune, and merit, among whom were the Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Russel, presented reasons for indicting the Duke of York as a Papist to the Grand Jury of the county of Middlesex; but the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs (r) put an end to their proceedings, by discharging the Grand Jury in an unprecedented manner, for which he was afterwards impeached by the House of Commons.

Lord

(r) Roger North says, that 'Sir WILLIAM SCROGGS was of a mean extract, having been a butcher's son, but wrought himself into business in the law, was made a Serjeant, and practised under his Lordship. His person was large, visage comely, and speech witty and bold. He was a great voluptuary, and companion to the high Court rakes, as Ken, Guy, &c. whose merits, for ought I know, might prefer him. His debaucheries were egregious, and his life loose; which made the Lord Chief Justice Hale detest him. He kept himself very poor; and when he was arrested by the King's Bench process, Hale would not allow him the privilege of a Serjeant.---He had a true libertine principle.'---Life of the Lord Keeper North, P. 151, 152.

On the 31st of May, 1678, Sir William Scroggs was made Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. Burnet, speaking of this promotion, says, 'Sir William Scroggs was a man more valued for a good readiness in speaking well, than either for learning in his profession, or for any moral virtue. His life had been indecently scandalous, and his fortunes were very low. He was raised by the Earl of Danby's favour, first to be a Judge, and then to be the Chief Justice. And it was a melancholy thing to see so bad, so ignorant, and so poor a man, raised up to that great post.'

In November, 1680, complaint was

made in the House of Commons of the arbitrary behaviour and proceedings of Sir William Scroggs, in many instances, and particularly in his dismissal of the Grand Jury, as mentioned above. After examining witnesses on this and other complaints against the Chief Justice, the House came to several resolutions, particularly the following, 'Resolved, that the discharging of a Grand Jury by any Judge, before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.'---'Resolved, that the Court of King's Bench (in the imposition of fines on offenders of late years) have acted arbitrarily, illegally, and partially, favouring Papists, and persons popishly affected, and excessively oppressing his Majesty's Protestant subjects.' It appeared also to the House, that Scroggs had made use of the most unjustifiable and arbitrary methods to suppress the liberty of the press, and issued general warrants for that purpose, which the House voted to be illegal. And the Commons soon after exhibited articles of impeachment against him in the House of Peers. But a stop was put to their proceedings by the prorogation of the Parliament. However, Sir William Scroggs was removed from his post of Chief Justice.

Lord Russel also appeared in Parliament among the most active of those who promoted the Bill of Exclusion, for disabling the Duke of York from inheriting the Crown. And when that Bill first passed the House of Commons, his Lordship was appointed to carry it up to the House of Lords, which he did on the 15th of November, 1680, at the head of the greatest part of the Commons; and when the Bill was thrown out by the Lords, he was much moved, and declared, That if ever there should happen in this nation any such change, as that he should not have liberty to live a Protestant, he was resolved to die one; and therefore would not willingly have the hands of their enemies strengthened. He also desired the Lords not to destroy themselves by their own hands; and if the Commons might not be so happy as to better the condition of the nation, he prayed the Lords would not make it worse, by giving money to the King, while they were sure it must go to the hands of the Duke's creatures. Agreeable to this speech, it was proposed in the House of Commons, on the 15th of December, to bring in a Bill for making any illegal exaction of money from the people high treason. And on the 7th of January, 1681, it was also resolved there, that until a Bill be passed for excluding the Duke of York, they could not give any supply, without danger to his Majesty, and extreme hazard of the Protestant religion. They also resolved, that whoever should lend the King any money upon any branch of his revenue, or buy any tally of anticipation, should be judged a hinderer of the sitting of Parliaments, and be responsible for the same in Parliament. And on the 10th, having notice that the King intended to prorogue them, they came early to the House, and resolved, That whoever advised his Majesty to prorogue the Parliament, was a betrayer of the King and kingdom, and the Protestant religion. That the Penal Acts against Recufants, ought not to be extended to Protestant Dissenters. That prosecuting the Dissenters upon the penal laws, at this time, was grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. The King hereupon immediately prorogued the Parliament, and soon after dissolved it; and a proclamation was issued for calling another, to meet on the 21st of March at Oxford; where the Bill of Exclusion being again read in the House of Commons on the 28th, and a second reading ordered, this Parliament was likewise dissolved the same day.

The many arbitrary and illegal proceedings of Charles the Second and his Ministers, together with the imminent danger in which it was apprehended the Protestant religion was, by the influence of the Duke of York, and the expectation of his succeeding to the Crown, occasioned the Earl of Shaftesbury, and some others, to meet frequently together, in order to form schemes to obstruct the designs of the Government; and it appears that some of them went so far as to propose exciting insurrections, as there

were

were no hopes of obtaining a parliamentary remedy for the grievances of the nation. With some of these persons Lord Russel occasionally kept company, though he seems to have conversed among them with much caution. However, as he had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the Court, by his opposition to the arbitrary measures of Government which were adopted, and the zeal with which he had promoted the Bill of Exclusion, it was resolved to effectuate his ruin. And accordingly an accusation of high treason being formed against him, he was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey on Friday the 13th of July, 1683.

He was indicted of conspiring to excite insurrection and rebellion in the kingdom, and of compassing and imagining the death of the King, and plotting with other traitors to seize his Majesty's guards, &c. But the whole proceedings against him were in the highest degree unjust, oppressive, and iniquitous. He desired he might not be tried that day, because he had some witnesses which would not be in town till night; but this being denied, he desired that the trial might only be put off till the afternoon, but this was denied also. When the Jury was called, he challenged the foreman for being no freeholder in London; to argue which, Council were assigned him; but the court at length, after hearing the matter argued, over-ruled his objection. The evidence against him was extremely vague and trifling. He was charged with conspiring the death of the King: but the only proof brought of this was, That Lord Russel walked in a room in one Shepherd's house, when some discourse was held by other persons about seizing the King's guards; but no evidence was given that his Lordship said a word upon the subject. Rumsey indeed swore, that Lord Russel conversed about a rising at Taunton, and consented to it; but when he was asked what it was his Lordship had said on the occasion, he could only answer, "My Lord Russel did discourse of the rising;" but could not mention a single sentence that he uttered. Lord Howard, a man who, notwithstanding his rank, appears to have been utterly devoid of principle, also deposed, that Lord Russel was present at some conferences about exciting insurrections, but could mention nothing in particular that had been said by him. And when he was asked, by the Attorney-General, whether Lord Russel sat as a cypher at those meetings, or what it was that he did say? Howard's only answer was, "Every one knows my Lord Russel is a person of great judgment, and not very lavish in discourse." And when he was asked by Serjeant Jefferies, whether Lord Russel consented to what was proposed to be done at these meetings, Howard answered, that they did not put it to the vote, but it went without contradiction, and he took it that all who were there gave their consent.

In order to invalidate the testimony of Lord Howard, the Earl of Anglesey deposed on behalf of Lord Russel, that about a

week before he went to visit the Earl of Bedford, (father to Lord Russel) who was under some affliction on account of the charge of high treason which was brought against his son; and before he went away, Lord Howard came in, and expressed himself to the Earl of Bedford in the following manner: 'My Lord, you are happy in having a wise son, and a worthy person, one that can never sure be in such a plot as this, or suspected for it, and that may give your Lordship reason to expect a very good issue concerning him: I know nothing against him, or any body else, of such a barbarous design, and therefore your Lordship may be comforted in it.'

Mr. Howard also, a relation of Lord Howard's, appeared on behalf of Lord Russel, and said, 'I applied to my Lord Howard in this present issue, on the breaking out of this plot. My Lord, I thought certainly, as near as I could discern him, (for he took it upon his honour, his faith, and as much as if he had taken an oath before a Magistrate) that he knew nothing of any man concerned in this business, and particularly of my Lord Russel, whom he vindicated with all the honour in the world. So that if my Lord Howard has the same soul on Monday that he had on Sunday, this can't be true that he swears against my Lord Russel. This I say upon my reputation, and honour, and something I could say more; he added, he thought my Lord Russel did not only unjustly suffer, but he took GOD and men to witness, he thought him the worthiest person in the world. I am very sorry to hear any man of my name should be guilty of these things.' Dr. Burnet (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) likewise appeared in court, and said, 'My Lord Howard was with me the night after the plot broke out, and he did then, as he had done before, with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, say he knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any, and treated it with great scorn and contempt.'

Lord Howard endeavoured to justify himself, but what he said with that view was trifling and evasive. However, though it was evident to every impartial man that Howard's testimony was unworthy of the least credit, and notwithstanding the insufficiency of the whole evidence against Lord Russel, the jury, who were packed for the purpose, brought him in guilty of high treason.

Great interest was employed to save Lord Russel's life. He was now the eldest surviving son of the Earl of Bedford, and universally respected and beloved; and it is said that his father offered the Dutchess of Portsmouth, the King's mistress, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds to procure his pardon. Lord Russel's Lady also, who was daughter of the Earl of Southampton, threw herself at the King's feet, in a flood of tears, and pleaded the services of her father to his Majesty in behalf of her husband. But Charles was inexorable. It was thought, that nothing would have contributed so much to the saving his life, as his making a public declaration in favour of the principles of non-resistance.

non-resistance. But though endeavours were used to bring him to this, they were ineffectual: he persisted to the last in declaring it to be his opinion, "That a free nation like this might defend their religion and liberties, when invaded, and taken from them, though under pretence of colour of law." And Dr. Birch remarks, that the firmness of Lord Russel in refusing the only means of purchasing his life from an exasperated Court, by the least retraction of an opinion, of which his conscience was thoroughly persuaded, is the strongest proof of that integrity and virtue, which gave him so much weight in his own time, and have endeared him to posterity.

After Lord Russel's condemnation, he was removed from the Tower to Newgate, where he prepared for death with a truly Christian fortitude. He was visited there both by Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson. Burnet says, 'The last week of his life he was shut up all the mornings, as he himself desired. And about noon I came to him, and staid with him till night. All the while he expressed a very Christian temper, without sharpness or resentment, vanity or affectation. His whole behaviour looked like a triumph over death. Upon some occasions, as at table, or when his friends came to see him, he was decently cheerful. I was by him when the Sheriffs came to shew him the warrant for his execution. He read it with indifference: and when they were gone, he told me it was not decent to be merry with such a matter, otherwise he was near telling Rich, (who, though he was now of the other side, yet had been a Member of the House of Commons, and had voted for the Exclusion,) that they should never sit together in that House any more to vote for the Bill of Exclusion. The day before his death, he fell a bleeding at the nose: upon that he said to me pleasantly, I shall not now be let blood to divert this: that will be done to-morrow. At night it rained hard: and he said, Such a rain to-morrow will spoil a great shew, which was a dull thing in a rainy day. He said, the sins of his youth lay heavy upon his mind: but he hoped GOD had forgiven them, for he was sure he had forsaken them, and for many years he had walked before GOD with a sincere heart: if in his public actings he had committed errors, they were only the errors of his understanding; for he had no private ends, nor ill designs of his own in them. He was still of opinion that the King was limited by law; and that when he broke through those limits, his subjects might defend themselves, and restrain him. He thought a violent death was a very desirable way of ending one's life: it was only the being exposed to be a little gazed at, and to suffer the pain of one minute, which, he was confident, was not equal to the pain of drawing a tooth. He said, he felt none of those transports that some good people felt; but he had a full calm in his mind, no palpitation at heart, nor trembling at the thoughts of death. He was much concerned

‘ at the cloud that seemed to be now over his country : but he
‘ hoped his death should do more service than his life could have
‘ done.’

‘ This was the substance of the discourse between him and
‘ me. Tillotson was oft with him that last week. We thought
‘ the party had gone too quick in their consultations, and too
‘ far ; and that resistance in the condition we were then in, was
‘ not lawful. He said, he had not leisure to enter into discourses
‘ of politics ; but he thought a Government limited by law was
‘ only a name, if the subjects might not maintain those limita-
‘ tions by force : otherwise all was at the discretion of the
‘ Prince : this was contrary to all the notions he had lived in of
‘ our Government. But he said, there was nothing among them
‘ but the embryo’s of things, that were never like to have any
‘ effect, and that were now quite dissolved.’

‘ The day before his death he received the Sacrament from
‘ Tillotson with much devotion. And I preached two short ser-
‘ mons to him, which he heard with great affection. And we
‘ were shut up till towards the evening. Then he suffered his
‘ children that were very young, and some few of his friends, to
‘ take leave of him ; in which he maintained his constancy of
‘ temper, though he was a very fond father. He also parted
‘ with his Lady with a composed silence : and, as soon as she was
‘ gone, he said to me, The bitterness of death is past : for he
‘ loved and esteemed her beyond expression, as she well deserved
‘ it in all respects. She had the command of herself so much,
‘ that at parting she gave him no disturbance. He went into
‘ his chamber about midnight : and I staid all night in the out-
‘ ward room. He went not to bed till about two in the morn-
‘ ing : and was fast asleep at four ; when, according to his or-
‘ der, we called him. He was quickly dressed, but would lose
‘ no time in shaving : for he said, he was not concerned in his
‘ good looks that day (a).’

‘ He went into his chamber six or seven times in the morning,
‘ and prayed by himself, and then came out to Tillotson and me :
‘ he drunk a little tea and some sherry. He wound up his
‘ watch ; and said, now he had done with time, and was going
‘ to eternity. He asked what he should give the executioner : I
‘ told him ten guineas : he said, with a smile, it was a pretty
‘ thing to give a fee to have his head cut off. When the Sher-
‘ riffs called him about ten o’clock, Lord Cavendish was waiting
‘ below to take leave of him. They embraced very tenderly.
‘ Lord Russel, after he had left him, upon a sudden thought came
‘ back to him, and pressed him earnestly to apply himself more
‘ to religion ; and told him what great comfort and support he
‘ felt from it now in his extremity. Lord Cavendish had very
‘ Vol. VI. 5. 2 B generously

(a) Burnet’s History of his Own Times, Vol. I. P. 556, 557, 558. Edit.
Folio, 1724.

‘generously offered to manage his escape, and to stay in prison for him while he should go away in his clothes : but he would not hearken to the motion. The Duke of Monmouth had also sent me word, to let him know, that, if he thought it could do him any service, he would come in, and run fortunes with him. He answered, it would be of no advantage to him to have his friends die with him (*b*).’

Saturday the 21st of July, 1683, was appointed for Lord Russell’s execution, a scaffold being erected for the purpose in Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields. And we are informed by one Writer, that when he came to the scaffold, which was covered all over with mourning, and invironed with several companies of the King’s horse and foot-guards, he mounted the stairs with abundance of briskness and agility ; and when he came on the top of the scaffold, with a cheerful and unconcerned countenance he bowed to the gentlemen who were on the scaffold, and then took several turns upon it, talking with the two Divines, and others that were there, seeming not to be at all daunted at his approaching fate. He had on a black suit, and a fair light wig, and was so tall and proper a person, that he was easily seen by the numerous spectators, who crowded to behold his execution, above the rest of those who were on the scaffold.’

Burnet says, ‘Tillotson and I went in the coach with him to the place of execution. Some of the crowd that filled the streets wept, while others insulted. He was touched with the tenderness that the one gave him, but did not seem at all provoked by the other. He was singing Psalms a great part of the way ; and said, he hoped to sing better very soon. As he observed the great crowds of people all the way, he said to us, ‘I hope I shall quickly see a much better assembly. When he came to the scaffold, he walked about it four or five times. Then he turned to the Sheriffs, and delivered his paper (*c*).’ In the paper to which the Bishop refers, Lord Russell declared himself to be a true and sincere Protestant, and in the communion of the Church of England, though he could never yet, he said, comply with, or rise up to all the heights of many people. He admitted that he had been in company with persons among whom the practicability of seizing the King’s guards had been mentioned, but denied that he had ever consented to any such proposal. And ‘whatever apprehensions (said he) I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail, I never had a thought of doing any thing against it basely or inhumanly ; but what could well consist with the Christian religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom. And I thank GOD, I have examined all my actions in that matter with so great care, that I can appeal to GOD Almighty, who knows my heart, that I went on sincerely,

‘ sincerely, without being moved, either by passion, by-end, or ill design. I have always loved my country much more than my life ; and never had any design of changing the Government, which I value, and look upon as one of the best Governments in the world, and would always have been ready to venture my life for the preserving of it.’ Bishop Burnet informs us, that ‘ after he had delivered this paper, he prayed by himself: then Tillotson prayed with him. After that he prayed again by himself: and then undressed himself, and laid his head on the block, without the least change of countenance: and it was cut off at two strokes (*d*).’

Thus fell Lord WILLIAM RUSSEL, a victim to the injustice and revenge of an exasperated and iniquitous Court ! He was a gentleman of great piety, candour, and benevolence, and of the strictest honour and integrity ; and was brought to his untimely end by his virtuous solicitude for the religion, welfare, and freedom of his country. His public and his private character were equally amiable ; he was an affectionate husband, a tender father, and a kind master ; and his personal virtues were acknowledged even by his enemies. One of our most excellent Poets, Thomson, celebrates Lord Russel in the following lines :

‘ Bring every sweetest flower, and let me strew
‘ The grave where RUSSEL lies ; whose temper’d blood,
‘ With calmest cheerfulness for thee resign’d,
‘ Stain’d the sad annals of a giddy reign ;
‘ Aiming at lawless power, though meanly sunk
‘ In loose inglorious luxury.’ —

The memory of this illustrious Patriot has also been afresh embalmed in a beautiful poem, published a few years since by Mr. George Canning, under the title of “ An Epistle from William Lord Russel to William Lord Cavendish.” Supposed to be written in Newgate on Friday night, July the 20th, 1683. At the close of this Piece the Poet makes Lord Russel take leave of his friend Cavendish, and dictate his own epitaph, in the following manner :

‘ Ca’ndish, farewell ! may Fame our names entwine !
‘ Through life I lov’d thee, dying I am thine.
‘ With pious rites let dust to dust be thrown,
‘ And thus inscribe my monumental stone.

‘ Here RUSSEL lies, enfranchis’d by the grave,
‘ He priz’d his birthright, nor would live a slave.

2 B 2

‘ Few

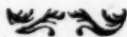
‘ Few were his words, but honest and sincere,
 ‘ Dear were his friends, his country still more dear.
 ‘ In parents, children, wife, supremely blest,
 ‘ But that one passion swallow’d all the rest ;
 ‘ To guard her Freedom was his only pride,
 ‘ Such was his love, and for that love he died.

‘ Yet fear not thou, when Liberty displays
 ‘ Her glorious flag, to steer his course to praise.
 ‘ For know (whoe’er thou art that read’st his fate,
 ‘ And think’st, perhaps, his sufferings were too great)
 ‘ Blest as he was, at her imperial call,
 ‘ Wife, children, parents, he resign’d them all ;
 ‘ Each fond affection then forsook his soul,
 ‘ And AMOR PATRIÆ occupied the whole.
 ‘ In that great cause he joy’d to meet his doom,
 ‘ Bless’d the keen axe, and triumph’d o’er the tomb.’

In this ingenious Poem the celebrated Patriot who will be the subject of our next Life, ALGERNON SYDNEY, is supposed also to be thus spoken of by Lord Russel :

‘ SYDNEY yet lives, whose comprehensive mind,
 ‘ Ranges at large thro’ systems unconfin’d ;
 ‘ Wrapt in himself, he scorns the Tyrant’s power,
 ‘ And hurls defiance, even from the Tower ;
 ‘ With tranquil brow awaits th’ unjust decree
 ‘ And, arm’d with virtue, looks to follow me.’

Lord Russel’s Lady survived him forty years, but she never married again. She was a woman of great piety and virtue, and of a most excellent understanding ; and took great care of the education of her children. She died in 1723, aged eighty-seven. By this Lady, Lord Russel had one son and two daughters. His son, Wriothesley, succeeded his grand-father as Duke of Bedford in 1700. His eldest daughter, Rachel, was married to William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire ; and his youngest, whose name was Catherine, to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, and afterwards Duke of Rutland. After the Revolution, an Act was passed to reverse Lord Russel’s attainder.





ALGERNON SYDNEY.

The Life of ALGERNON SYDNEY.

ALGERNON SYDNEY was the second surviving son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, by his wife Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland. He was born about the year 1622. His noble father was careful to give him a good education; and in 1632, when he went Ambassador to Denmark, took his son with him; as also when he was sent Ambassador to the King of France in 1636; and the Countess his mother, in a letter to the Earl, then at Paris, acquaints his Lordship, that she hears her son much commended by all that came from thence; and that one, who spake well of very few, said, "he had a huge deal of wit, and much sweetness of nature (e)."

Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland, in the year 1641, Mr. Sydney had a commission for a troop of horse in his father's regiment, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom; and went over thither with his elder brother Philip, Lord Viscount Lisle; and upon all occasions he distinguished himself with great gallantry against the rebels.

In 1643, he had the King's permission to come to England, with his brother Lord Lisle; but, at the same time, they received express orders on their allegiance to repair to his Majesty at Oxford: which the Parliament hearing of, sent into Lancashire, where they landed, and had them taken into custody. It is said, that the King believed this happened through their own management, and was therefore greatly offended with them. However, it is certain that they entered into the measures of the Parliament, under which Algernon accepted of a command. In May, 1644, the Earl of Manchester appointed him Captain of a troop of horse in his own regiment; and in April, 1645, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Commander in Chief of all the forces raised for the defence of the kingdom, made him Colonel of a regiment of horse. He was in several engagements with the Royalists, and in 1646 the Parliament ordered two thousand pounds to be paid to him. He was also appointed Governor of Chichester. But his brother, Lord Lisle, being appointed Lieutenant-General of Ireland, and Commander of the forces there, made him Colonel of a regiment of horse, to serve in an expedition into that kingdom.

(e) Memoirs of Algernon Sydney, prefixed to the 4to. Edition of his Discourses on Government, published in 1763. P. 1.

dom. He also became Lieutenant-General of the horse in that kingdom, and Governor of Dublin. But in 1647, that government was taken from him, and given to Colonel Jones. However, the House of Commons ordered, that some recompence might be given to Colonel Algernon Sydney.

He came over into England about that time; and on the 7th of May, 1647, had the thanks of the House of Commons for his good services in Ireland; and was afterwards made Governor of Dover. In 1648, he was nominated one of the Members of the High Court of Justice, appointed to try King Charles I. It is said, that he actually sat upon the bench as one of that Prince's Judges, though he was not present when sentence was passed, nor did he sign the warrant for his execution. Why he did not, cannot now be determined: he might, perhaps, be prevailed on not to attend on those occasions by his father, whose political principles were very different from his own. However that be, there is reason to believe, that he was far from disapproving of the King's being put to death. For it appears that when he was afterwards at Copenhagen, a gentleman in company with him there, saying to him, "I think you were none of the late King's Judges, nor guilty of his death;" Mr. Sydney immediately replied, "Guilty! said you: do you call that guilt? Why, it was the justest action that ever was done in England, or any where else (f)." And when the University of Copenhagen brought their

(f) Algernon Sydney was not singular in supposing that the execution of Charles the First, was a transaction that might be defended. The ingenious Dr. Priestley says, "If it be asked how far a people may lawfully go in punishing their Chief Magistrates, I answer that, if the enormity of the offence (which is of the same extent as the injury done to the public) be considered, any punishment is justifiable that a man may incur in human society. It may be said, there are no laws to punish those Governors, and we must not condemn persons by laws made *ex post facto*; for this conduct will vindicate the most obnoxious measures of the most tyrannical Administration. But I answer, that this is a case, in its own nature prior to the establishment of any laws whatever; as it affects the very being of society, and defeats the principal ends for which recourse was originally had to it. There may be no fixed law against an open invader, who should attempt to seize upon a country, with a view to enslave all its

inhabitants; but must not the invader be apprehended, and even put to death, though he have broken no express law then in being, or none of which he was properly apprized? And why should a man who takes the advantage of his being King, or Governor, to subvert the laws and liberties of his country, be considered in any other light than that of a foreign invader? Nay, his crime is much more atrocious, as he was appointed the Guardian of the laws and liberties which he subverts, and therefore was under the strongest obligation to maintain.

"In a case, therefore, of this highly criminal nature, *Salus Populi suprema est Lex*. That must be done which the good of the whole requires; and, generally, Kings deposed, banished, or imprisoned, are highly dangerous to a nation; because, let them have governed ever so ill, it will be the interest of some to be their partizans, and to attach themselves to their cause.

"It

their Album to him, desiring him to write somewhat therein, Mr. Sydney immediately wrote the following sentence, and affixed his name to it :

— ‘ *Manus hæc inimica tyrannis*
‘ *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.*’

Lord Moleworth informs us, that this book being preserved in the King of Denmark’s library, Mons. Terlon, the French Ambassador at that Court, had the confidence to tear out of it the sentence written by Mr. Sydney ; for though the French Minister, it is said, understood not a word of Latin, he was told by others the meaning of that sentence, which he considered as a libel upon the French Government, and upon such as was then setting up in Denmark by French assistance, or example.

As Mr. Sydney was not only a warm, but a consistent friend to the cause of Liberty, he refused to act under Oliver Cromwell, when he arbitrarily assumed the Government, contrary to the principles which he had originally avowed. For the same reason he refused also to act under Richard Cromwell, when he succeeded his father in the Protectorship. During this period, he lived in a retired manner, sometimes at Penshurst ; and it is supposed to have been at this time that he began to write his Discourses on Government, or at least some part of them. But on the resignation of the Protector Richard, and the restoration of the Long Parliament, who made a declaration of their intentions to secure the liberty and property of the people, both as men and Christians, without the government of a single person, either
King

“ It will be supposed, that these observations have a reference to what passed in England in the year 1648. Let it be supposed. Surely a man, and an Englishman, may be at liberty to give his opinion, freely and without disguise, concerning a transaction of so old a date. Charles the First, whatever he was in his private character, which is out of the question here, was certainly a very bad King of England. During a course of many years, and notwithstanding repeated remonstrances, he governed by maxims utterly subversive of the fundamental and free constitution of this country ; and, therefore, he deserved the severest punishment. If he was misled by his education, or his friends, he was, like any other criminal, in the same circumstances, to be pitied, but by no means to be spared on that account.

“ From the nature of things, it was necessary that the opposition

should begin from a few, who may, therefore, be stiled a Faction ; but after the civil war, (which necessarily ensued from the King’s obstinacy, and in which he had given repeated instances of dissimulation and treachery) there was evidently no safety, either for the faction or the nation, short of his death. It is to be regretted, that the situation of things was such, that his death could not be voted by the whole nation, or their Representatives solemnly assembled for that purpose. Such a transaction would have been an immortal honour to this country, whenever the superstitious notion of the sacredness of kingly power shall be obliterated. A notion which has been extremely useful in the infant state of societies ; but which, like other superstitious, subsists long after it hath ceased to be of use.”—Essay on the first Principles of Government, P. 37 - 40. See also Vol. V. of our Work, P. 67, 68.

King or Protector, and without a House of Peers, Mr. Sydney came into their measures. Whereupon, on the 13th of May, 1659, he was appointed by the Parliament one of the Council of State, with the Lord Fairfax, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and others.

On the 5th of June following, he was likewise nominated, with Sir Richard Honeywood, and Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esq; to go Commissioners to the Sound, in order to mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark. But Mr. Whitlocke was not willing to undertake this service, especially being joined with those, who he knew would expect precedence of him, who had been formerly Ambassador Extraordinary to Sweden alone; and he therefore having found means to get himself excused, Mr. Thomas Boone was appointed in his room. Accordingly Mr. Sydney, and the two other Plenipotentiaries, set out for the Sound in July following, and arrived at Elfsneur on the 21st of that month; where they were attended by Admiral Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, who, in prospect of a revolution in favour of Charles II. to whom he was secretly engaged, resolved to return to England the month following with the whole fleet. Colonel Sydney, who was averse to that resolution, wrote to the Council of State from Copenhagen, to complain of the Admiral's conduct in that point. His letters to his father, printed from the Sydney-papers, and those written by him in conjunction with the other Plenipotentiaries, published among Secretary Thurloe's State Papers, give us a distinct account of his negotiations (g).

While Mr. Sydney was thus employed abroad, measures were taken in England to bring about the Restoration of Charles the Second; and when that event had taken place, he being very obnoxious to the Royal party, his friends did not think it prudent for him to return to England at that time, though he was advised to it by General Monk; and therefore, according to his father's directions, he determined to remove to Hamburgh, and from thence into Holland. In September, 1660, he was at Frankfort, and the November following at Rome. In a letter to his father from that city, he expresses himself thus: 'I hope my being here will in a short time shew, that the place was not ill chosen, and that, besides the liberty and quiet which is generally granted to all persons here, I may be admitted into that company, the knowledge of which will very well recompense my journey. I was extremely unwilling to stay in Hamburgh, or any place in Germany, finding myself too apt to fall too deep into melancholy, if I have neither business nor company to divert me; and I have such an aversion to the conversation
' and

(g) Memoirs of Algernon Sydney, prefixed to the 4to. Edition of his Discourses on Government, published in 1763.

‘ and entertainments of that country, that if I had staid in it, I must have lived as an hermit, though in a populous city. I am here well enough at ease, and believe I may continue so, unless some body from the Court of England doth think it worth their pains to disturb me. I see nothing likely to arise here to trouble me. I have already visited several Cardinals; to-morrow I intend to pay the same respect to the Cardinal Gizi, nephew to the Pope.—They are all generally civil, and I ask no more.—I do not here see those signs of ease, satisfaction, and plenty, that were in Pope Urban his time, but that little concerns strangers; the company of persons excellent in all sciences, which is the best thing strangers can seek, is never wanting.’

It appears that Mr. Sydney’s father, the Earl of Leicester, was not very ready to supply him with money whilst he was abroad, though he had great occasion for it: of which he takes notice in some of his letters; in one of which he says, ‘ I find myself destitute of all help at home, and exposed to all those troubles, inconveniences, and mischiefs, unto which they are exposed, who have nothing to subsist on; in a place far from home, where no assistance can possibly be expected, and where I am known to be of a quality, which makes all low and mean ways of living shameful and detestable.’

At the close of one of his letters to his father, dated Rome, Dec. 29, 1660, we find the following passage, in which he expresses himself with the spirit that was natural to him. ‘ I hear from some of my friends, that your Lordship has been desired to do that business for me which hath been often mentioned, and that may be easily settled, upon the composition of that with the Lord Strangeways; and your Lordship’s answer was, I had made a provision for myself, and discharged you of that care. If there be no difference in living, but he that hath bread hath enough, I have some hopes of finding a provision for a longer time than I mentioned. If there be no reason for allowing me any assistance out of the family, as long as there is a possibility for me to live without it, I have discharged you. If those helps are only to be given to those that have neither spirit nor industry in any thing to help themselves, I pretend to deserve none. Or if supplies are only the rewards of importunity, or given to avoid the trouble of being solicited, I think I shall for ever free you from that reason. And as I have for some years run through greater streights, than I believe any man of my condition hath done in England, since I was born, without ever complaining, I shall with silence suffer what fortune forever doth remain unto me. I confess I thought another conclusion might reasonably have been made upon what I had said, but I leave that to your Lordship’s judgment and conscience. If

Vol. VI. 5. 2 C ‘ you

‘ you are satisfied in yourself, you shall not receive any trouble
 ‘ from your Lordship’s, &c.

ALG. SYDNEY (*b*).’

It appears, however, that his father did sometimes, after this, make him remittances. About the middle of the year 1661, he removed from Rome to Frascati; from whence writing to Lord Leicester, he says, ‘ I find myself at present as well as I can be; until the time come that I may conveniently return into my own country. The Prince Pamphilio, nephew to the last Pope, hath given me very convenient lodgings in his Villa de Belvedere, which is one of the finest of Italy.’ — ‘ Here are walks and fountains in the greatest perfection; and, though my natural delight in solitude is very much increased this last year, I cannot desire to be more alone than I am, and hope to continue. My conversation is with birds, trees, and books. In these last months, that I have had no business at all, I have applied myself to study a little more than I have done formerly: and though one who begins at my age, cannot hope to make any considerable progress that way; I find so much satisfaction in it, that, for the future, I shall very unwillingly (though I had the opportunity) put myself into any way of living, that shall deprive me of that entertainment. Whatsoever hath been formerly the objects of my thoughts and desires, I have now intention of seeking very little more than quietness and retirement.’ And again; ‘ I left Rome, where I had made a great deal of acquaintance, to avoid the necessity of making and receiving visits, and live now as an hermit in a Palace.’ ‘ I cannot but rejoice a little to find, that when I wander as a vagabond through the world, forsaken by my friends, poor, and known only to be a broken limb of a ship-wrecked faction; I yet find humanity and civility from those who were in the height of fortune and reputation. But I do also well know, I am in a strange land, how far those civilities do extend, and that they are too airy to feed or clothe a man.’

In another letter, written by Mr. Sydney when he had been a considerable time in exile, (and when he had received sufficient advices from England, to enable him to form a just idea of the nature of Charles the Second’s Government,) we find the following noble and patriotic sentiments. ‘ I confess, we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think, that being exiled from it is a great evil; and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But, when that country of mine which used to be esteemed a Paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury;

‘ the

the Liberty, which we hoped to establish, oppressed ; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty, which, we hoped, GOD by our hands would have introduced ; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst ; the Parliament, Court, and Army, corrupted ; the people enslaved ; all things vendible ; no man safe, but by such evil and infamous means, as flattery and bribery ; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition ? Is it a pleasure to see, that all I love in the world is sold and destroyed ? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile Court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them ? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety ? Ah ! no : better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty ; or, at least, not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles, in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies ; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when GOD should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me the time is come, wherein I should resign it. And when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it ; I think he shews me, I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the King glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers : let them rejoice in their subtilty, who, by betraying the former Powers, have gained the favour of this ; and not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps they may find the King's glory is their shame ; his plenty the people's misery ; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for destroying a nation, (which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world,) and that others may find they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery ; a dear price paid for that, which is not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it. The honour of English Parliaments hath ever been, in making the nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the interest of it, to satisfy the lusts of one man. Miserable nation ! that, from so great a height of glory, is fallen into the most despicable condition in the world ; of having all its good depend upon the breath and will of the vilest persons in it ! cheated and sold by them they trusted ! infamous traffic, equal almost in guilt to that of Judas ! In all preceding ages Parliaments have been the Palace of our Liberty ; the sure defenders of the oppressed : they, who formerly

'merly could bridle Kings, and keep the balance even between
 'them and the people, are now become instruments of all our
 'oppressions, and a sword in his hand to destroy us; they them-
 'selves led by a few interested persons, who are willing to buy
 'offices for themselves, by the misery of the whole nation, and
 'the blood of the most worthy and eminent persons in it. De-
 'testable bribes, worse than the oaths now in fashion in this mer-
 'cenary Court! I mean to owe neither my life nor liberty to
 'any such means: when the innocence of my actions will not
 'protect me, I will stay away till the storm be over-passed. In
 'short, where Vane, Lambert, and Haselrigg, cannot live in
 'safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in England, I should
 'have expected a lodging with them; or, though they may be
 'the first, as being more eminent than I, I must expect to follow
 'their example in suffering, as I have been their companion in
 'acting. I am most in a maze at the mistaken informations, that
 'were sent to me by my friends, full of expectations of favours
 'and employments. Who can think, that they, who imprison
 'them, would employ me; or suffer me to live, when they are
 'put to death? If I might live, and be employed, can it be ex-
 'pected, that I should serve a Government that seeks such detest-
 'able ways of establishing itself? Ah! no: I have not learnt to
 'make my own peace, by persecuting and betraying my brethren,
 'more innocent and worthy than myself. I must live by just
 'means, and serve to just ends, or not at all. After such a ma-
 'nifestation of the ways by which it is intended the King shall
 'govern, I should have renounced any place of favour, into
 'which the kindness and industry of my friends might have ad-
 'vanced me; when I found those, that were better than I, were
 'only fit to be destroyed. I had formerly some jealousies: the
 'fraudulent proclamation for indemnity increased them: the
 'imprisoning of those three men, and turning out all the Officers
 'of the army, contrary to promise, confirmed me in my resolu-
 'tions not to return.' ----- 'My thoughts as to King and
 'State depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more
 'faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prof-
 'perity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he
 'doth the contrary.'

After Mr. Sydney had continued some time in Italy, he thought
 proper to draw nearer home, that if an opportunity should offer,
 "he might not," as General Ludlow observes, "be wanting to
 "his duty and the public service." In his way he visited that
 General and his friends, in their retirement in Switzerland; as-
 suring them of his affection and friendship, and no way declining
 to own them and the cause for which they suffered. He staid
 with them about three weeks; and designing to go for Flanders,
 where he resolved to pass the ensuing winter, he took his journey
 by the way of Berne, doing all the good offices he could for Ge-
 neral Ludlow and his friends, with the Advoyer and other prin-
 cipal

cipal Magistrates of that city. He was at Brussels at the end of the year 1663, from whence he wrote to his father, with relation to transporting a body of the best Officers and soldiers of the old army into the service of the Emperor (a).

During his exile, Mr. Sydney made some stay in France; and an incident is related concerning him at this period, so expressive of that high spirit by which he was ever distinguished, that it must not be omitted. He was one day hunting with the French King, and being mounted on a fine English horse, whose form and spirit caught the King's eye, he received a message that he would please to oblige the King with his horse, at his own price. He answered, that he did not chuse to part with him. But the French Monarch, not being accustomed to have his desires opposed, was determined to have no denial; and gave orders to tender him money, or to seize the horse: which being made known to Mr. Sydney, he instantly took a pistol and shot him, saying, "That his horse was born a free creature, had served a free man, and should not be mastered by a King of Slaves (b)."

Mr. Sydney continued thus exiled from his native country for seventeen years; but at last his father, the Earl of Leicester, desiring to see him before his death, he obtained leave from King Charles II. for his return, in 1677. His father died within a few weeks after his arrival in England; but left him a legacy of five thousand one hundred pounds. The payment of this was, however, disputed by his elder brother, now become Earl of Leicester; who put him to the trouble and expence of a long and tedious suit in Chancery on that account. But he did at length obtain a decree in his favour.

In 1678, he stood candidate for Member of Parliament for Guilford in Surry; but the Court opposing him, he lost his election. He was also, by the influence of the Court, prevented from sitting in the next Parliament, though he was elected a Member. In one of his letters to Henry Savile, he says, 'I am not able to give so much as a guess, whether the Parliament shall sit the 26th of January or not; and though I think myself in all respects well chosen, am uncertain whether I shall be of it, or not, there being a double return.'

The Court and Ministry were successful in their endeavours to keep Mr. Sydney out of Parliament; they were, however, afterwards not satisfied with this, but laboured to deprive him of his life. As his public-spirited principles naturally led him to associate with those who were desirous of putting some stop to the unjustifiable and arbitrary measures of Charles's Government, this furnished a pretence for an accusation of high treason against him. And accordingly he was charged with being concerned in the Presbyterian plot, as it was called, in 1683. "And though (as he himself informs us) being admitted into his Majesty's
" presence,

"presence, he did truly shew unto him, that there neither was
 "nor could be any such plot, as matters then stood;" yet, on
 the 26th of June in that year, a messenger came and arrested
 him, and one of the Clerks of the Council seized his papers.
 The same day, by a warrant from the Secretary of State, he was
 committed to the Tower; and a little while after all his effects
 were likewise secured. He was brought to his trial on an in-
 dictment for high treason on the 21st of November, 1683, in the
 Court of King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Jefferies. The
 three first witnesses against him were Robert West, Colonel Rum-
 fsey, and Mr. Keeling, whose whole evidence was founded upon
 hearsay. Mr. Sydney remonstrated, but in vain, against the in-
 justice of suffering such improper evidence to be given, to preju-
 dice the minds of the Jury against him. The only positive wit-
 nesses against him was the Lord Howard of Escrick, the same
 worthless and unprincipled Nobleman who gave evidence against
 Lord Russell. The purport of his testimony was, that Mr. Syd-
 ney was present at two meetings in which schemes had been
 formed to excite insurrections against the Government; and that
 he had been concerned in sending one Aaron Smith into Scot-
 land, to excite some of the inhabitants of that kingdom to con-
 cur with the discontented party in England. But this evidence
 being not sufficient, in order to help it out, a part of Mr. Syd-
 ney's excellent discourses on Government was produced, as a se-
 ditious and traitorous libel; the design of which was, to persuade
 the people of England, that it is lawful for them to set aside their
 Prince, in case it should appear to them that he had broken the
 trust invested in him by the people. Mr. Sydney, in his defence,
 evidently shewed the great injustice and illegality of the pro-
 ceedings against him; and urged many strong reasons to invali-
 date the force of Lord Howard's testimony, and to shew that he
 deserved no credit. Among other particulars, he said, 'When I
 "was a prisoner, he (Lord Howard) comes to my house, and
 "speaks with my servant, and says, how sorry he was that I should
 "be brought in danger upon this account of the plot; and there
 "he did in the presence of GOD, with hands and eyes lifted up
 "to Heaven, swear, he did not believe any plot, and that it was
 "but a sham.' And the Earl of Anglesey, Lord Clare, Lord
 Paget, Mr. Philip and Mr. Edward Howard, and Dr. Burnet,
 being produced in Mr. Sydney's behalf unanimously testified,
 that they heard Lord Howard make declarations to the same
 purpose. But all was in vain; for a Jury being packed for the
 occasion, and Jefferies being Judge, Mr. Sydney was found guilty
 of high treason.

When sentence was passed on him to be drawn, hanged, and
 quartered, he broke out into these words: 'Then, O GOD, I
 "beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute
 "not my blood to the country, nor the city, through which I am
 "to be drawn: let no inquisition be made for it; but if any,
 'and

‘ and the shedding of blood that is innocent, must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only upon those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness sake.’ Whereupon Lord Chief Justice Jefferies said to him, ‘ I pray GOD work in you a temper fit to go unto the other world, for I see you are not fit for this.’ To which Mr. Sydney, holding out his hand, replied, ‘ My Lord, feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered ; I bless GOD, I never was in better temper than I am now.’

The injustice of the proceedings against him was universally exclaimed at : however, he could obtain no other favour than that of having his sentence changed into beheading. The 7th of December, 1683, was appointed for his execution. Bishop Burnet says, ‘ In his imprisonment he sent for some Independent preachers, and expressed to them a deep remorse for his past sins, and great confidence in the mercies of GOD. And indeed he met death with an unconcernedness, that became one who had set up Marcus Brutus for his pattern. He was but a very few minutes on the scaffold at Tower-Hill. He spoke little, and prayed very short : and his head was cut off at one blow.’ (f)

Such was the end of the illustrious ALGERNON SYDNEY ! a man of fine genius, cultivated and improved by study ; and deeply skilled in the science of Government, and all the branches of political knowledge. But his noblest praise is, that generous ardour in defence of Freedom and the common rights of mankind, by which he was ever animated. He possessed uncommon steadiness and courage, and great sincerity, honour, and integrity. As to his religion, Burnet says, ‘ He seemed to be a Christian, but in a particular form of his own : he thought it was to be like a Divine Philosophy in the mind : but he was against all public worship, and every thing that looked like a church.’ Upon this the Author of “ *Memoirs of Algernon Sydney*,” makes the following remark. ‘ This the reader will understand with some allowance. That our Author was an enemy to all the civil establishments of Christianity is very certain ; but it does not follow from thence, that he was against all public worship.’

Mr. Sydney’s *Discourses concerning Government* have been several times printed ; but the most elegant and valuable Edition is that which was published at the expence, and under the inspection, of the worthy and public-spirited Mr. Hollis, in 1763, in 4to. This Edition also contains his Letters, Trial, Apology, and some Memoirs of his Life.

Lord Orrery says, that “ *Algernon Sydney’s Discourses concerning Government* are admirably written, and contain great historical knowledge, and a remarkable propriety of diction ; so that his

(f) The next day after his execution, he was buried at Penshurst in Kent, among his Noble Ancestors.

his name, in my opinion, ought to be much higher in the temple of literature, than I have hitherto found it placed." And the Author of *Memoirs of Algernon Sydney* observes, that "his *Discourses concerning Government* alone will immortalize his name, and are sufficient to supply the loss of Cicero's six books *De Republica*, which has been so much regretted by men of sense and probity. In short, it is one of the noblest books that ever the mind of man produced; and we cannot wish a greater, or more extensive blessing to the world, than that it may be every where read, and its principles universally received and propagated (f)."

Mr. Sydney's *Discourses* were written partly as an answer to the *Patriarcha* of Sir Robert Filmer, a treatise written in favour of absolute Monarchy. And in opposition to that Writer, our Author maintains, That man is naturally free, that he cannot justly be deprived of that Liberty without cause, and that he doth not resign even any part of it, unless it be in consideration of a greater good. He remarks, that the base effeminate Asiatics and Africans, for being careless of their Liberty, or unable to govern themselves, were by Aristotle and other wise men called *Slaves by Nature*, and looked upon as little different from beasts.

Filmer takes notice, that some Writers had allowed to the people a liberty of deposing their Princes; "which (says he) is a desperate opinion." Upon this assertion, Mr. Sydney makes the following observations. "But why is this a desperate opinion? If disagreements happen between King and people, why is it a more desperate opinion to think the King should be subject to the censures of the people, than the people subject to the will of the King? Did the people make the King, or the King make the people? Is the King for the people, or the people for the King? Did GOD create the Hebrews, that Saul might reign over them? Or did they, from an opinion of procuring their own good, ask a King that might judge them, and fight their battles? If GOD's interposition do alter the case, did the Romans make Romulus, Numa, Tullius Hostilius, and Tarquinius Priscus, Kings? Or did they make or beget the Romans? If they were made Kings by the Romans, 'tis certain they that made them sought their own good in so doing: and if they were made by and for the city and people, I desire to know, if it was not better, that when their successors departed from the end of their institution, by endeavouring to destroy it, or all that was good in it, they should be censured and ejected, than be permitted to ruin that people for whose good they were created? Was it more just that Caligula or Nero should be suffered to destroy the poor remains of the Roman Nobility and people, with the nations subject to that Empire, than that the race of such monsters should be extinguished, and

and a great part of mankind, especially the best, against whom they were most fierce, preserved by their deaths ?

And speaking of the Works of some of the defenders of the despotic Government, he says, ' The productions of Laud, Manwaring, Sibthorp, Hobbes, Filmer, and Heylin, seem to have been reserved as an additional curse to complete the shame and misery of our age and country. Those who had wit and learning, with something of ingenuity and modesty, though they believed that nations might possibly make an ill use of their power, and were very desirous to maintain the cause of Kings, as far as they could put any good colour upon it; yet never denied that some had suffered justly, (which could not be, if there were no power of judging them) nor ever asserted any thing that might arm them with an irresistible power of doing mischief, animate them to persist in the most flagitious courses, with assurance of perpetual impunity, or engage nations in an inevitable necessity of suffering all manner of outrages. They knew that the actions of those Princes who were not altogether detestable, might be defended by particular reasons drawn from them, or the laws of their country; and would neither undertake the defence of such as were abominable, nor bring Princes, to whom they wished well, into the odious extremity of justifying themselves by arguments that favoured Caligula and Nero, as well as themselves, and that must be taken for a confession, that they were as bad as could be imagined; since nothing could be said for them that might not as well be applied to the worst that had been, or could be. But Filmer, Heylin, and their associates, scorning to be restrained by such considerations, boldly lay the ax to the root of the tree, and rightly enough affirm, That the whole fabric of that which they call popular sedition would fall to the ground, if the principle of natural liberty were removed. And on the other hand it must be acknowledged, that the whole fabric of tyranny will be much weakened, if we prove, That nations have a right to make their own laws, and constitute their own Magistrates; and that such as are so constituted owe an account of their actions to those by whom, and for whom they are appointed.'

Mr. Sydney proves, that all just magistratical power is from the people; and that Liberty is the right of all mankind. He also maintains, that the mischiefs and cruelties proceeding from tyranny, are greater than any that can come from popular or mixed Governments; that popular Governments are less subject to civil disorders than absolute Monarchies, and manage them more ably, and more easily; and that popular and mixed Governments preserve peace, and manage wars, better than absolute Monarchies. He likewise observes, that the greatest enemy of a just Magistrate, is he who endeavours to invalidate the contract between him and the people, or to corrupt their manners. That

the glory, virtue, and power, of the Romans, began and ended with their Liberty ; and that no sedition was hurtful to Rome, till through their prosperity some men obtained a power above the laws. And that Liberty produces virtue, order, and stability ; while Slavery is necessarily accompanied with vice, weakness, and misery.



The Life of Dr. ISAAC BARROW.

ISAAC BARROW was son to Thomas Barrow, a reputable citizen of London, and linen-draper to King Charles the First, and was born in that city about the year 1630. He was sent first to the Charter-house school, for two or three years, where he discovered more of natural courage than inclination to study, being much given to fighting, and promoting it in others, so that he made little or no proficiency in learning; insomuch that his father was so greatly disgusted with his manners and behaviour, that he is said often to have wished, that if it pleased GOD to take away any of his children, it might be his son Isaac. But being removed to Felsted in Essex, his disposition took a different turn, so that he applied himself to his studies with great diligence, and made an extraordinary proficiency in learning. During his stay at Felsted, he was, upon the 15th of December, 1643, admitted a pensioner of Peter-House in Cambridge, where his uncle, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, was then a Fellow; but when he was actually removed to the University, in February, 1645, he was entered at Trinity-College, his uncle, with some others who had written against the Covenant, having the year before been ejected from Peter-House. And his father having suffered much in his estate by his adherence to King Charles, Isaac's chief support was at first from the generosity of Dr. Hammond, for which he has expressed his gratitude in a Latin epitaph on his benefactor. In 1647, he was chosen a scholar of the house; and though he always continued a warm Royalist, and would not take the Covenant, yet his behaviour was such, that he gained the good-will and esteem of his superiors. He afterwards subscribed the Engagement; but having soon after repented of what he had done, he went back to the Commissioners to declare his dissatisfaction, and got his name erased out of the list.

In 1648, Mr. Barrow took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and the year following was chosen Fellow of his College. But as those times were not favourable to the advancement of men of his sentiments, after his election he formed a design to engage in the profession of physic; and accordingly for some years he bent his studies that way, and particularly made a great progress in anatomy, botany, and chymistry; though afterwards thinking that profession not well consistent with the oath he had taken, when admitted Fellow, he quitted medicine, and applied himself chiefly

chiefly to Divinity. While he read Scaliger on Eusebius, he perceived the dependence of Chronology upon Astronomy, which put him upon the study of Ptolemy's *Almagest*; and finding that book and all Astronomy depend on Geometry, he applied himself to Euclid's *Elements*, and from thence was led to the other antient Mathematicians, till he had conquered all the difficulties of that noble science by the force of his own genius and indefatigable labour, Mr. John Ray being then the companion of his studies (*a*).

In 1652, he commenced Master of Arts, and the 12th of July the following year was incorporated in that degree at Oxford. And when Dr. Duport, the Greek Professor at Cambridge, resigned the chair, he recommended his pupil, Mr. Barrow, for his successor, who justified the character given of him by an excellent performance of his probation exercise. But not having interest enough to carry the election, Mr. Ralph Widdrington was chosen; and that disappointment is thought to have been the reason of his forming a design to visit foreign countries: and in order to execute this purpose he was obliged to sell his books.

Mr. Barrow left England about the beginning of June, 1655, and went for Paris. There he found his father attending the English Court, and out of his own small stock made him a seasonable present. The same year his *Euclid* was printed at Cambridge, which he had left behind him for that purpose. He continued in France the following winter, and sent the Master and Fellows of Trinity College an account of his voyage in a poem, and some curious and political observations in a letter, both written in Latin, and dated the 9th of February the same year, which have been since published in his *Opuscula*. The ensuing spring passing through France, he came to Leghorn, with a design to proceed to Rome, but stopped at Florence; "where he had the favour, (says Dr. Pope) and neglected it not, to peruse many books in the Grand Duke's library, and ten thousand curious medals, and to discourse concerning them with Mr. Fitton, who found his abilities so great in that sort of learning, that upon his recommendation the Grand Duke invited Dr. Barrow to take upon him the charge and custody of that great treasure of antiquity (*b*);" but in this latter circumstance Dr. Pope appears evidently to have been mistaken.

The singleness of Mr. Barrow's circumstances would now have obliged him to return home, had it not been for Mr. James Stock, a young merchant of London, who generously furnished him with money to support him in his travels. By this unexpected supply he was probably encouraged to enlarge his views; so that he not only continued in Italy that summer, but being prevented from visiting Rome (the place of all others he most de-

fired

(*a*) Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, P. 157, 158.

(*b*) *Life of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury*, by Dr. Walter Pope, P. 134.

fred to see) by reason of the plague, which then raged there, and not being willing to stay the whole winter at Florence, he went back to Leghorn, and from thence set sail for Smyrna, on the 6th of November, 1656.

In this voyage the ship in which Mr. Barrow sailed was attacked by an Algerine pirate; and during the engagement he staid upon deck, and being stationed at one of the guns, assisted in the defence of the ship with great activity and bravery. The Algerines were at length obliged to sheer off; and by his behaviour in this affair Mr. Barrow discovered that his natural courage continued the same, though his disposition for fighting had been long altered; and that he dreaded nothing so much as slavery, the most shocking prospect to a brave and generous mind. Therefore Dr. Pope says, when he asked him, "Why he did not go down into the hold, and leave the defence of the ship to those to whom it did belong?" He replied, "It concerned no man more than myself. I would rather have lost my life, than to have fallen into the hands of those merciless Infidels."

At Smyrna he met with a kind reception from the English merchants, and particularly Consul Breton, upon whose death he afterwards wrote a Latin elegy. From thence he sailed up to Constantinople, where the like civilities were shewn him by Sir Thomas Bendish, the English Ambassador, and Sir Jonathan Dawes, with whom he contracted a friendship, which ever afterwards continued. The voyage from Leghorn to Constantinople, he has described in another Latin poem yet extant. Constantinople had been the See of St. Chrysostom, whom he preferred before any of the other Fathers, and read over all his works during his continuance there, which was above a year, and longer than he would have chosen, had not the circumstances of his affairs obliged him to it. This appears from his letter to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College in Cambridge, dated from thence August the 1st, 1658; and with which he sent them another Latin poem, but unfinished, as he said, concerning the Turkish religion, which may also be seen in his *Opuscula*. In that letter he acquaints them, that he had disposed of his affairs in a proper manner for his return, and hoped to be with them in about a year's time. Accordingly he went to Venice by sea, where, as soon as he was landed, the ship took fire, and was consumed with all the goods; but none of the passengers or seamen were hurt. Leaving Venice he made the tour of Germany and Holland, and so came back to England in the year 1659, as he proposed (c).

The time being now come, at which the Fellows of Trinity College are obliged either to take orders, or quit the College, (which is seven years after they have taken the degree of Master of Arts) he got himself episcopally ordained by Bishop Brownrig. And

And soon after the Restoration he was chosen Greek professor at Cambridge; and in his Oration on that occasion, which is still extant, he paid high compliments to the memory of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, and others; and particularly commemorated Erasmus, who had been so nobly instrumental in reviving the study of the learned languages. He also complimented the University of Cambridge upon the good sense, true judgment, real wit, and extensive learning with which it abounded; in which respects it had the advantage over all the Universities he had seen in his travels. He apologized for his own insufficiency and inability to fill the Professor's chair; but, as he had the honour to be elected, he should, he said, use his utmost endeavours to supply the want of genius by industry and diligent application. He congratulated his auditors upon the revival and encouragement of good literature and the politer arts by the King's Restoration. And lastly, he expatiated upon the great antiquity, extensive use, peculiar energy, and superior advantages of the Greek language; and displays the several merits of its writers in every branch of learning.

When he first entered upon his Greek professorship, he designed to have read upon the tragedies of Sophocles, but altering his intention he made choice of Aristotle's Rhetoric. Those Lectures were afterwards borrowed by some friend, who never returned them; otherwise they might probably have been published. The year following, which was 1661, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. And on the 16th of July, 1662, by the recommendation of Dr. Wilkins, he was chosen Geometry Professor at Gresham College. While he continued in this station, he not only discharged the duty of it with great diligence and approbation; but likewise officiated for Dr. Pope, the Astronomy Professor, during his absence abroad. Among other of his Lectures, several were upon the projection of the sphere, and, as Mr. Sherburne says, prepared for the press; but these also, having been lent out, were never afterwards recovered.

About this time he was offered a living of good value; but the condition annexed, of teaching the Patron's son, made him refuse it, as too like a simoniacal contract. Upon the 20th of May, 1663, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in the first choice made by the Council after their charter. And on the 15th of July ensuing, his uncle, Dr. Isaac Barrow, to whose advice and direction in his younger years he had always recourse, being now created Bishop of Man, he preached the consecration sermon at Westminster-Abbey, which may be seen among his printed sermons. The same year, the executors of Henry Lucas, Esq; having by his appointment settled a mathematical Lecture at Cambridge, Mr. Barrow, by the assistance of his good friend Dr. Wilkins, was chosen the first professor, and entered upon that province the year following. And the better to secure the end of so generous and useful a foundation, he took care,

that

that himself and successors should be bound to leave yearly to the University ten written lectures. He was also invited to take the charge of the Cottonian library, but upon trial a while he chose rather to settle at Cambridge; and for that end, upon the 20th of May, 1664, he resigned his Professorship at Gresham-College (*d*).

In 1669, he wrote his Expositions on the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Decalogue, and Sacraments, which was a task enjoined him by the College, being obliged by the statutes to compose some theological discourses; which, as he says, so took up his thoughts, that he could not easily apply them to any other matter. The same year were published his *Lectiones Opticae*, which he dedicated to Robert Raworth and Thomas Buck, Esquires, the executors of Mr. Lucas, as the first fruits of his institution. These lectures being sent to the learned Mr. James Gregory, Professor of the Mathematics at St. Andrews in Scotland, and perused by him, he gave the following character of the author in a letter to Mr. John Collins. 'Mr. Barrow in his *Optics* sheweth himself a most subtil geometer, so that I think him superior to any, that ever I looked upon. I long exceedingly to see his *Geometrical Lectures*, especially because I have some notions upon the same subject by me. I intreat you to send them to me presently, as they come from the press, for I esteem the author more than you can easily imagine.' But when his *Geometricæ Lectiones*, which were published in the year 1670, had been some time in the world, having heard of very few who had read and considered them thoroughly, except Mr. Gregory and Mr. Slusius of Liege, the little relish that such things met with, helped to loosen him more from those speculations, and heighten his attention to the studies of Morality and Divinity. For with a view to this design he had, on the 8th of November, resigned his mathematical chair at Cambridge to his learned and successor, Mr. Newton (afterwards the famous Sir Isaac Newton) then Master of Arts, and fellow of the same College, who revised his *Optic Lectures* before they went to the press; and, as he ingenuously acknowledges, corrected some things, and added others. In a letter written by Mr. Barrow to Mr. John Collins, dated July 20, 1669, he acquaints him, that a friend of his had brought him some papers, wherein he had set down "methods of calculating the dimensions of magnitudes, like that of Mr. Mercator for the hyperbola, but very general; as also of resolving; as also of resolving equations;" which he promises to send him. And accordingly he did so, as appears from another letter, dated the 31st of that month. And in a third letter of the 20th of August following, he says, "I am glad my friends papers give you so much satisfaction; his name is Mr. NEWTON, a Fellow of our College, and very young,

" young, being but the second year Master of Arts ; but of an extraordinary genius and proficiency in these things."

Upon quitting his Lucasian Professorship he was only a Fellow of Trinity College, till his uncle, then Bishop of St. Asaph, gave him a small sinecure in Wales ; and Dr. Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, who highly esteemed him, a Prebend in that church : The profits of both which he bestowed in charity, and parted with them, as soon as he became Master of his College. In 1670, he was created Doctor in Divinity by mandate. And Dr. Pope tells us, that Bishop Ward invited Dr. Barrow to live with him, not as a Chaplain, but rather as a friend and companion, though he frequently officiated in the absence of the domestic Chaplain. About this time the Archdeaconry of North Wiltshire becoming void, the Bishop made an offer of it to Dr. Barrow, but he declined the acceptance of it. Soon after, a Prebendary of Salisbury being dead, and the Bishop offering Dr. Barrow the Prebend, he gratefully accepted it, and was installed accordingly. ' I remember about that time, (says Dr. Pope) I heard him once say, " I wish I had five hundred pounds." I replied, " That's a great sum for a Philosopher to desire ; what would you do with so much ? " " I would (said he) give it my sister for a portion, that would procure her a good husband," ' which sum, in a few months after, he received, for putting a life into the corps of his new Prebend ; after which he resigned it to Mr. Corker, of Trinity College in Cambridge.'

Dr. Pope also relates the following incident, which happened during the time that Dr. Barrow resided in Bishop Ward's family ; which, though of no great importance, the reader may not be displeased to see. ' We were once (says he) going from Salisbury to London, he in the coach, with the Bishop, and I on horseback ; as he was entering the coach, I perceived his pockets strutting out near half a foot, and said to him, " What have you got in your pockets ? " He replied. " Sermons." " Sermons, (said I) give them me, my boy shall carry them in his portmanteau, and ease you of that luggage." " But (said he) suppose your boy should be robbed." " That's pleasant, (said I) do you think there are parsons padding upon the road for sermons ? " " Why, what have you, (said he) ; it may be five or six guineas ; I hold my sermons at a greater rate ; they cost me much pains and time." " Well then (said I) if you'll secure my five or six guineas against lay-padders, I'll secure your bundle of sermons against ecclesiastical highwaymen." ' This was agreed ; he emptied his pockets, and filled my portmanteau with Divinity, and we had the good fortune to come safe to our journey's end, without meeting either sort of the padders before-mentioned, and to bring both our treasures to London (c).'

Upon

Upon the promotion of Dr. John Pearson, Master of Trinity College, to the See of Chester, Dr. Barrow was appointed to succeed him in his mastership by the King's patent, bearing date the 13th of February, 1672, and was admitted the 27th of the same month. When his Majesty advanced him to this dignity, he was pleased to say, "he had given it to the best scholar in England;" which character of him was not taken up by report, but the Doctor being then his Chaplain, the King had often done him the honour to discourse with him; and in his facetious way used to call him "an unfair preacher," because he exhausted every subject, and left no room for others to come after him. The patent having been drawn for him, as it had for some others, with a permission to marry, he got that clause erased, thinking it not agreeable with the statutes, from which he desired no dispensation. Being thus settled, and to the height of his wishes, he concerned himself with every thing that might be for the interest of the College; and excused them from some expences and allowances, which they had made to his predecessors; and in particular, he remitted to them the charge of keeping a coach for him, as had been done for other masters. He also earnestly promoted the affair of building their library, which was begun in his mastership. And in the year 1675, he was chosen Vice-Chancellor of the University.

In the mean time, Dr. Barrow continued to prosecute his studies with diligence, in order to increase his stock of sermons, and finish his treatise, "Of the Pope's Supremacy," in which he was then engaged. 'He understood Popery (says one of his Biographers) both at home and abroad; he had narrowly observed it militant in England, triumphant in Italy, disguised in France; and had earlier apprehensions, than most others, of the approaching danger, and would have appeared with the forwardest in a needful time.'

Dr. Barrow lived upwards of five years after his advancement to the Mastership of Trinity College. Concerning his death, the following particulars are related by Dr. Pope. 'The last time he was in London, whither he came, as it is customary, to the election of Westminster, he went to Knightsbridge to give the Bishop of Salisbury a visit, and then made me engage my word, to come to him at Trinity-College immediately after the Michaelmas ensuing. I cannot express the rapture of the joy I was in, having, as I thought, so near a prospect of his charming and instructive conversation. I fancied it would be a Heaven upon Earth; for he was immensely rich in learning, and very liberal and communicative of it, delighting in nothing more, than to impart to others, if they desired it, whatever he had attained by much pains and study: But of a sudden all my hopes vanished, and were melted like snow before the sun. Some few days after he came again to Knightsbridge, and sat down to dinner, but I observed he did not eat: Whereupon I

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asked him, how it was with him? He answered, that he had a slight indisposition hanging upon him, with which he had struggled two or three days, and that he hoped by fasting and opium to get it off, as he had removed another, and more dangerous sickness, at Constantinople, some years before. But these remedies availed him not, his malady proved in the event an inward, malignant, and insuperable fever, of which he died May 4, Anno. Dom. 1677, in the 47th year of his age, in mean lodgings, at a sadler's near Charing-cross, an old, low, ill-built house, which he had used for several years: for though his condition was much bettered by his obtaining the Mastership of Trinity College, yet that had no bad influence upon his morals, he still continued the same humble person, and could not be prevailed upon to take more reputable lodgings (f). He was buried in Westminster-Abbey; where his friends erected a monument to his memory, in the south wing, against the west wall, with his bust of white marble on the top, and an inscription on the front, drawn up by his much-esteemed friend Dr. Mapletost.

Dr. BARROW was, as to his person, low of stature, lean, of a pale complexion, and somewhat short sighted; but very strong and healthy. He could never be prevailed on to sit for his picture; but some of his friends found means to get it taken without his knowledge, while they diverted him with such discourse as engaged his attention. His life was irreproachable, and he was eminent for piety, modesty, and humility. He possessed a great extent of learning, and an uncommon force of genius; and his works are deservedly held in the highest estimation. The ingenious Mr. Granger observes, that "the name of Dr. Barrow will ever be illustrious for a strength of mind and a compass of knowledge that did honour to his country. He was unrivalled in mathematical learning, and especially in the sublime geometry." And it is observed by another writer, that "he may be esteemed, as having shewn a compass of invention equal, if not superior, to any of the moderns, Sir Isaac Newton only excepted."

He took a large compass in his studies, and acquired a general acquaintance with all parts of solid learning. He was exceedingly well skilled in the Greek language, and much inclined to Latin poetry, with which he frequently diverted himself, many performances of that kind being extant in his *Opuscula*. But for satyrs, it has been observed, he wrote none; his wit was pure, and peaceable; and he was a great enemy to the modern plays, thinking them a principal cause of the debauchery of those times. But notwithstanding the course he had taken himself, he gave it as his opinion, that general scholars did more please themselves; but those who prosecuted particular subjects, did
more

(f) Pope's Life of Bishop Ward, P. 166, 167.

more service to others. And indeed his unfixed state, for a good part of his life, did in a manner necessarily carry him to a variety of pursuits, till at length he came to settle in Divinity. And for this his temper of mind, as well as inclination, seemed more particularly to suit him. For he was calm and sedate, always contented with his condition, not depressed by adversity, nor elevated in prosperity; steady and constant in his devotions, beneficent to the necessitous, could reason coolly with the learned, and suit his discourse to the less knowing; and was very communicative to all who desired his assistance, which unhappily proved in some instances a prejudice to the public, by the loss of many papers, that were lent and never returned. He left little behind him, except books; which were so well chosen, that they sold for more than they cost. The manuscripts of his own composing were intrusted to the care of Dr. John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Abraham Hill, Esq; with a power to print such of them as they thought proper: a trust which they executed with great fidelity. He printed only two sermons himself, namely, "The duty and reward of bounty to the poor;" and another, "upon the passion of our blessed Saviour," which he did not live to see published. But several mathematical treatises written by him were printed during his life.

Dr. Barrow had much strength, as well as personal courage; and among other instances which have been urged in proof of this, is the following. As he was going out of a friend's house one morning, before an huge and furious mastiff was chained up, as he used to be all day, the dog flew at him: upon which "the Doctor caught him by the throat (says Dr. Pope) threw him, and lay upon him, and whilst he kept him down, considered what he should do in that exigent; once he had a mind to kill him, but he quite altered this resolution, judging it would be an unjust action, for the dog did his duty, and he himself was in fault for rambling out of his lodgings before it was light. At length he called out so loud, that he was heard by some of the house, who came presently out, and freed both the doctor and the dog, from the imminent danger they were both in."

He was remarkably negligent of his person and dress, and to this purpose Dr. Pope also relates the following story. Dr. Wilkins, then Rector of St. Laurence Jewry, being 'forced by some indisposition to keep his chamber, desired Dr. Barrow to give him a sermon the next Sunday, which he readily consented to do. Accordingly, at the time appointed, he came, with an aspect pale and meagre, and unpromising, slovenly and carelessly dressed, his collar unbuttoned, his hair uncombed, &c. Thus accoutred, he mounts the pulpit, begins his prayer, which, whether he did read or not, I cannot positively assert, or deny: immediately all the congregation was in an uproar, as if the church were falling, and they scampering to save their lives, each shifting for himself with great precipitation; there

“ was such a noise of pattens of serving-maids, and ordinary
 “ women, and of unlocking of pews, and cracking of seats,
 “ caused by the younger sort hastily climbing over them, that I
 “ confels, I thought all the congregation were mad : but the good
 “ Doctor seeming not to take notice of this disturbance, pro-
 “ ceeds, names his text, and preached his sermon to two or three
 “ gathered, or rather left together, of which number, as it fortu-
 “ nately happened, Mr. Baxter, that eminent Nonconformist was
 “ one, who afterwards gave Dr. Wilkins a visit, and commended
 “ the sermon to that degree, that he said, he never heard a better
 “ discourse : there was also amongst those who staid out the ser-
 “ mon, a certain young man, who thus accosted Dr. Barrow as
 “ he came down from the pulpit : “ Sir, be not dismayd ; for I
 “ assure you ’twas a good sermon.” By his age and dress, he
 “ seemed to be an apprentice, or at best, a foreman of a shop, but
 “ we never heard more of him. I asked the Doctor what he
 “ thought, when he saw the congregation running away from
 “ him ? “ I thought (said he) they did not like me, or my ser-
 “ mon, and I have no reason to be angry with them for that.”
 “ But what was your opinion (said I) of the apprentice ?”
 “ I take him (replied he) to be a very civil person, and if I could
 “ meet with him I’d present him with a bottle of wine.”
 “ There were then in that parish a company of formal, grave,
 “ and wealthy citizens, who having been many years under fa-
 “ mous ministers, as Dr. Wilkins, Bishop Ward, Bishop Reynolds,
 “ Mr. Vines, &c. had a great opinion of their skill in Divinity,
 “ and their ability to judge of the goodness and badness of ser-
 “ mons : many of these came in a body to Dr. Wilkins, to ex-
 “ postulate with him, why he suffered such an ignorant, scanda-
 “ lous fellow, meaning Dr. Barrow, to have the use of his pulpit.
 “ I cannot precisely tell, whether it was the same day, or some
 “ time after in that week, but I am certain it happened to be when
 “ Mr. Baxter was with Dr. Wilkins. They came, as I said be-
 “ fore, in full cry, saying, they wondered he should permit such
 “ a man to preach before them, who looked like a starved Cavalier
 “ who had been long sequestered, and out of his living for de-
 “ linquency, and came up to London to beg, now the King was
 “ restored ; and much more to this purpose. He let them run
 “ their selves out of breath, and when they had done speaking,
 “ and expected an humble submissive answer, he replied to them
 “ in this manner : “ The person you thus despise, I assure you, is
 “ a pious man, an eminent scholar, and an excellent preacher :
 “ for the truth of the last, I appeal to Mr. Baxter here present,
 “ who heard the sermon you so vilify : I am sure you believe Mr.
 “ Baxter is a competent judge, and will pronounce according to
 “ truth ;” then turning to him, “ Pray Sir, (said he) do me the
 “ favour to declare your opinion concerning the sermon now in
 “ controversy, which you heard at our church the last Sunday.”
 “ Then did Mr. Baxter very candidly give the sermon the praise

‘ it deserved ; nay more, he said, “ That Dr. Barrow preached so well, that he could willingly have been his auditor all day long.” ‘ When they heard Mr. Baxter give him this high encomium, they were pricked in their hearts, and all of them became ashamed, confounded, and speechless ; for though they had a good opinion of their selves, yet they durst not pretend to be equal to Mr. Baxter ; but at length, after some pause, they all, one after another, confessed, “ they did not hear one word of the sermon, but were carried to dislike it, by his unpromising garb and mien, the reading of his prayer, and the going away of the congregation ;” ‘ for they would not by any means have it thought, if they had heard the sermon, they should not have concurred with the judgment of Mr. Baxter. After their shame was a little over, they earnestly desired Dr. Wilkins to procure Dr. Barrow to preach again, engaging their selves to make him amends, by bringing to his sermon their wives and children, man-servants, and maid-servants, in a word, their whole families, and to enjoin them not to leave the church till the blessing was pronounced. Dr. Wilkins promised them to use his utmost endeavour for their satisfaction, and accordingly solicited Dr. Barrow to appear once more upon that stage ; but all in vain ; for he would not by any persuasions, be prevailed upon to comply with the request of such conceited, hypocritical coxcombs.’

Dr. Pope also observes in another place, that Dr. Barrow was careless of his clothes, even to a fault. ‘ I remember (says he) he once made me a visit, and I perceiving his band sat very awkwardly, and asked him, What makes your band sit so ? I have, said he, no buttons upon my collar. Come, said I, put on my night-gown, here’s a taylor at hand ; for by chance my taylor was then with me, who will presently set all things right. With much ado I prevailed with him ; the buttons were supplied, the gown made clean, the hands and face washed, and the clothes and hat brushed ; in a word, at his departure, he did not seem the same man who came in just before.’

The same writer also remarks, that Dr. Barrow ‘ had one fault more, if it deserves that name, he was generally too long in his sermons.——He thought he had not said enough, if he omitted any thing that belonged to the subject of his discourse ; so that his sermons seemed rather complete treatises, than orations designed to be spoke in an hour : Hereof I will give you two or three instances. He was once requested by the Bishop of Rochester, then and now Dean of Westminster, to preach at the Abbey, and withal desired not to be long, for that auditory loved short sermons, and were used to them. He replied, My Lord, I will shew you my sermon ; and pulling it out of his pocket, puts it into the Bishop’s hands. The text was in the tenth chapter of the Proverbs, the latter end of the eighteenth verse, the words these : *He that uttereth slan-*
‘ *der*

' *der is a lyar.* The sermon was accordingly divided into two
 ' parts, one treated of slander, the other of lies. The Dean
 ' desired him to content himself with preaching only the first
 ' part, to which he consented, not without some reluctancy, and
 ' in speaking that only, it took up an hour and an half. This
 ' discourse is since published in two sermons, as it was preached.
 ' Another time, upon the same person's invitation, he preached
 ' at the Abbey on a holiday: here I must inform the reader,
 ' that it was a custom for the servants of the church upon all
 ' holidays, Sundays excepted, between the sermon and Evening
 ' prayers, to shew the tombs, and effiges of the Kings and
 ' Queens in wax, to the meaner sort of people, who then flock
 ' thither from all corners of the town, and pay their two-pence
 ' to see *The Play of the Dead Volks*, as I have heard a Devonshire
 ' clown not improperly call it. These perceiving Dr. Barrow in
 ' the pulpit after the hour was past, and fearing to lose that time
 ' in *hearing*, which they thought they could more profitably
 ' employ in *receiving*. These, I say, became impatient, and
 ' caused the organ to be struck up against him, and would not
 ' give over playing till they had blowed him down. But the
 ' sermon of the greatest length was that concerning Charity,
 ' before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the Spittle; in speak-
 ' ing which, he spent three hours and an half. Being asked,
 ' after he came down from the pulpit, whether he was not tired:
 ' "Yes, indeed, (said he) I began to be weary with standing so
 ' "long."

Dr. Ward observes, that Dr. Barrow was very free in the use
 of tobacco, which he thought helped to compose and regulate
 his thoughts. But doubtless, as the same writer remarks, the
 sedateness of his mind, close attention to his subject, and un-
 wearied pursuit of it, till he conquered all its difficulties, joined
 with a great natural sagacity and solid judgment, were the true
 secret, why he thought so justly, and wrote with that great accu-
 racy and clearness. He transcribed his sermons four or five times
 over, his greatest difficulty being always to please himself. And
 therefore Mons. Le Clerc observes, that Dr. Barrow's sermons
 are rather treatises, or exact dissertations, than mere harrangues
 to please the people; and that there are scarce any sermons com-
 parable to those of this Author.

In 1683 all Dr. Barrow's English Works were published in
 three volumes, folio. by Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of
 Canterbury. The *first* of these volumes contains, thirty-two ser-
 mons on several occasions. A brief exposition of the Creed, the
 Lord's prayer, the decalogue, and the doctrine of the sacraments.
 A treatise of the Pope's supremacy. And a discourse on the
 unity of faith. The *second* volume contains, sermons and ex-
 positions on all the articles of the Apostles creed. And the
third volume contains forty-five sermons upon several oc-
 casions.

In 1687, was published in folio, "Isaaci Barrow S. S. T. professoris Opuscula, viz. determinationes, conciones ad clerum, orationes, poemata, etc. Volumen quartum." This is called *Volumen quartum*, as it was printed after the three English volumes in folio.

Dr. Barrow also published the following :

1. Euclidis Elementa : Cantabrigiæ 1655. 8vo.
2. Euclidis Data : Cantabrigiæ 1657. 8vo.
3. Lectiones opticae 18, Cantabrigiæ in scholis publicis habitæ, in quibus optice phaenomenon genuinæ rationes investigantur et exponuntur.
4. Lectiones geometricæ 13, in quibus praesertim generalia linearum curvarum symptomata declarantur : Lond. 1670. 4to.
5. Archimedis opera, Apollonii conicorum libri iv. Theodosii sphaerica, methodo nova illustrata, et succincte demonstrata : Londini 1675. 4to.

After his decease, in 1683, his Lucasian mathematical Lectures were also published in London, in 8vo.



The Life of ROBERT BOYLE.

THIS great and illustrious man was the seventh son of Richard Boyle, Earl of Corke, whose life we have already written, and was born in Ireland, on the 25th of January, 1626---7, at a country-house of his father's, called Lismore, then one of the noblest seats and greatest ornaments of the province of Munster, in which it stood. He informs us himself, that he was soon committed to the care of a country nurse; for his father, he says, "had a perfect aversion" for their fondness, who use to breed their children so nice and "tenderly, that a hot sun, or a good shower of rain, as much "endangers them, as if they were made of butter, or of sugar (a)." Accordingly being enured to a coarse but cleanly diet, and to the usual inclemencies of the air, he acquired a strong and vigorous constitution, which however he afterwards lost, by being treated too tenderly. He also acquaints us with several misfortunes which happened to him in his youth. When he was about three years old, he lost his mother, who was a very accomplished woman; and it was always a subject of regret to him, that he had not had the happiness of knowing her. A second misfortune was, that he learned to stutter, by mocking some children of his own age: of which, though no endeavours were spared, he could never be perfectly cured. A third was, that in a journey to Dublin, he was in the most imminent danger of being drowned.

As soon as he was of a proper age, he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to speak French and Latin, by one of his father's chaplains, and a Frenchman whom the Earl kept in the house. He early discovered an inclination for learning, and applied himself to it with much diligence; and 'this studiousness endeared
' him very much to his father, who used highly to commend him
' both for that and his veracity, of which latter he would often
' give him this testimony, that he never found him in a lie in all
' his life-time. And indeed lying was a vice both so contrary to
' his nature, and so inconsistent with his principles, that as there
' was scarce any thing he more greedily desired than to know
' the truth, so was there scarce any thing he more perfectly detested, than not to speak it.'

In

(a) His own account of the earlier part of his life, under the name of *Philareetus*, published by Dr. Birch, in his life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, P. 19, 20.

In the year 1635, his father sent him over to England, in order to be educated at Eton-school under Sir Henry Wotton, who was the Earl of Corke's old friend and acquaintance. Here he soon discovered a force of understanding, which promised great things, and a disposition to cultivate and improve it to the utmost. ' What made him so passionate a friend to reading, was, the accidental perusal of Quintus Curtius, which first made him in love with other than pedantic books, and conjured up in him that unsatisfied appetite of knowledge, that is yet as greedy, as when it first was raised. In gratitude to this book, I have heard him hyperbolically say, that not only he owed more to Quintus Curtius, than Alexander did; but derived more advantage from the history of that great Monarch's conquests, than ever he did from the conquests themselves.' These are Mr. Boyle's own words; for in the account before referred to, (as published by Dr. Birch) he speaks of himself in the third person.

He remained at Eton in the whole near four years; but in the last year, as he informs us himself, " he forgot much of that Latin he had got, for he was so addicted to more solid parts of knowledge, that he hated the study of bare words naturally, as something, that relished too much of pedantry to consort with his disposition and designs; so that by the change of his old courteous school-master (*b*) for a new rigid fellow, losing those encouragements, that had formerly subdued his aversion to verbal studies, he quickly quitted his Terence and his grammar, to read in history their gallant acts, that were the glory of their own, and the wonder of our times."

Mr. Boyle was now removed from Eton to his father's own seat at Stalbridge, in Dorsetshire, where he remained some time under the care of the parson of the place, who was also one of the Earl's chaplains. But it was not long before his education was intrusted to Mr. Marcombes, a Frenchman, who had been governor to two of his brothers; and of whom Mr. Boyle himself gives us the following character. ' He was a man, whose garb, his mien, and outside, had very much of his nation, having been divers years a traveller and a soldier; he was well fashioned, and very well knew what belonged to a gentleman. His natural were much better than his acquired parts, though divers of the latter he possessed, though not in an eminent, yet in a very competent degree. Scholarship he wanted not, having in his greener years been a professed student in divinity;

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' but

(*b*) Mr. Boyle observes in another place, that his school-master at Eton, Mr. Harrison, was careful to instruct him in such an affable, kind, and gentle way, that he easily prevailed with him to consider studying, not so much as a duty of obedience to his superiors, but as the way to purchase for himself a most delightful and invaluable good."

' but he was much less read in books than men, and hated pe-
 ' dantry as much as any of the seven deadly sins. Thrifty he
 ' was extremely, and very skilful in the sleights of thrift; but
 ' less out of avarice, than a just ambition, and not so much out
 ' of love to money, as a desire to live handsomely at last. His
 ' practical sentiments in divinity were most of them very sound;
 ' and if he were given to any vice himself, he was careful, by
 ' sharply condemning it, to render it un infectious, being indus-
 ' trious, whatsoever he were himself, to make his charges vir-
 ' tuous. Before company he was always very civil to his pupils,
 ' apt to eclipse their failings, and set out their good qualities to
 ' the best advantage; but in his private conversation he was
 ' cynically disposed, and a very nice critic both of words and
 ' men; which humour he used to exercise so freely with Mr.
 ' Boyle, that at last he forced him to a very cautious and consi-
 ' derate way of expressing himself, which after turned to his no
 ' small advantage. The worst quality he had was his choler, to
 ' excesses of which he was excessively prone; and that being the
 ' only passion, to which Mr. Boyle was much observed to be in-
 ' clined, his desire to shun clashing with his governor, and his ac-
 ' customedness to bear the sudden sallies of his impetuous hu-
 ' mour, taught our youth so to subdue that passion in himself,
 ' that he was soon able to govern it habitually and with ease;
 ' the continuance of which conquest he much acknowledged to
 ' that passage of St. James, *For the wrath of man worketh not the*
 ' *righteousness of God*, James i. 20. And he was ever a strict ob-
 ' server of that precept of the Apostle, *Let not the sun go down*
 ' *upon your wrath*; for continued anger turns easily to malice;
 ' which made him, upon occasion of this sentence of St. Paul, to
 ' say, that anger was like the Jewish manna, which might be
 ' wholesome for a day or two, but if it were kept long, it would
 ' breed worms, and corrupt. With this new governor Mr. Boyle
 ' spent the greatest part of the summer, partly in reading and
 ' interpreting the Universal History written in Latin, and partly
 ' in familiar kind of conversation in French.

In the autumn of the year 1638, he attended his father to
 London, and remained with him at the Savoy, till his brother
 Mr. Francis Boyle espoused Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew; and about
 four days after the marriage, the two brothers, Francis and Ro-
 bert, were sent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr.
 Marcombes. They embarked at Rye in Sussex, and from thence
 proceeded to Dieppe in Normandy; then they travelled by land
 to Rouen, and from thence to Paris. After which they repaired
 to Lyons; from which city they continued their journey to Ge-
 neva, where their governor had a family; and there the two gen-
 tlemen pursued their studies quietly, and without interruption.
 Mr. Boyle, during his stay here, resumed his acquaintance with
 the mathematicks, or at least with the elements of that science,
 of which he had before gained some knowledge. For he tells us

in his own Memoirs, that while he was at Eton, and afflicted with an ague before he was ten years old, by way of diverting his melancholy, they made him read *Amadis de Gaul*, and other romantic books, which produced such a restlessness in him, that he was obliged to apply himself to the extraction of the square and cube roots, and to the more laborious operations of Algebra, in order to fix and settle the volatility of his fancy: though it appears that he afterwards continued to amuse himself with books of chivalry.

He tells us in his own Account of himself, that, in order to employ his body as well as his mind, ' he spent some months ' in fencing, and ten or twelve in learning to dance, the former ' of which exercises he ever as much affected as he contemned ' the latter. His recreations during his stay at Geneva, were ' sometimes mall, tennis, (a sport he ever passionately loved) and ' above all, the reading of romances, whose perusal did not only ' extremely divert him, but (assisted by a total discontinuance of ' the English tongue) in a short time taught him a skill in French ' somewhat unusual to strangers. In effect, before he quitted ' France, he attained a readiness in the language of that country, ' which enabled him, when he made concealment his design, to ' pass for a native of it, both amongst them that were so, and ' amongst foreigners also; and in all his writings, whilst he was ' abroad, he still made use of the French tongue, not out of any ' intention to improve his knowledge in it, but because it was ' that he could express himself best in.'

Mr. Boyle also informs us, that during his stay at Geneva, he was once in the dead of night, struck with an unusual terror by a most violent tempest, attended with thunder and lightening, which then arose, and which affected him so strongly, that he apprehended the end of the world to be approaching. And he was impressed with a sense of his unpreparedness for that event, that this consideration induced him afterwards to make the strongest resolutions to become more in earnest about religion. His inclinations had indeed before been always virtuous, and his life inoffensive and free from scandal; but he now resolved to make religion the chief business of his life, to regulate all his actions in a manner strictly conformable to the precepts of Christianity, and to be constantly preparing himself for that higher and nobler state of existence, which the divine author of our religion has taught us to be always aspiring after.

In September, 1641, he quitted Geneva, after having spent one and twenty months in that city: and passing through Switzerland, and the country of the Grisons, entered Lombardy. Then, taking his rout through Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, he arrived at Venice; where, having made a short stay, he returned through Padua, and from thence to Florence, where he passed the winter. Here he employed his spare hours in acquiring the Italian language, which he at length understood perfectly, though

he never spoke it so fluently as the French. And here he read the modern history in Italian, and the works of the celebrated Galileo, who died at a village near Florence, during Mr. Boyle's residence in it.

In Mr. Boyle's own account of himself, from which we have already made several quotations, there is also the following passage relative to his adventures in Italy, which is too remarkable to be omitted. 'When Carnival was come, (the season when madness is so general in Italy, that lunacy does for that time lose its name) he had the pleasure to see the tilts maintained by the great Duke's brothers, and to be present at the gentlemen's balls. Nor did he sometimes scruple, in his governor's company, to visit the famous *Bordellos*, whither resorting out of bare curiosity, he retained there an unblemished chastity, and still returned thence as honest as he went thither, professing, that he never found any such sermons against them, as they were against themselves; the impudent nakedness of vice clothing it with a deformity, description cannot reach, and the worst of epithets cannot but flatter. But though Mr. Boyle were no fuel for forbidden flames, he proved the object of unnatural ones; for being at that time in the flower of youth, and the cares of the world having not yet faded a complexion naturally fresh enough, as he was once unaccompanied diverting himself abroad, he was somewhat rudely pressed by the posterous courtship of two friars, whose lust makes no distinction of sexes, but that, which its preference of their own creates, and not without difficulty and danger forced a scape from those gowned Sodomites, whose goatish hearts served not a little to arm Mr. Boyle against such people's specious hypocrisy, and heightened and fortified in him averfeness for opinions, which now the religious discredit as well as the religion.'

About the end of March, 1642, he began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days. And he tells us himself, that 'the more conveniently to see the numerous rarities of this universal city, and to decline the distracting intrusions and importunities of English Jesuits, passed for a Frenchman, which neither his habit nor language much contradicted. Under this notion he delightfully paid his visits to what in Rome and the adjacent villages most deserved them; and amongst other curiosities and antiquities, had the fortune to see the Pope at chapel, with the Cardinals, who severally appearing mighty princes, in that assembly looked like a company of common friars. Here he could not chuse but smile to see a young Churchman, after the service ended, upon his knees carefully with his hands sweep into his handkerchief the dust, his Holiness's gouty feet had by treading on it consecrated, as if it had been some miraculous relic.' Mr. Boyle also observes, that 'he never found the Pope less valued than in

Rome,

‘ Rome, nor his religion fiercelier disputed against than in Italy ;
‘ and sometimes added, that he ceased to wonder, that the
‘ Pope should forbid the sight of Rome to Protestants, since no-
‘ thing could more confirm them in their religion.’

During his travels, he pursued his studies with great vigour ; and his brother Francis, afterwards Lord Shannon, used to say, that even then he would never lose any vacant time ; for if they were upon the road, and walking down a hill, or in a rough way, he would read all the way ; and when they came at night to their inn, he would still be studying till supper, and frequently propose such difficulties, as he met with in his reading, to his governor (c).

Mr. Boyle returned from Rome to Florence, from whence he went to Leghorn, and so by sea to Genoa. Then passing through the county of Nice, he crossed the sea to Antibes, where he fell into some danger for refusing to honour the crucifix : from whence he went to Marseilles by land. He was in that city, in May, 1642, with his brother, when they received letters from their father, containing a melancholy account of the general rebellion in Ireland, and acquainting them, that it was with great difficulty he had procured for them two hundred and fifty pounds, to supply their expences in their return home. But this money being intrusted with one Perkins, a citizen of London, who was esteemed a man of considerable substance, to be sent them in bills of exchange, he proved unfaithful, so that they never received the least part of it. Being thus left destitute in a strange country, seven or eight hundred miles from home, they were by means of Mr. Marcombes their governor brought to Geneva, till supplies could be received to enable them to return ; where, by reason of the great confusion of affairs in Ireland and England, they fruitlessly waited for about two years ; during all which time having no money, either to discharge Mr. Marcombes, or to return homewards, they were obliged to live at a considerable expence, and to run in debt to him on that account. They continued at Geneva a considerable time, without either advices or supplies from England ; upon which Mr. Marcombes was obliged to take up some jewels on his own credit, which were afterwards disposed of with as little loss as might be ; and with the money thus raised, they continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644. On his arrival Mr. Boyle found his father dead ; and though the Earl had made an ample provision for him, as well by leaving him the manor of Stalbridge in England, as other considerable estates in Ireland, yet it was some time before he could receive any money. However, he procured protections for his estates in both kingdoms from those who were then in power ; from whom also he obtained leave to go over
into

into France for a short space, probably to settle accounts with his governor Mr. Marcombes : but he could not stay long abroad, since it appears that he was at Cambridge in December, 1645.

In March, 1646, he retired to his manor at Salbridge, where he now chiefly resided, in a kind of learned retirement. But the course of his studies was interrupted for some time in the summer of the year 1647, by a severe fit of the stone, to which distemper he was extremely subject. However, in September following he went to Bristol and Salisbury; and in February, 1747---8, made a voyage to Holland, partly to visit the country, and partly to accompany his brother Francis, in conducting his wife from the Hague. But he did not stay long there, for on the 15th of April, 1648, he was at London, from whence he soon after removed again to Salbridge.

During his retirement there, Mr. Boyle applied himself with incredible industry to studies of various kinds, but more particularly to natural philosophy and chemistry. It appears also, that he employed much time in the study of the Scriptures. He says himself, ' Those excellent sciences, the mathematics, having
 • been the first I addicted myself to, and was fond of, and experimental philosophy with its key, chemistry, succeeding them
 • in my esteem and applications; my propensity and value for
 • real learning gave me so much aversion and contempt for the
 • empty study of words, that not only I have visited divers countries, whose languages I could never vouchsafe to study, but
 • I could never yet be induced to learn the native tongue of the
 • kingdom I was born and for some years bred in. But in spite
 • of the greatness of these indispositions to the study of tongues,
 • my veneration for the Scripture made one of the greatest despisers of verbal learning leave Aristotle and Paccellus to turn
 • grammarian, and where he could not have the help of any
 • living teacher, engaged him to learn as much Greek and Hebrew, as sufficed to read the Old and New Testament, merely
 • that he may do so in the Hebrew and Greek, and thereby free
 • himself from the necessity of relying on a translation.' He likewise observes, that ' to improve himself in scripture-criticisms,' he frequently rode twenty miles to confer with a learned Jewish doctor; and also applied himself to the study of the Chaldee and Syriac languages. And he adds, ' I esteem no labour lavished, that illustrates or endears to me that divine book; my
 • addictiveness to which I gratulate to myself, as thinking it
 • no treacherous sign, that GOD loves a man, that he inclines
 • his heart to love the Scriptures, where the truths are so precious and important, that the purchase must at least deserve the
 • price (c).'

Mr. Boyle omitted no opportunity of obtaining the acquaintance

rance of persons distinguished for parts and learning, to whom he was in every respect a ready, useful, generous assistant, and with whom he held a constant correspondence. He was also one of the first members of that small, but learned body of men, which, when all academical studies were interrupted by the civil wars, secreted themselves about the year 1645; and had private meetings, first in London, afterwards at Oxford, for the sake of canvassing subjects of natural knowledge, upon that plan of experiment which my Lord Bacon had delineated. They styled themselves then "The Philosophical College;" and, after the Restoration, when they were incorporated and distinguished openly, took the name of the "Royal Society." And his retired course of life could not hinder him from acquiring a considerable reputation, nor prevent his attracting the notice of some of the most eminent members of the Republic of Letters; so that, in the year 1651, we find Dr. Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent physician, dedicating to him a book, under the title of, "The History of Generation: examining the several opinions of divers authors, especially that of Sir Kenelm Digby, in his Discourse upon Bodies."

In 1652, he went over to Ireland, in order to visit and settle his estates in that kingdom; and returned from thence in August, 1653. He was soon after obliged to go over into Ireland again; where he had spent his time very unpleasantly, if it had not been for his intimate friend and acquaintance Sir William Petty, then physician to the army, and to the deputy of Ireland, in whose conversation he was extremely happy, and by whom he was assisted in making some anatomical dissections.

During his stay in Ireland, he made strict inquiries after the minerals which that kingdom afforded; and though he could meet with few, who had either skill or curiosity in that way, yet silver ore was brought to him, which was found upon one of his brother's estates, that upon trial was estimated to be worth between thirty and forty pounds a ton. And he was assured by experienced men, that no country in Europe was so rich in mines as Ireland, had but the inhabitants the industry to seek them, and the skill to know them (*d*).

After his return to England, which is supposed to have been in the latter end of June, 1654, Mr. Boyle went to reside at Oxford, in order to prosecute his studies with the greater advantage, and continued there for the most part till April 1668, when he settled at London in the house of his sister, Lady Ranelagh, in Pall-Mall. At Oxford he chose to live in a private house, rather than in a college, both for his health, and because he had more room and conveniency to make experiments, than he could have had in a society. The person with whom he lodged, was
Mr.

Mr. Croſſe, an apothecary, and a very reputable and worthy man, who was intimately acquainted with Dr. Fell, Biſhop of Oxford. There was probably no place in England where Mr. Boyle could have reſided at this time with ſo much ſatisfaction to himſelf as he did at Oxford. For the famous Dr. Wilkins, by his admirable abilities, and the influence of his example and authority, ſupported a ſpirit of rational piety, and a juſt taſte of learning in that Univerſity. Dr. John Wallis, and Dr. Seth Ward, the two Savilian profeſſors of geometry and aſtronomy, Dr. Thomas Willis, the phyſician, then ſtudent of Chriſt church, Mr. Chriſtopher Wren, then Fellow of All Soul's College, Dr. Goddard, Warden of Merton College, Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, Fellow of Trinity, and afterwards Preſident of the ſame, and Dean of Wells, were eminent likewise for their genius and application to the moſt uſeful parts of literature, which theſe great men united their endeavours to cultivate and promote. For this purpoſe they held frequent meetings, in which they conferred chiefly on philoſophical ſubjects; and being ſatisfied that there was no certain way of arriving at any competent knowledge, unleſs they made a variety of experiments upon natural bodies, in order to diſcover what phenomena they would produce, they purſued that method by themſelves with great induſtry, and then communicated their diſcoveries to each other.

This was an employment, and this a ſociety, which exactly ſuited Mr. Boyle's inclinations. He had before laid in a great ſtock of mathematical and chemical knowledge: and as for the Ariſtotelian way of explaining the phenomena of nature, he reſected it, as a mere ſyſtem of words, that would never make any man more intelligent than he was before. The Carteſian philoſophy began to make a noiſe in the world; but he reſolved to acquieſce in no ſingle man's hypotheſis, and to draw no concluſions from premiſes in natural things, which he could not actually verify himſelf; and ſo for many years he would not read over Des Cartes's Principles, leſt he might be biaſſed by the ingenuity or authority of that philoſopher. With theſe diſpoſitions he ſet himſelf to philoſophize, and to perſuade the nobility and gentry of the nation, who had the means and leiſure to purſue ſuch ſort of ſtudies, to follow his example. He was convinced, that it would be of ineſtimable uſe to mankind to engage them in theſe inquiries; it would divert them from thoſe impertinent and criminal amuſements, which whilſt moſt of them buſied themſelves, and would make them not only better Chriſtians, but likewise more uſeful members of ſociety (*f*).

It was during Mr. Boyle's reſidence at Oxford, that he invented that admirable engine, the Air Pump, which was perfected for him, 1658, or 1659, by the very ingenuous Mr. Robert

bert Hooke, after he had seen a contrivance for that purpose by Mr. Graterix, which was too gross to perform any great matters. Mr. Hooke, who was afterwards professor of geometry in Gresham-college, and doctor of physick, then lived with Mr. Boyle, whom he assisted in chemistry, having been recommended to him by Dr. Willis the physician, whom he had before served in the same capacity. By this engine Mr. Boyle made such experiments, as have gone very far to enable him, and those who have succeeded him, to form a just theory of the air. By this he demonstrated its elasticity; and that property alone was a means to find out abundance more. He begun also to compose histories of its particular qualities, all founded upon experiments or observations, of which he kept very exact registers, hoping by this means to leave such materials, as future ages might build complete theories upon (g).

But philosophy and inquiries into nature were not the only things which engaged Mr. Boyle's attention. He continued to prosecute those critical studies which he had before commenced, and which he thought necessary to understand the Scriptures thoroughly: and for this he had peculiar advantages at Oxford. Dr. Edward Pococke, Mr. Thomas Hyde of Queen's College, and Mr. Samuel Clarke, who were men of great eminence for their skill in the Eastern languages, resided there; and Mr. Hyde particularly was frequently consulted by him during the rest of his life upon any difficulties, which he met with in the course of his reading upon those subjects. But one of his most intimate friends, with whom he conversed upon theological points, was Dr. Thomas Barlow, then chief librarian of the Bodleian library, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. The Doctor was a man of prodigious reading, and a proportionable memory; he knew what the fathers, schoolmen, or cannonists had said upon any question in divinity, or case of conscience; and being with all these accomplishments very communicative of his knowledge, he gained the highest degree of Mr. Boyle's esteem and friendship, who used, as long as he lived, to consult him upon cases of conscience. But however important the advantages were, which Mr. Boyle enjoyed at Oxford, for the prosecution of his studies, he extended them by a correspondence with persons eminent for their knowledge in other parts of England, and in foreign countries. Among his intimate friends and correspondence were, Dr. John Beale, John Evelyn, Esq; (b) Dr. John Pell, Dr. John

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Wallis,

(g) Birch, P. 112.

(b) The following character is given of this gentleman by the ingenious Mr. Granger. "JOHN EVELYN, the English Peiresk, was a gentleman of as universal knowledge as any of his time; and no man was more open and benevolent in the

communication of it. He was particularly skilled in gardening, painting, engraving, architecture, and medals; upon all which he has published treatises. His book on the last of these sciences is deservedly in esteem; but is inferior to that of Mr. Obadiah Walker on the same subject.

His

Wallis, and Henry Oldenburgh, Esq; a native of Bremen in Lower Saxony, who was for several years agent for that city in England, and afterwards Secretary to the Royal Society.

In 1659, Mr. Boyle being acquainted with the circumstances of the learned Dr. Robert Sanderfon, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, who had lost all his preferments on account of his attachment to the Royal party, he conferred upon him an honorary stipend of fifty pounds a year. This stipend was given as an encouragement to that great master of reasoning, to apply himself to the writing of Cases of Conscience. Dr. Sanderfon, therefore, published his treatise, intitled, *De Obligatione Conscientiæ*, and addressed it to Mr. Robert Boyle in an elaborate dedication, dated at Boothby Pannel in Lincolnshire, November 22, 1659; wherein he speaks of his patron as much more distinguished by his excellent dispositions, love of learning, humanity, piety, and all kinds of virtue, than by his birth and quality (*i*).

Upon the restoration, in 1660, Mr. Boyle was treated with great civility and respect by the King as well as by the Earl of Southampton, Lord High Treasurer, and the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England. And he was solicited by the latter to enter into holy orders, not only out of regard to him and his family, but chiefly with a view to serve the church itself. For Mr. Boyle's noble family, his distinguished learning, and
above

His translation of "an Idea of the "Perfection of Painting," written in French, by Roland Freart, and printed in 12mo. 1668, is become very scarce. His "Sculptura, or the History and "Art of Chalcography, and Engraving in Copper," was composed at the particular request of his friend, Mr. Robert Boyle, to whom it is dedicated. But his great work, is his "Sylva; or a Discourse of Forest-Trees, and the Propagation of "Timber, &c." He tells us, in the second edition of that valuable work, that it had been the occasion of planting two million of timber trees. The author, who resided chiefly at Says Court, near Deptford, had one of the finest gardens in the kingdom, and was one of the best and happiest men in it. He lived to a good, but not to a useless old age, and long enjoyed the shade of those flourishing trees which himself had planted." Biographical History of England, Vol. II. P. 367, 368.

Mr. Evelyn died in 1706, in the 86th year of his age; and was interred at Wotton in Surry, the place of

his nativity, under a tomb of about three feet high of free stone, shaped like a coffin, with an inscription upon white marble, with which it is covered, expressing, according to his own intention, that "Living in an age of extraordinary events and revolutions, he had learned from thence this truth, which he desired might be thus communicated to posterity: "That all is vanity, "which is not honest; and that "there is no solid wisdom but in "real piety."

In 1755, a second edition was published of Mr. Evelyn's "Sculptura: or, the history and art of Chalcography and engraving in copper, with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works. To which is annexed, a new manner of engraving or mezzotinto, communicated by his Highness Prince Rupert, to the author of this treatise." Some valuable additions were made to this edition, particularly an exact copy of the mezzotinto, done by Prince Rupert.

(*i*) Birch, P. 121.

above all, his unblemished reputation, induced Lord Clarendon to think, that any ecclesiastical preferments he might attain to would be so worthily discharged, as to do honour to the Clergy, and service to the established communion. Mr. Boyle considered all this with due attention; but to balance these he reflected, that in the situation of life he was in, whatever he wrote with respect to religion, would have so much the greater weight, as coming from a Layman; since he well knew, that the irreligious fortified themselves against all that the Clergy could offer, by supposing and saying that it was their trade, and that they were paid for it. He considered likewise, that, in point of fortune and character, he needed no accessions; and indeed he never had any appetite for either. But Bishop Burnet, who preached his funeral sermon, and to whom Mr. Boyle communicated memorandums concerning his own life, tells us, that what had the greatest weight in determining his judgment, was, the ‘not having felt within himself *an inward motion to it by the Holy Ghost*; and the first question, that is put to those, who come to be initiated into the service of the church, relating to that *motion*, he, who had not felt it, thought he durst not make the step, lest otherwise he should have lied to the Holy Ghost. So solemnly and seriously did he judge of sacred matters.’ He chose, therefore, to pursue his philosophical studies in such a manner, as might be most effectual for the support of religion.

In 1660, Mr. Boyle published in 8vo. “New Experiments physico-mechanical, touching the Spring of the air and its effects, made for the most part in a new pneumatical engine: written by way of letter to the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Viscount or Dungarvan, eldest son to the Earl of Corke.” This work was attacked by Franciscus Linus and Mr. Hobbes; which occasioned Mr. Boyle to subjoin to a second edition of it, printed at London, 1662, in 4to. *a Defence*, &c. in which he refuted the objections of those philosophers with great clearness, and with equal candour and civility. The same year he published his “Seraphic Love; or, some motives and incentives to the love of GOD, pathetically discoursed of in a letter to a friend.” This has passed through many editions, and been translated into Latin.

It appears that the fame of Mr. Boyle’s great learning and abilities had now extended itself beyond the limits of our island; for on the 10th of October, 1660, Mr. Robert Southwell, afterwards a knight, and envoy from King Charles II. to the King of Portugal, and president to the Royal Society, wrote to him from Florence, to inform him, that the Grand Duke of Tuscany was extremely desirous of a correspondence with him, that Prince being not only a patron of learning, but also a great master of it himself.

In 1661, Mr. Boyle published in 4to. “Certain physiological Essays, and other Tracts.” They were printed again in 1669,

4to. with large additions, especially of "A Discourse about the absolute rest of bodies;" and were translated into Latin. The same year he printed at Oxford his "Sceptical Chymist," in 8vo. a very curious and excellent work, which was re-printed in 1679, with the addition of "Divers experiments and notes about the producibleness of chemical principles."

In the year 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland was obtained from the King in Mr. Boyle's name, though without his knowledge; which nevertheless did not hinder him from interesting himself very warmly, for procuring the application of those impropriations, to the promoting true religion and learning. He interposed likewise in favour of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England; and was very instrumental in obtaining a decree in the Court of Chancery, for restoring to that corporation an estate, which had been injuriously repossessed by one Col. Bedingfield, a Papist, who had sold it to them for a valuable consideration. His activity in matters of this nature was so much the more honourable, as he was naturally averse to public business, and fond of privacy and retirement. But whenever the cause of virtue, learning, or religion, required it, his interest and endeavours were never wanting, and were generally crowned with success.

In 1663, the Royal Society being incorporated by King Charles II. by letters patent, dated the 22d of April, Mr. Boyle was appointed by the charter one of the council of that learned body; and as he had been one of the principal persons, to whom that society owed its first rise and progress, he continued during the rest of his life one of its most useful members.

The same year he published the three following pieces. 1. "Some considerations touching the usefulness of experimental natural philosophy, proposed in a familiar discourse to a friend, by way of invitation to the study of it." Oxford, 4to. 2. "Some considerations touching the stile of the Holy Scriptures." Lond. 8vo. 3. "Experiments and considerations touching colours: first occasionally written, among some other essays, to a friend, and now suffered to come abroad as the beginning of an experimental History of Colours." London, 8vo. This was re-printed in 1670, and was translated into Latin. This treatise is full of curious and useful remarks on the hitherto unexplained doctrine of light and colours; in which he shews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration, and may be said to have led the way to that mighty genius, the great Sir Isaac Newton, who has since set that important point in the clearest and most convincing light.

In 1664, Mr. Boyle was elected into the company of the Royal Mines; and the year following he published, in 8vo. his "Occasional reflexions upon several subjects; whereto is premised a discourse about such kind of thoughts." This piece was reprinted in 1669, in 8vo. and translated into Latin, but never published

published in that language. It is addressed to Sophronia, under which name he concealed that of his beloved sister, Lady Ranelagh. The thoughts are on a vast variety of subjects, and in a very moral and religious strain, and were written when he was very young: and this consideration, added to that of the custom of the age, in which the imagination was more indulged upon important subjects, than the severity of a true taste of writing will admit, may serve to apologize for this treatise; which has exposed the author to the only severe censure that ever was passed upon him, and that too from no less a man than the celebrated Dean Swift; who, to ridicule these reflexions, wrote "a pious meditation upon a broomstick, in the stile of the honourable Mr. Boyle." But, as his noble relation the late Lord Orrery has said, "to what a height must the spirit of sarcasm arise in an author, who could prevail upon himself to ridicule so good a man as Mr. Boyle? The sword of wit, like the scythe of time, cuts down friend and foe, and attacks every object that accidentally lies in its way. But sharp and irresistible as the edge of it may be, Mr. Boyle will always remain invulnerable."

The same year he published an important work, in 8vo. intitled, *New experiments and observations upon cold*; or, an experimental history of cold begun: with several pieces thereunto annexed. This was re-printed in 1683, in 4to. Mr. Boyle's reputation for learning now induced the King, unsolicited and unasked, to nominate him to the provostship of Eton-college. This was thought the fittest employment for him in the kingdom; yet, after mature deliberation, though contrary to the advice of his friends, he absolutely declined it. He had several reasons for declining it. He thought the duties of that employment might interfere with his studies: he was unwilling to quit that course of life, which, by experience, he found so suitable to his temper and constitution: and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into holy orders, which he was persuaded was necessary to qualify himself for it.

In February, 1666, the learned Mr. Henry Stubbe addressed a letter to Mr. Boyle upon the subject of the famous Mr. Valentine Greatrakes, the Irish stroker (k); and it appears that Mr. Boyle himself attested the truth of some of the cures performed by this extraordinary person, in his own presence; and testimonials in his favour were also given by Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, Dr. Ralph Cudworth, Dr. Simon Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and other eminent and learned persons.

The same year Mr. Boyle published at London, in 8vo. his "*Hydrostatical Paradoxes made out by new experiments*, for the
" most

"most part physical and easy;" which had been presented to the Royal Society, at whose request they had been made in May 1664. And about the same time he published at Oxford, in 4to. his "Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corporular Philosophy, illustrated by considerations and experiments: written formerly by way of notes, upon an essay about nitre." This was re-printed the year following in 8vo. with the addition of "a discourse of subordinate forms."

Both in this and the preceding year Mr. Boyle communicated to the Royal Society several short but curious treatises of his own, upon a great variety of subjects, and others transmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which were published in the Philosophical Transactions. And it is an evidence of the high esteem in which he was generally held, that, in the warm controversy raised at this time about the Royal Society, Mr. Boyle escaped all censure; and tho' Mr. Stubbe (1) attacked it in several pamphlets, with great fury, yet he preserved

(1) HENRY STUBBE was born at Partney, near Spillsby, in Lincolnshire, in 1631. His father was a minister, and lived at Spillsby; but being inclined to the principles of the Baptists, he was on that account obliged to leave that place, and thereupon went with his wife and children into Ireland. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion there in 1641, the mother fled with her son Henry into England, and landing at Liverpool, travelled on foot from thence to London. There she got a decent subsistence by her needle, and sent her son Henry, being then ten years of age, to Westminster-school, where Dr. Busby was so struck with the surprising parts of the boy, that he showed him more than ordinary favour, and recommended him to the notice of Sir Henry Vane, who one day came accidentally into the school. Sir Henry took a fancy to him, frequently relieved him with money, and gave him the liberty of resorting to his house, "to fill that belly," as Mr. Stubbe himself expresses it, "which otherwise had no sustenance, but what one penny could purchase for his dinner, and which had no breakfast, except he got it by making some body's exercise." Soon after, by Sir Henry's means, he was made a king's scholar; and his master at the same time gave him money to

buy books and cloaths, being much pleased with the extraordinary progress he made.

In 1649, he was elected student of Christ-church in Oxford; and while he continued under-graduate, it was usual with him to discourse in the public schools very fluently in the Greek tongue, which conveys no small idea of his learning. After he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he went into Scotland, and served in the parliament army there from 1653 to 1655. He then returned to Oxford, and took the degree of Master of Arts in 1656; and, at the motion of Dr. Owen, was in 1657 made Second Keeper, under Dr. Barlow, of the Bodleian library. He made great use and advantage of this post in the advancement of his studies, and held it till 1659, when he was removed from it, as well as from his place of student of Christ-church, on account of his having published the same year, *A Vindication of his patron Sir Henry Vane; an Essay on the good old cause; and a piece, intitled, Light shining out of darkness, with an apology for the Quakers, in which he reflected upon the Clergy and the Universities.*

After his ejection, he retired to Stratford upon Avon, in Warwickshire, in order to practice physic, which he had studied some years;

and

preserved a just respect for Mr. Boyle's great learning and abilities; who, on his part shewed a singular goodness of temper, and an uncommon zeal for the public service, in bearing with so much pride, passion, and indecent treatment from a person, whom he had highly obliged, because he thought him, with all his faults, capable of being useful to the world.

It was in 1668, that Mr. Boyle removed from Oxford to London, where he resided in the house of his sister, the Lady Ranelagh, in Pall-mall. This was to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society; to whom he gave great and continual assistance. And those who applied to him, either to desire his help, or to communicate to him any new discoveries in science, he had his set hours for receiving; otherwise it is easy to conceive, that he would have had very little of his time to himself.

In 1670, Mr. Boyle published in 8vo, his 'Tracts about the cosmical qualities of things; cosmical suspensions; the temperature of the subterranean regions; the temperature of the submarine regions; the bottom of the sea;' to which is prefixed, 'an introduction to the history of particular qualities.' This book (which was soon translated into Latin) occasioned much speculation, as it seemed to contain a vast treasure of new knowledge, which had never been communicated to the world before; and this too, grounded upon actual experiments, and arguments justly drawn from them, instead of that notional and conjectural philosophy, which, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, had been so much in fashion.

In the midst of his studies and labours for the public, Mr.
Boyle

and in 1661, he went to Jamaica, being honoured with the title of the King's Physician for that island; but that climate not agreeing with his constitution, he returned to England, and at last settled in Warwick, where he gained very considerable practice, as he did also at Bath, which he frequented in the summer-season; but was unfortunately drowned in a river about two miles from that city, in a journey to Bristol, on the 12th of July, 1676, and was interred in the great church at Bath.

Anthony Wood, who was contemporary with Mr. Stubbe at Oxford, has given him the following character, that 'he was a person of most admirable parts, and had a most prodigious memory;—was the most noted Latinist and Grecian of his age;—was a singular mathematician, and thoroughly read

'in all political matters, councils, and ecclesiastical and profane histories. He had a voluble tongue, and was very seldom known to hesitate either in public disputes or common discourse. His voice was big and magisterial, and his mind was equal to it. He was of a high generous nature, scorned money and riches, and the adorers of them. He was accounted a very good physician, and excellent for those matters that complete it, as Simpling, Anatomy, and Chymistry.—But as he was so admirably well qualified with several sorts of learning, and a generous spirit, so he was very unhappy in this, that he was extreme rash and imprudent, and wanted common discretion to manage his parts.' He published many books on a variety of subjects, which are enumerated in the *Athen. Oxon.*

Boyle was attacked by a severe paralytic distemper ; of which, though not without great difficulty, he got the better, by strictly adhering to a proper regimen. In 1672, he published ‘ an Essay about the origin and virtue of gems ; wherein are proposed and historically illustrated, some conjectures about the consistence of the matter of precious stones, &c.’ In this Essay, which was translated into Latin, he observes, that gems were once fluid, and have their virtues from mineral matter ; which he shews from their transparency, figuration, internal texture, their colours being probably adventitious, heterogeneous matter having been found in their substance, and metalline or mineral mixtures mixed with their small parts. The same year he published his “ Essays of the strange subtilty, great efficacy, and determinate nature of effluvioms.”

The same year Anthony le Grand, an eminent Cartesian Philosopher, dedicated to Mr. Boyle his *Historia Naturæ*, &c. which he printed at London ; and in his dedication he does justice to Mr. Boyle’s universal reputation for extensive learning and amazing sagacity in every part of experimental philosophy ; and applies to him what Averroes said of Aristotle, that nature had formed him as an exemplar of the highest perfection, to which mankind can attain ; and observes, that the Royal Society paid the highest deference to his judgment.

In 1674, Mr. Boyle published his Observations concerning the saltiness of the sea, and some other learned tracts ; and about the same time a piece, intituled, “ The excellency of Theology compared with Natural Philosophy, as both are the objects of men’s study ; discoursed of in a letter to a friend. To which are annexed, some occasional thoughts about the excellency and grounds of the mechanical hypothesis.” This had been written some years before, in 1665, while Mr. Boyle, to avoid the great plague which then reigned in London, was obliged to retire into the country, and frequently to pass from place to place, unaccompanied with most of his books.

Mr. Boyle was for many years a director of the East India Company, and very useful in this capacity to that great body, more especially in procuring their charter ; and the only return he expected for his labour, was, the engaging the company to come to some resolution in favour of the propagation of the gospel, by means of their flourishing factories in that part of the world. As a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as it was in his power, to that end, he was at the expence of printing at Oxford in 1677, five hundred copies of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Malayan tongue, under the direction of Dr. Thomas Hyde, keeper of the Bodleian library. These were sent abroad by Mr. Boyle’s direction : and it was the same pious motives which induced him to send, about three years before, several copies of *Gronius de veritate Christianæ religionis*,

religionis, translated into Arabic by Dr. Edward Pococke, into the Levant, as a means of propagating Christianity there.

In 1678, Mr. Boyle published in 4to. "An historical account of a degradation of gold made by an anti elixir: a strange chemical narrative." This made a great noise both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the most remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen; since the facts contained in it would have been esteemed incredible, if they had been related by a man of less integrity and worth than Mr. Boyle. The regard which the great Newton had for Mr. Boyle, appears from a curious letter, which the former wrote to him, at the latter end of this year, for the sake of laying before him his sentiments upon that ethereal medium, which he afterwards proposed, in his Optics, as the mechanical cause of gravitation (*m*).

In 1680, the Royal Society, as a proof of their just sense of Mr. Boyle's great worth, and of the constant and particular services, which through a course of many years he had done them, made choice of him for their President; but it being apprehended that it was necessary he should take some oaths on this occasion, a point in which he was extremely scrupulous, he declined accepting that office. About this time, Dr. Burnet being employed in compiling his History of the Reformation, Mr. Boyle contributed very largely to the expence of publishing it, as is acknowledged by the Doctor in the preface to his second volume.

In 1686, Mr. Boyle published his "Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received notion of Nature." This was printed at London in 8vo. and translated into Latin, and printed there in 1687, in 12mo. And in 1688, he published, in 8vo. his "Disquisition about the final causes of natural things; wherein it is enquired, whether, and (if at all) with what caution a naturalist should admit them. To which are subjoined, by way of appendix, some uncommon observations about vitiated fight."

In 1690, he published, in 8vo. his "Medicina Hydrostatica; or Hydrostatics applied to the Materia Medica; shewing how by the weight, that divers bodies used in physic have in water, one may discover, whether they be genuine or adulterate. To which is subjoined, A previous hydrostatical way of estimating ores." The same year he also published, in 8vo. "The Christian Virtuoso; shewing, that by being addicted to experimental philosophy, a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian."

It was some time before this that Mr. Boyle began to find his health and strength decline, notwithstanding all his care and caution, as he observes in a letter to Mr. Le Clerc, dated

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May

May 30, 1689 ; which put him upon adopting every possible method of husbanding his remaining time for the benefit of the learned world. In doing this, it has been observed, he preferred generals to particulars ; and the service of the whole republic of letters to that of any branch, by what ties soever he might be connected therewith. It was with this view, that he no longer communicated particular discourses or new discoveries to the Royal Society ; because this could not be done, without withdrawing his thoughts from tasks which he thought of still greater importance. It was the more steadily to attend to these, that he resigned his post of Governor of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England ; nay, he went so far as to signify to the world, that he could no longer receive visits as usual, in an advertisement, part of which is in the following terms. ‘ Mr. Boyle finds himself obliged to intimate to those of his friends and acquaintance, that are wont to do him the honour and favour of visiting him, 1. That he has by some unlucky accidents (among others, by his servant’s breaking a bottle of oil of vitriol, over a chest which contained his papers) had many of his papers corroded here and there, or otherwise so maimed, that without he himself fill up the *lacunæ* out of his memory or invention, they will not be intelligible. 2. That his age and sickness have for a good while admonished him to put his scattered, and partly defaced writings, into some kind of order, that they may not remain quite useless. And, 3. that his skilful and friendly physician, seconded by Mr. Boyle’s best friends, has pressingly advised him against speaking daily with so many persons, as are wont to visit him, representing it, as that which cannot but much waste his spirits, and by obliging him to sit a great deal too much for a person subject to the stone of the kidneys, and on several other accounts, impair his health, and disable him for holding out long. And he is also obliged further to intimate, that by these and other inducements he does at length, though unwillingly, find himself reduced to deny himself part of the satisfaction frequently brought him by the conversation of his friends and other ingenious persons, and to desire to be excused from receiving visits, unless upon occasions very extraordinary, two days in the week, &c.’ He ordered likewise a board to be placed over his door, with an inscription signifying, when he did and did not receive visits.

Among the other great works, which by this means he gained time to finish, there is great reason to believe, that one was a collection of elaborate processes in chemistry ; concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend, which is still extant ; but the piece itself was never published, though in his letter, he says, “ he left it as a kind of hermetic legacy to the studious disciples of that art ;” and earnestly desired the person to whom this letter, and his chemical papers were sent, “ to impart them to the public

“ public faithfully, and without envy, *verbatim*, in his own expressions, as a monument of his good affections to mankind, as well in his chemical capacity, as in the others wherein he had been solicitous to do it service.” Besides this collection of chemical processes, committed to the care of one whom he esteemed his friend, he left also very many papers behind him at the time of his death, relating to chemistry; which he desired might be inspected, after his death, by three physicians whom he named, and that some of the most valuable might be communicated to the public: but his desires in this respect were never complied with. This is much to be regretted; for, as Dr. Birch observes, “ it is highly reasonable to suppose, that many important discoveries were contained in these papers, Chemistry being Mr. Boyle’s favourite study, and opening to him perpetually such a new scene of wonders, as easily persuaded him of the possibility of the transmutation of metals into gold. This persuasion of his is evident from several parts of his writings, and was avowed by himself to the great Dr. Halley, the late Royal Astronomer, who related to me (says our author) his conversation with him upon that subject. And it was probably in consequence of this opinion, that Mr. Boyle procured by his interest an act to be passed in August, 1689, for the repeal of a statute made in the fifth year of King Henry IV. against the multiplying of gold and silver.”

About the entrance of the summer of the year 1691, Mr. Boyle began to feel such an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of settling his affairs; and, accordingly, on the 18th of July, he signed and sealed his last will, to which he afterwards added several codicils. In October, his distempers increased; which might perhaps be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illness of his dear sister the Lady Ranelagh (k), with whom

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(k) Bishop Burnet observes, that Lady RANELAGH had lived the longest on the most public scene, and made the greatest figure in all the revolutions of these kingdoms for above fifty years, of any woman of that age. She employed her whole time, interest, and estate, in doing good to others; and as her great understanding, and the vast esteem she was in, made all persons in their several turns of greatness desire and value her friendship, so she gave herself a clear title to use her interest with them for the service of others, by this, that she never made any advantage of it to any end or design of her own. She was contented with what she had; and though she was twice stripped of it, she never moved on her own account, but was the general intercessor for all

persons of merit or in want. This had in her the better grace, and was both more Christian and more effectual, because it was not limited within any narrow compass of parties or relations. When any party was depressed, she had credit and zeal enough to serve them; and she employed that so effectually, that in the next turn she had a new stock of credit, which she laid out wholly in that *labour of love*, in which she spent her life. And though some particular opinions, says our author, might shut her up in a divided communion, yet her soul was never of a party. She divided her charities and friendships, her esteem as well as her bounty, with the truest regard to merit and her own obligations, without any difference made upon the account of opinion.

whom he had lived many years in the greatest harmony and friendship, and whose indisposition brought her to the grave on the 23d of December following. He did not survive her but about a week ; for he died on the 31st of December, 1691, in the 65th year of his age. He was interred on the 7th of January following, at the upper end of the south side of the chancel of St. Martin's in the Fields, in Westminster, near the body of his sister Ranelagh, his funeral sermon being preached by Bishop Burnet. His funeral was decent ; and though without pomp, yet honoured with a great appearance of persons of the highest distinction, besides his own numerous relations.

ROBERT BOYLE was not only one of the greatest philosophers, but, what is more, one of the best men, that has appeared in this country, or indeed in any other. He was not more distinguished for his extensive knowledge, and the uncommon sagacity of his philosophical researches, than for the exemplary and uniform virtue of his life, and his steady, fervent, and rational piety. He was at once a pattern and an ornament to the age in which he lived, and may truly be said to have done honour to humanity.

He was as to his person tall of stature, but slender, and his countenance pale and emaciated. His constitution was so tender and delicate, that he had divers sorts of cloaks to put on, when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air ; and in this he governed himself by his thermometer. He escaped indeed the small pox during his life ; but for almost forty years he laboured under such a feebleness of body, and such lowness of strength and spirits, that it was astonishing how he could read, meditate, and try experiments, and write as he did. He had likewise a weakness in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehensive of such distempers as might affect them. However, his sight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died ; and when death came upon him, he had not been above three hours in bed, before it made an end of him with so little pain, that, as Bishop Burnet expresses it, it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame. It is supposed to have been the simplicity of his diet, which preserved him so long beyond all men's expectation. This
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opinion. She had, with a vast reach both of knowledge and apprehension, an universal affability and easiness of access ; an humility, that descended to the meanest persons and concerns, an obliging kindness and readiness to advise those, who had no occasion for any further assistance from her. And with all these and many other excellent qualities, she had the deepest

sense of religion, and the most constant turning of her thoughts and discourses that way, that was known perhaps in that age. Such a sister became such a brother ; and it was but suitable to both their characters, that they should have improved the relation, under which they were born, to the more exalted and endearing one of friend.

he practised so strictly, that in a course of above thirty years he neither eat nor drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature; and was so regular in it, that he never once transgressed the rule, measure, and kind, which were prescribed him.

“ His knowledge (says Burnet) was of so vast an extent, that if it were not for the variety of vouchers in their several sorts, I should be afraid to say all I know. He carried the study of the Hebrew very far into the rabbinical writings, and the other oriental tongues. He had read so much of the Fathers, that he had formed a clear judgment of all the eminent ones. He had read a vast deal on the Scriptures, had gone very nicely through the various controversies in religion, and was a true master of the whole body of divinity. He read the whole compass of the mathematical sciences; and, though he did not set himself to spring any new game, yet he knew even the abstrusest parts of geometry. Geography, in the several parts of it, that related to navigation or travelling; history, and books of novels, were his diversions. He went very nicely through all the parts of physic; only the tenderness of his nature made him less able to endure the exactness of anatomical dissections, especially of living animals, though he knew these to be most instructing. But for the history of nature, antient and modern, of the productions of all countries, of the virtues and improvements of plants, of ores and minerals, and all the varieties that are in them in different climates, he was by much, by very much, the readiest and the perfectest I ever knew, in the greatest compass, and with the nicest exactness. This put him in the way of making all that vast variety of experiments beyond any man, as far as we know, that ever lived. And in these, as he made a great progress in new discoveries, so he used so nice a strictness, and delivered them with so scrupulous a truth, that all who have examined them have found, how safely the world may depend upon them. But his peculiar and favourite study was chemistry, in which he was engaged with none of those ravenous and ambitious designs, that drew many into it. His design was only to find out nature, to see into what principles things might be resolved, and of what they were compounded, and to prepare good medicaments for the bodies of men. He spent neither his time nor fortune upon the vain pursuits of high promises and pretensions. He always kept himself within the compass that his estate might well bear: and, as he made chemistry much the better for his dealing in it, so he never made himself either worse or the poorer for it. It was a charity to others, as well as an entertainment to himself; for the produce of it was distributed by his sister and others, into whose hands he put it.”

Dr. Shaw observes, that “ there is no profession or condition of men, but may be benefitted by the discoveries of Mr. Boyle. As he had a wonderful comprehensive genius himself, he has improved

proved every part of natural knowledge ; and the world is more obliged to this single man, than to a thousand vulgar philosophers taken together. 'Tis certain, that he laid the foundations of almost all the improvements, which have been made since his time in natural philosophy, and actually himself performed abundance of those very things, and perhaps in a much better manner too, whereby several famous men have gained a reputation in putting them off for their own discoveries. A very fine collection of useful knowledge, published as the works of a foreign society, bears a remarkable testimony to this truth. The Mechanic, the Merchant, the Scholar, the Gentleman, are all benefitted by Mr. Boyle. He shews us trades in a new light, and makes them, what they really are, a part of Natural Philosophy ; and considering them accordingly, reveals some of their mysteries, all along advancing proper means to encourage, promote, and multiply the arts themselves. The Goldsmith, the Lapidary, the Jeweller, the Refiner, the Stone-cutter, the Dyer, the Glass-maker, artizans of all kinds, will from him receive the best informations, as to the working, managing, and employing to advantage their various commodities, materials, engines, and instruments. The Husbandman and the Diver are here instructed in their arts ; and the Mineralist, the Miner, and Assayer, to find and separate their ore to its greatest profit ; to increase the quantity, to meliorate, improve, and enrich their metals ; to purify and find them, and accurately to distinguish the genuine and pure from the adulterate, base, or counterfeit. The Architect and Builder are shewn how to choose the best materials for their several purposes ; the Painter to make, to mix, and improve his colours ; and no part of mankind is neglected by Mr. Boyle. But he shews a more particular regard to those professions, wherein the health of the species is nearly concerned. The Physician, the Anatomist, the Apothecary, and the Chymist, are most highly obliged to him. He has considered and improved the art of medicine in all its branches. We owe to him the best ways we have of distinguishing genuine drugs from adulterate ; the discovery and preparation of several valuable medicines, with the manner of applying abundance to good advantage. He has shewn us the way wherein specifics may act, how to judge of the wholesomeness and unwholesomeness of the air, of water, and of places ; and how to examine and make choice of mineral springs. In a word, there is scarce an art or natural production known, but he makes some useful discovery or improvement in it."

His great merit as a writer in natural philosophy and chemistry has been, indeed, universally acknowledged. The celebrated Dr. Herman Boerhaave, after having declared Lord Bacon to be the Father of Experimental Philosophy, says, that " Mr. Boyle, the ornament of his age and country, succeeded to the genius " and inquiries of the great Chancellor Verulam. Which of " Mr. Boyle's writings shall I recommend ? All of them. To " him

“ him we owe the secrets of fire, air, water, animals, vegetables,
“ fossils ; so that from his works may be deduced the whole system
“ of natural knowledge.”

Mr. John Hughes, likewise, after observing that Mr. Boyle was born the same year, in which Lord Bacon died, says, that
“ he was the person, who seems to have been designed by nature,
“ to succeed to the labours and inquiries of that extraordinary
“ genius just mentioned. By innumerable experiments, he in a
“ great measure filled up those plans and out-lines of science,
“ which his predecessor had sketched out. His life was spent in
“ the pursuit of nature, through a great variety of forms and
“ changes, and in the most rational as well as devout adoration of
“ its divine author.” And Francesco Redi, in one of his letters published in the fourth volume of his works at Florence, 1724, expresses the highest esteem and veneration for Mr. Boyle ; and asserts, that “ he was the greatest man, who ever was,
“ and perhaps ever will be, for the discovery of natural
“ causes.”

Mr. Boyle was very plain, unaffected, and temperate in his manner of life, and had about him all that neglect of pomp in clothes, lodging, furniture, and equipage, which agreed with his grave and serious course of life. He was extremely candid and courteous in his conversation. His constitution indeed inclined him to be choleric ; but he gained so perfect an ascendancy over this passion, that it never appeared, except sometimes in his countenance upon a very high provocation. He had brought his mind to such a freedom, that he was not apt to be imposed upon ; and his modesty was such, that he did not dictate to others, but proposed his own sense with a due and decent distrust, and was ever ready to hearken to what was suggested to him by others. When he differed from any, he expressed himself in so humble and so obliging a way, that he never treated things or persons with neglect ; and it is said that he was never known to have offended any person in his whole life by any part of his deportment. For if at any time he saw cause to speak roundly to any, it was never in passion, or with any reproachful or indecent expressions. And as he was careful to give those, who conversed with him, no cause or colour for displeasure ; so he was yet more careful of those who were absent, never to speak ill of any. If the discourse began to be hard upon any person, he was immediately silent ; and if the subject was too long dwelt upon, he would at last interpose, and between reproof and raillery divert it.—In his first addresses, when he was to speak or answer, he sometimes hesitated a little, rather than stammered, or repeated the same word ; and this, as it rendered him slow and deliberate, so after the first effort he proceeded without the least interruption in his discourse.—He was never married ; but Mr. Evelyn was assured, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary, Earl of Monmouth ; and that to this passion was owing his

Seraphic

Seraphic Love. It is, however remarked, in the memorandums of Mr. Boyle's life, set down by Bishop Burnet, that he "abstained from purposes of marriage, at first out of policy, but afterwards more philosophically:" though few men were more facetious and agreeable in conversation with the ladies, whenever he happened to be engaged among them. And indeed sometimes, upon other occasions, he distinguished himself by so copious and lively a flow of wit, that Mr. Cowley, and Sir William Davenant, both thought him equal in that respect to the most celebrated geniuses of that age.

He had so profound a veneration for the Deity, that the very name of GOD was never mentioned by him without a pause and a visible stop in his discourse; in which Sir Peter Pett, who knew him for almost forty years, affirms, that he was so exact, that he did not remember to have observed him once to fail in it. He was very constant and serious in his secret addresses to GOD; and it appeared to those, who conversed most with him in his enquiries into nature, that his main design in that, on which as he had his own eye most constantly, so he took care to put others often in mind of it, was to raise in himself and others more elevated thoughts of the greatness and glory, and of the wisdom and goodness of the Deity. This was so deep in his mind, that he concludes the article of his will, which relates to the Royal Society, in these words: "Wishing them also a happy success in their laudable attempts to discover the true nature of the works of GOD, and praying, that they and all other searchers into physical truths, may cordially refer their attainments to the glory of the Great Author of Nature, and to the comfort of mankind." For this purpose he founded his lecture in the city of London, charging, by a codicil annexed to his will, and dated July 28, 1691, his Messuage or Dwelling-house in St. Michael's Crooked Lane, in that city, with the payment of the clear yearly rents and profits thereof to some learned divine in London, or within the bills of mortality, to be elected for a term not exceeding three years by Dr. Tennison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Henry Ashurst, Sir John Rothe-ram, and John Evelyn, Esq. The business, which he appointed those Lecturers, was, among others, "to be ready to satisfy real scruples, and to answer such new objections and difficulties, as might be started, to which good answers had not been made; and also to preach eight sermons in the year, the first Monday of January, February, March, April, and May, and of September, October, and November." The subject of these sermons was to be, "the proof of the Christian religion against notorious infidels; viz. Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans, not descending lower to any controversies, that are among Christians." But by reason the Lectures were seldom continued above a year, and that the house sometimes stood empty, and tenants broke, or failed in due payment of their rent, there-
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fore the salary sometimes remained long unpaid, or could not be gotten without some difficulty. To remedy which inconvenience, Archbishop Tennison procured a yearly grant of fifty pounds to be paid quarterly for ever, charged upon a farm in the parish of Brill, in the county of Bucks; which stipend is accordingly very duly paid, when demanded, without fee or reward. This noble and pious institution has been the means of producing a great number of most excellent discourses in defence of the Christian religion.

It hath been before observed, that Mr. Boyle was at the charge of the translation and impression of the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles into the Malayan language; and this book he sent all over the East Indies. He gave a noble reward to Dr. Edward Pococke, who translated Grotius's excellent treatise of the truth of the Christian religion into Arabic, and was at the charge of a whole impression, which was finished at Oxford in 1660, in 4to. and which he took care to order to have dispersed in all the countries where that language is understood. He was resolved to have carried on the impression of the New Testament in the Turkish language; but the Company thought, that it became them to perform that work, and so suffered him only to give a large share towards it. He was at seven hundred pounds charge in the edition of the Irish Bible, which he ordered to be distributed in Ireland. He contributed largely also to the impression of the Welch Bible. He gave, during his life, three hundred pounds to advance the design of propagating the Christian religion in America; and his zeal and generosity in that respect are acknowledged in many letters of Mr. Elliot, of New England. He was no less a friend to that colony in their civil affairs also, as appears by letters of thanks written to him on that account by the governor.

Mr. Boyle's charity to those who were in want, and his bounty to all learned men, who had occasion for his assistance, were very extraordinary. Great sums went easily from him without the partialities of sect, country, or relations; for he considered himself as a part of the human nature, and a debtor to the whole race of men. He took care to do this so secretly, that even those, who knew all his other concerns, could never find out what he did that way. And indeed he was so strict to our Saviour's precept, that except the persons themselves, or some one, whom he trusted to convey it to them, no body ever knew how that great share of his estate, which went away invisibly, was distributed; even he himself kept no account of it, for that he thought might fall into other hands. "I speak (says Bishop Burnet) upon full knowledge on this article, because I had the honour to be made use of by him in it. If those that have fled hither from the persecutions of France, or from the calamities of Ireland, feel a sensible sinking of their secret supplies, with which they were often furnished, without knowing from whence they

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“ came, they will conclude, that they have lost not only a pittance, but an estate, that went so very liberally among them, that I have reason to say, that for some years his charity went beyond a thousand pounds a year.”

He had possessed himself with such an amiable view of Christianity, separated from either superstitious practices or the sourness of parties, that as he was fully persuaded of the truth of it, he rejoiced in every discovery, which nature furnished him with to illustrate it, or to take off the objections against any part of it. He always considered it as a system of truths, which ought to purify the hearts, and govern the lives of those who profess it. He loved no practice, which seemed to lessen that, nor any nicety which occasioned divisions among Christians. He thought, that pure disinterested Christianity was so bright and glorious a system, that he was much troubled at the disputes and divisions, which had arisen about some lesser matters, while the great and the most important, as well as most universally acknowledged truths were by all sides almost as generally neglected as they were confessed. He loved no narrow thoughts, no low or superstitious opinions in religion; and therefore as he did not shut himself within a party, so neither did he shut any party out from him. His zeal was lively and effectual in the greatest and truest concerns of religion; but he avoided to enter far into the unhappy breaches, which had long weakened as well as distracted Christianity, any otherwise, than to have a great aversion to all those opinions and practices, which seemed to him to destroy morality and charity. He had a most particular zeal against all severities and persecution upon the account of religion; “ and I have seldom, (says Bishop Burnet) observed him to speak with more heat and indignation, than when that came in his way. He did though roughly agree with the doctrines of our church, and conform to our worship; and he approved of the main of our constitution; but he much lamented some abuses, that he thought remained still among us.”

It is observed, that he was constant to the established church, and went to no separate assemblies; though he had once, as he told Sir Peter Pett, the curiosity to go to Sir Henry Vane's house, and there heard him preach in a large thronged room a long sermon, on the text of Dan. ch. xii. 2. *And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* The whole scope of Sir Henry's sermon was to shew, that many doctrines of religion, that had long been dead and buried in the world, should before the end of it be awakened into life; and that many false doctrines being then likewise revived, should, by the power of truth, be then doomed to *shame and everlasting contempt.* When Sir Henry had concluded his discourse, Mr. Boyle spoke to this effect to him before the people; That being informed, that in such private meetings it was not uncouth for any one of the hearers, who

was

was unsatisfied about any matters there uttered, to give in his objections against them, and to prevent any mistakes in the speakers or hearers; he thought himself obliged for the honour of GOD's truth to say, that this place in Daniel being the clearest one in all the Old Testament for the proof of the resurrection, we ought not to suffer the meaning of it to evaporate into allegory; and the rather, since that inference is made by our Saviour in the New Testament, by way of asserting the resurrection from that place of Daniel in the Old. And that if it should be denied, that the plain and genuine meaning of those words in the Prophet is to assert the resurrection of dead bodies, he was ready to prove it to be so, both out of the words of the text and context in the original language, and from the best expositors both Christian and Jewish. But that if this be not deined, and Sir Henry's discourse of the resurrection of doctrines true and false was designed by him only in the way of occasional meditations from those words in Daniel, and not to enervate the literal sense as their genuine one, then he had nothing further to say. Mr. Boyle then sitting down, Sir Henry rose up and said, that his discourse was only in the way of such occasional meditations, which he thought edifying to the people; and declared, that he agreed, that the literal sense of the words was the resurrection of dead bodies; and so that meeting broke up. Mr. Boyle afterwards speaking of this conference to Sir Peter Pett, observed, that Sir Henry Vane at that time being in the height of his authority in the state, and his auditors at that meeting consisting chiefly of dependents on him and expectants from him, the fear of losing his favour would probably have restrained them from contradicting any of his interpretations of scripture, how ridiculous soever. "But I (said Mr. Boyle) having no little awes of that kind upon me, thought myself bound to enter the lists with him, as I did, that the sense of the Scriptures might not be depraved."

However amiable and excellent the character of Mr. Boyle appeared to the world, he was in reality the same in his most secret recesses. He affected nothing, which was solemn or supercilious, nor used any methods to make multitudes run after him, or depend upon him. It was never discovered, that there was any thing hid under all this appearance of goodness, which was not truly so; for he concealed both his piety and charity all he could, and lived in the due methods of civility, and would never assume the authority, which all the world was ready to pay him. He allowed himself a great deal of decent cheerfulness, though he had nothing of levity in him; for he had indeed no relish for the idle and extravagant madness of the men of pleasure. He did not waste his time, nor dissipate his spirits in foolish mirth; but he possessed his own soul in patience, full of that solid joy, which his goodness as well as his knowledge afforded him. He, who had neither designs nor passions, was capable of little trouble

from any concerns of his own. He had about him all the tenderness of good nature, as well as all the softness of friendship. These gave him a large share of other men's concerns; for he had a quick sense of the miseries of mankind. He had also a feeble body, which needed to be looked to the more, because his mind went faster than his body could keep pace with it. Yet his great thoughts of GOD, and his contemplation of his works, were to him sources of continual joy, which never could be exhausted. The sense of his own integrity, and of the good which he found it did, afforded him the truest of all pleasure, "since they gave him," says Bishop Burnet, "the certain prospect of that fulness of joy, in the sight of which he lived so long."

It may be wondered, that Mr. Boyle was never made a Peer, especially when it is remembered, that his four elder brothers were all peers. Indeed a peerage was often offered him, and as often refused by him. It is easy to imagine, that he might have had any thing he should express an inclination for: as King Charles II. King James II. and King William, were so highly pleased with his conversation, that they often used to discourse with him with great familiarity. Not that Mr. Boyle was at any time a courtier: he spake freely of the government, even in times which he disliked, and upon occasions when he was obliged to condemn it; but then he always did it, as indeed he did every thing of that nature, with an exactness of respect. He had great notions of what human nature might be brought to; but since he saw mankind not capable of them, he withdrew himself early from courts and business, "notwithstanding the distinction," (says Bishop Burnet) with which he was always used by our late "Princes." He had the principles of an Englishman, as well as of a Protestant, too deep in him to be corrupted, or to be cheated out of them; and in these he studied to fortify all who conversed much with him. He had a very particular sagacity in observing what men were fit for; and had so vast a scheme of different performances, that he could easily furnish every man with work, who had leisure and capacity for it; and as soon as he saw him engaged in it, then an handsome present was made, to enable him to go on with it.

The reputation, which he had acquired among foreign nations, was so great, that no strangers, who came among us, and had any taste for learning or philosophy, left England without seeing him. He received them with a certain openness and humanity, which were peculiar to him; and though these visits made a great waste of his time, yet as he was strict in not suffering himself to be denied, when he was at home, so he said, he knew the heart of a stranger, and how much eased his own had been, while he was travelling, if admitted to the conversation of those, whom he desired to see; and therefore he thought, that his obligation to
strangers

strangers was more than mere civility, and that it was a point of religious charity in him (*f*).

Mr. Boyle was the author of many learned pieces, besides those which have been enumerated in this account of his life. All his works were collected together and printed in five volumes in folio, at London, in the year 1744. And a valuable abridgment of our author's works has been published by Dr. Shaw in three volumes, 4to. the second edition of which was printed in 1738.

(*f*) *Vid.* Birch's Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, P. 288—304.



The Life of EDWARD MONTAGUE, EARL of SANDWICH.

THIS Nobleman was the only surviving son of Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward Lord Montague of Boughton. He was born on the 27th of July, 1625, and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could bestow, he came very early into the world, and into public business. He married, when he was little more than seventeen years of age, the daughter of Mr. Crewe, afterwards Lord Crewe of Stene; and being thought more warmly affected to the cause of the Parliament than his father Sir Sidney Montague was, (who had been expelled his seat for refusing to take an oath to live and die with the Earl of Essex, and assigning such reasons for his refusal as gave offence to the house) received a commission, dated August 20, 1643, to raise and command a regiment in the service of the Parliament. This Colonel Montague, though only 18 years of age, performed; and the interest of his family being very extensive, he took the field in six weeks. He was present at the storming of Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmest actions during the course of the civil war. He was likewise in the battle of Marston-moor, which was fought on the second of July, the same year, where he greatly distinguished himself; insomuch that soon after, when the city of York offered to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commissioners for settling the articles, though he was then only in his nineteenth year (*b*).

The following year he was present at the battle of Naseby; and in the month of July, 1645, he stormed the town of Bridgewater. In September, he commanded a brigade in the storm of Bristol, where he performed very remarkable service; and on the 10th of September, 1645, subscribed the articles of capitulation, granted to Prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the Parliament. He sat in the House of Commons, as Knight of the Shire for Huntingdon, before he was of age; and he had afterwards a seat at the Board of Treasury under Cromwell. After the Dutch war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet, and was made choice of by the Protector, to be

be joined with Blake in his expedition into the Mediterranean.

Admiral Montague found a variety of difficulties to struggle with, at the very entrance of this affair; many of the officers being displeased with the service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few insisting on laying down their commissions. He managed this intricate business with great prudence and dexterity, so as to shew a due regard to discipline, without running into any acts of severity: and this had a very happy effect, since, by that time he came to sail, the fleet was pretty well settled, and the officers disposed to act in obedience to orders. In the spring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himself, and his colleague, Blake, meditated great things. They once thought of attacking the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but after attentively considering the port, it was resolved in a council of war, that such an attempt was impracticable. The fleet then stood over to the opposite shore of Barbary, in order to repress the insolence of the Tripoli and Sallee-Rovers, which was found no very easy task; and therefore Admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his desire, that we should have some good port in Africa, which he believed might answer various ends, and especially conduce to the preservation of our trade in the Levant. The fleet afterwards returned into the road of Cadiz, where they made prize of two Spanish gallcons. A full account of their strength, and the money on board them, Admiral Montague sent into England, as soon as they were taken; and when he afterwards had received directions to convoy the prizes home, he sent another account of the silver on board them, which was to a great amount. When Admiral Montague returned to England, he was much caressed by the Protector; and the Parliament returned him thanks by their Speaker for his services to the state.

In 1657, he was appointed to command the fleet in the Downs, and went accordingly on board it in the latter end of the month of July. The design of this fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and facilitate the enterprize of Dunkirk; and in all these he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards Autumn, he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of Marshal Turenne, with whom he had a conference, as to the properest method of carrying on the war. All this time he seems to have been in the highest favour with the Protector, and to have had the greatest intimacy with his family; and yet the Admiral had thoughts of retiring from public business; but for what reasons cannot now be determined. However, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the setting up of his son Richard, Admiral Montague accepted the command of a large fleet which was sent to the North: on board which he embarked in the spring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of April he wrote to the King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, and the Dutch

Admiral

Admiral Opdam, to inform them of the motives that induced the Protector to send so great a fleet into the Baltick; and that his instructions were not to respect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe, by engaging the powers of the North to enter into an equitable peace (i).

Before the Admiral sailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, which obliged him to act only in conjunction with their Commissioners Colonel Algernon Sydney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon. And it is supposed that his disgust at this, and at their giving away his regiment of horse, occasioned him to leave England in no very warm disposition for their service. However, when he arrived in the Sound, he took his share with other ministers in negotiation, and made it sufficiently evident, that his genius was equally capable of shining in the cabinet, or commanding at sea, or on shore. But whilst he was thus employed, King Charles sent a person with two letters, one from himself, and another from Chancellor Hyde, containing arguments and promises calculated to induce Admiral Montague to withdraw himself from the service of the Parliament. But what the King now desired of him was, a speedy return to England, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other persons, who were already disposed to bring about a Restoration. These letters had so much effect upon Montague, that he entered heartily into the scheme, and immediately set about putting it in execution.

This defection of the Admiral from the interest of the Parliament, could not escape the penetration of Algernon Sydney. He soon discerned some change in the conduct of Montague, and pursued his discoveries so closely, that he missed very little of coming at his whole secret. The Admiral, observing his suspicions, called a council of war, wherein he made a speech, by which he prevailed on the rest of the officers to concur with him in his design of returning home. After which he weighed immediately and sailed for England. But on his arrival, Montague found things in a very unexpected situation: Sir George Booth in the Tower, the Parliament in full possession of their authority, and a warm charge against himself come to hand from Colonel Sydney. However, he set out for London, and attended the Parliament; and gave so plausible an account of his conduct, that though they were dissatisfied with him, yet not having sufficient evidence against him, they contented themselves with dismissing him from his command.

After this escape, Mr. Montague retired to his own estate. But when other and more effectual measures were again adopted
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for restoring King Charles, he was re-placed in his former post in the navy by the influence of General Monk. And he sent the King a list of such officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of such as he apprehended must be reduced by force : and he exerted himself to the utmost in bringing about the Restoration. He had the honour of convoying King Charles to England ; and that Prince, two days after his landing at Dover, made him a Knight of the Garter. Our Admiral's services were also rewarded soon after, by the King's creating him Baron Montague of St. Neots in the County of Huntingdon, Viscount Hinchinbroke in the same county, and Earl of Sandwich in Kent. He was likewise sworn a Member of the Privy Council, made Master of the King's Wardrobe, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, and Lieutenant-Admiral to the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral of England. At the King's coronation, his Lordship carried St. Edward's staff, and was now looked upon as one of the principal Ministers of state, as well as the person chiefly intrusted with the care of the fleet. And he constantly attended the Council, when any transactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate.

In September, 1660, the Earl of Sandwich went with a squadron of nine men of war to Helvoetsluys, to bring over the King's sister, the Princess of Orange ; and upon this occasion he received great honours in Holland. On the 24th of the same month the fleet returned, and his Majesty and the Duke of York going on board the Admiral's ship, named the Resolution, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the squadron next morning.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between King Charles II. and the Infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of 300,000*l.* the island of Bombay in the East Indies, and the city of Tangier in Africa ; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the Queen, and to secure the last-mentioned city against any attempt from the Moors. For this purpose the Earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been first visited by the Duke of York. His Lordship sailed first to London, and from thence to Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the English on the 30th of January, 1662, when the Earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portuguese Governor. The Admiral then returned to Lisbon, where he received the Queen's portion, consisting in money, in jewels, sugars, and other commodities, and in bills of exchange, and then sailed with her Majesty for England, and arrived at Spithead on the 14th of May, 1662 (*k*).

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When the Dutch war began, in 1664, the Duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as High Admiral, and the Earl of Sandwich commanded the Blue Squadron; and by his industry and care a great number of the enemy's ships were taken, and the best part of their Bourdeaux fleet. In the great battle, fought on the 3d of June 1665, wherein the Dutch lost their Admiral Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen destroyed, a large share of the honour of the victory was justly given to the courage and conduct of the Earl of Sandwich; who, about noon, fell, with the Blue Squadron, into the center of the enemy's fleet; and thereby began that confusion, which ended soon after in a total defeat of the enemy.

Soon after this the fleet, after having returned home to refit, was put under the command of the Earl of Sandwich, as the Duke of York had now repaired to Court. And on the 4th of September, 1665, the Earl took eight Dutch men of war, two of their best East-India ships, and twenty sail of their merchantmen. Also on the 9th of September, a part of the fleet fell in with eighteen of the Hollanders, the greatest part of which they took, with four Dutch men of war, and above 1000 prisoners.

On his return to England, the Earl of Sandwich was received with distinguished marks of Royal favour; and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary Embassy, the King dispatched his Lordship to the Court of Madrid, to mediate a peace between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal. The Earl of Sandwich managed this negotiation with great ability, and not only concluded a peace between those two nations, to their mutual satisfaction, but also concluded with the Court of Spain, as Dr. Campbell says, the most beneficial treaty of commerce that ever was made for this nation.

On the breaking out of the last Dutch war, his Lordship went to sea with the Duke of York, and commanded the Blue Squadron. The fleet was at sea in the beginning of May, and on the 28th of that month came in sight the Dutch fleet about break of day. An engagement began between the two fleets about eight o'clock in the morning. And on this occasion the Earl of Sandwich, in the Royal James, a ship of an hundred guns, gave the most signal proofs of his valour. He was first attacked by a large Dutch ship, named the Great Holland, commanded by Captain Brackell, followed by a fire-ship; which was soon seconded by the Dutch Rear-Admiral Van Ghent, with his whole Squadron. Brackell, though of much less force, depending on the assistance of his friends, who had the advantage of the wind, grappled the Royal James; and, while the Earl was engaged with him, he was attacked by Van Ghent, with several other men of war and fire-ships, against all which he defended himself with great vigour. The Dutch Rear-Admiral, Van Ghent, was soon taken off with a cannon shot; three of their fire-ships, and a man of war, which would have laid the Earl on board, on the other side, were sunk;

and, at length, he was disengaged from Brackell's ship, with which he had been grappled an hour and an half, and had reduced her to the state of a wreck, wounded her commander, killed and wounded almost all his officers, and above two thirds of his men. He had now defended himself and repulsed the enemy with the utmost bravery, for five hours together, and it was believed might have made an honourable retreat too. But he would not be persuaded to desist from the unequal combat, though not seconded, as he ought to have been, by his squadron. At length, another Dutch fire-ship, covered by the smoke of the enemy, grappled the Royal James, and set her in a flame. And the brave Earl perished in her, with several other gallant officers (1).

Such was the end, on the 28th of May, 1672, of EDWARD Earl of SANDWICH ! He was a Nobleman of great abilities, of extraordinary courage, of uncommon skill in all naval affairs, and possessed of many personal accomplishments. Bishop Parker says, he was " a Gentleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices ; of high birth ; capable of any business ; full of wisdom ; a great commander at sea and land ; and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal and magnificent." The Earl was always against regarding any qualification but merit in the preferments of the Navy, declaring upon all occasions against shewing favour to the relations of Peers, or other persons of distinction, to the prejudice of such as had served longer or better : and this rendered him the idol of the fleet.

The Earl's body was found near a fortnight after the engagement, an account of which, and of the manner in which he was buried, was inserted in the Gazette in the following terms :
' Harwich, June 10. This day the body of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Sandwich, being by the order upon his coat discovered floating on the sea by one of his Majesty's ketches, was taken up, and brought into this port ; where Sir Charles Littleton the Governor receiving it, took immediate care for its embalming and honourable disposing, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known concerning it. For the obtaining of which, his Majesty was attended at Whitehall the next day, by the master of the said vessel, who by Sir Charles Littleton's order, was sent to present his Majesty with the George found about the body of the said Earl, which remained at the time of its taking up in every part unblemished, saving some impressions made by the fire upon his face and breast. Upon which his Majesty, out of his princely regard to the great deservings of the said Earl, and his unexampled performances in this last act of his life, hath resolved to have his body brought up to London, there at his charge to receive the rites of funeral due to his great quality and merits.'

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' Gazette,

‘ Gazette, July 4. The Earl of Sandwich’s body being taken
 ‘ out of one of his Majesty’s yachts at Deptford, on the 3d of
 ‘ July, 1672, and laid in the most solemn manner in a sumptuous barge, proceeded by water to Westminster-bridge, attended by the King’s barges, and his Royal Highness the Duke of York’s; as also with the several barges of the nobility, Lord-Mayor, and the several companies of the city of London, adorned suitable to the melancholy occasion, with trumpets and other music, that sounded the deepest notes. On passing by the Tower, the great guns there were discharged, as well as at Whitehall; and about five o’clock in the evening the body being taken out of the barge at Westminster-bridge, there was a procession to the Abbey church, with the highest magnificence. Eight Earls were assistant to his son Edward, Earl of Sandwich, chief mourner, and most of the nobility and persons of quality in town gave their assistance to his interment, in the Duke of Albemarle’s vault, in the north side of King Henry VIIIth’s chapel, where his remains are deposited (*m*).’

The Earl married Jemima, daughter to John Lord Crew of Stene, by whom he had issue six sons, and four daughters. He was succeeded in his honours and estates by his eldest son Edward (*n*).

(*m*) *Vid.* Campbell, P. 407, 408. (*n*) *Peerage of England*, 8vo. Edit. 1710, P. 259.





KATHARINE PHILLIPS.

The Life of KATHARINE PHILIPS.

THIS celebrated Lady was the daughter of Mr. John Fowler, a merchant of London, and was born in the parish of St. Mary Wool-Church, in 1631. Mr. Aubrey tells us, that she had the early part of her education from her cousin Mrs. Blacket. At eight years old she was removed to a school at Hackney, where she made great improvements. Aubrey says, that "she was very apt to learn, and made verses when she was at school; that she devoted herself to religious duties when she was very young; that she would then pray by herself an hour together; that she had read the Bible through before she was full five years old; that she could say, by heart, many chapters and passages of Scripture; and was a frequent hearer of sermons, which she would bring away entire in her memory."

She became afterwards a perfect mistress of the French tongue, and learned the Italian under the tuition of Sir Charles Cotterel (*a*), for whom she had a great friendship, and with whom she corresponded when he was at a distance from her; though the intimacy between her and this gentleman appears to have been entirely founded on their mutual taste for polite literature, and not the result of any attachment of a different kind.

About the year 1647, she was married to James Philips of the priory of Cardigan, Esq; and by this gentleman she had some years after one son, who died in his infancy, and whom she greatly lamented (*b*). She wrote an epitaph upon him, which is

(*a*) The following account is given of this gentleman by Mr. Granger. "Sir CHARLES COTTEREL was son of Sir Clement Cotterel, of Wylford, in Lincolnshire, groom-porter to James the First. He was, in the time of the interregnum, steward to the Queen of Bohemia; and in 1670, when he was created Doctor of Laws in the University of Oxford, it appears that he was master of the Requests to Charles II. He possessed, in an extraordinary degree, the various accomplishments of a gentleman; and particularly excelled in the knowledge of modern languages. During the exile of his Royal master, he

translated from the French "Cassandra, the famed romance," which has been several times printed. He had a principal hand in translating D'Avila's "History of the Civil Wars of France," from the Italian, and several pieces, of less note, from the Spanish. In 1686, he resigned his place of master of the ceremonies, and was succeeded by his Son Charles Lodewick Cotterel, Esq."

Biographical History of England, Vol. II. P. 541.

(*b*) She had also a daughter by Mr. Philips, who lived to be married to a gentleman of Pembroke-shire,

is published among her other poems, as is also the following lines upon his death.

- ‘ Twice forty months of wedlock I did stay,
- ‘ Then had my vows crown’d with a lovely boy,
- ‘ And yet in forty days he dropt away,
- ‘ O swift vicissitude of human joy !
- ‘ I did but see him, and he disappear’d ;
- ‘ I did but pluck the rose-bud, and it fell ;
- ‘ A sorrow unforeseen, and scarcely fear’d,
- ‘ For ill can mortals their afflictions spell.
- ‘ And now (sweet babe !) what can my trembling heart,
- ‘ Suggest to right my doleful fate, or thee ?
- ‘ Tears are my muse, and sorrow all my art,
- ‘ So piercing groans must be thy elegy.
- ‘ Thus whilst no eye is witness of my moan,
- ‘ I grieve thy loss, (Ah boy too dear to live !)
- ‘ And let the unconcerned world alone,
- ‘ Who neither will, nor can refreshment give.
- ‘ An off’ring too for thy sad tomb I have,
- ‘ Too just a tribute to thy early hearse,
- ‘ Receive these gasping numbers to thy grave,
- ‘ The last of thy unhappy mother’s verse.’

Mrs. Philips is said to have been an excellent wife ; and it is observed, that she not only performed the conjugal duties with fidelity and affection, but was highly serviceable to her husband in affairs, in which few wives are thought capable of being useful : For his fortune being much encumbered, she exerted her interest with Sir Charles Cotterel, and other persons of distinction, who admired her understanding, in her husband’s favour, who soon extricated him from the difficulties under which he laboured.

As she was born with a genius for poetry, so she began early in life to improve it, and composed many poems on various occasions for her amusement, in her recess at Cardigan, and retirement elsewhere. These being dispersed among her friends and acquaintance, were by an unknown hand collected together, and published in 8vo. in 1663, without her knowledge or consent. This is said to have affected Mrs. Philips so much, as to throw her into a fit of illness ; but it must be confessed, that this is not very credible.

The reputation of her abilities procured her the esteem of many persons of distinction ; and upon her going into Ireland, in order to accompany her intimate friend the Viscountess of Duncannon there, and also with a view of transacting some of her husband’s affairs in that kingdom, her great merit soon made her known to the Duke and Dutchess of Ormond, to the Earls of Orery and Roscommon, and many other persons of the first rank,
who

who shewed her singular marks of their esteem. While Mrs. Philips remained in that kingdom, at the desire of Lord Orrery, she translated, from the French of Corneille, the Tragedy of Pompey, which was brought upon the Irish stage somewhat against her inclination. However, it was several times acted in the new Theatre there, with great applause, in the years 1663 and 1664, in which last year it was published. She also translated from the French of Corneille, the Tragedy of Horace, excepting the fifth act, which was done by Sir John Denham. This play was afterwards acted at Court by persons of quality.

Whilst Mrs. Philips was in Ireland, she had the pleasure of keeping up an intimacy, which had been commenced before, between her and the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, who had some time before done her much honour, by writing and publishing a discourse on the nature, offices, and measures of friendship, with rules for conducting it, in a letter addressed to her. An extract from this piece may not be displeasing to the reader. ' But by the way, madam, (says the Bishop) you may see how I differ from the majority of those cynics, who would not admit your sex into the community of a noble friendship. I believe some wives have been the best friends in the world; and few stories can out-do the nobleness and piety of that lady, that sucked the poisonous purulent matter from the wounds of the brave Prince in holy land, when an assassin had pierced him with a venom'd arrow: and if it be told that women cannot retain council, and therefore can be no brave friends, I can best confute them by the story of Portia, who being fearful of the weakness of her sex, stabbed herself in the thigh to try how she could bear pain; and finding herself constant enought to that sufferance, gently chid her Brutus for not trusting her, since now she perceived, that no torment could wrest that secret from her, which she hoped might be entrusted to her. If there were no more things to be said for your satisfaction, I could have made it disputable, which have been more illustrious in their friendship, men or women. I cannot say that women are capable of all those excellencies by which men can oblige the world, and therefore a female friend, in some cases, is not so good a counsellor as a wise man, and cannot so well defend my honour, nor dispose of relief and assistances, if she be under the power of another; but a woman can love as passionately, and converse as pleasantly, and retain a secret as faithfully, and be useful in her proper ministries, and she can die for her friend, as well as the bravest Roman Knight. A man is the best friend in trouble, but a woman may be equal to him in the days of joy: a woman can as well increase our comforts, but cannot so well lessen our sorrows, and therefore we do not carry women with us when we go to fight; but in peaceful cities and times, women are the beauties of society, and the prettinesses of friendship. And when we consider that
' few

‘ few persons in the world have all those excellencies by which
 ‘ friendship can be useful, and illustrious, we may as well allow
 ‘ women as men to be friends; since they have all that can be
 ‘ necessary and essential to friendships, and those cannot have all
 ‘ by which friendships can be accidentally improved.’

In 1663, Mrs. Philips quitted Ireland, and went to Cardigan, where she spent the remaining part of that, and the beginning of the next year, in a sort of melancholy retirement; for she appears to have been dejected at some ill success in her husband's affairs. Her situation here also was disagreeable, as she was fond of the society of persons of an ingenious and literary turn, a pleasure which it was not easy to obtain in this place. However, on her going to London, her spirits were much raised by the conversation of her friends there: but she did not enjoy this satisfaction long, for she was suddenly seized with the small-pox, and died of it in Fleet-street, in the 32d year of her age, very much and very generally regretted. She was interred on the 22d of June, 1664, in the church of St. Bennet Sherehog, under a large monumental stone, where several of her ancestors were before buried.

This ingenious Lady, who was much celebrated in her own time, under the title of the MATCHLESS ORINDA, is said to have been in her person of a middle stature, pretty fat, and ruddy complexioned. She was not only distinguished for her poetical abilities, but for her generous, charitable disposition, and her kindness to all in distress. The famous Cowley expressed his respect for her memory by an elegant ode upon her death; and Dryden has more than once mentioned her with honour. But it has been justly observed, that her poems are more to be admired for propriety and beauty of thought, than for harmony of versification, in which she was somewhat deficient.

After her death, her poems and translations were collected together and published in one volume in folio, in 1669. There was likewise another edition published in 1678; and, in 1705, a small volume of her letters to Sir Charles Cottrel were printed, under the title of “ Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus;” the editor of which tells us, that “ they were the effect of an happy
 “ intimacy between herself and the late famous Poliarchus; and
 “ are an admirable pattern for the pleasing correspondence of a
 “ virtuous friendship.---They will sufficiently instruct us, how an
 “ intercourse of writing between persons of different sexes ought
 “ to be managed with delight and innocence; and teach the
 “ world not to load such a commerce with censure and detraction,
 “ when it is removed at such a distance from even the appearance of guilt.”

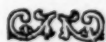
We shall select a passage from one of these letters, as a specimen of Mrs. Philips's epistolary style. ‘ I could never govern
 ‘ my passions (says she) by the lessons of the Stoicks, who at best
 ‘ rather tell us what we should be, than teach us how to be: they

‘ they shew the journey’s end, but leave us to get thither as we
‘ can. I would be easy to myself in all the vicissitudes of for-
‘ tune, and Seneca tells me I ought to be so, and that ’tis the
‘ only way to be happy; but I know that as well as the Stoick.
‘ I would not depend on others for my felicity; and Epictetus
‘ says, if I do not, nothing shall trouble me. I have a great ve-
‘ neration for these philosophers, and allow they give us many
‘ instructions that I find applicable and true; but as far as I can
‘ see, the art of contentment is as little to be learned, though it
‘ be much boasted of, in the works of the Heathens, as the doc-
‘ trine of forgiving our enemies. ’Tis the school of Christiani-
‘ ty that teaches both these excellent lessons. And as the theo-
‘ ry of our religion gives us reason to conform and resign our
‘ will to that of the Eternal, who is infinitely wise, and just, and
‘ great, and good; so the practice of our duty, though in the
‘ most difficult cases, gives us a secret satisfaction, that surpasses
‘ all other earthly pleasures. And when we have once had the
‘ experiment of it, we may truly say the poet was in the right to
‘ exhort us to study virtue, because the more we practice it, ’twill
‘ prove the more pleasant, more easy, and more worthy of love.’
Letter xiv.

We shall conclude with a little Poem written by this ingenious
Lady, intitled,

THE VIRGIN.

‘ The things that make a Virgin please,
‘ She that seeks, will find them these;
‘ A beauty, not to art in debt,
‘ Rather agreeable than great;
‘ An eye, wherein at once do meet,
‘ The beams of kindness, and of wit;
‘ An undissembled innocence,
‘ Apt not to give, nor take offence:
‘ A conversation at once free
‘ From passion and from subtilty;
‘ A face that’s modest, yet serene,
‘ A sober and yet lively mien;
‘ The virtue which does her adorn,
‘ By honour guarded, not by scorn;
‘ With such wise lowliness indu’d,
‘ As never can be mean, or rude;
‘ That prudent negligence enrich,
‘ And Time’s her silence and her speech;
‘ Whose equal mind does always move,
‘ Neither a foe, nor slave to love;
‘ And whose religion’s strong and plain,
‘ Not superstitious, nor prophane.’



The Life of RICHARD CUMBERLAND, Bishop of *Peterborough*.

THIS learned Prelate was the son of a citizen of London, where he was born on the 15th of July, 1632. He was educated in grammar and classical learning at St. Paul's school, and removed from thence to Magdalen-College in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1653, and that of Master in the year 1656. He had then thoughts of applying himself to physic, and for some time actually studied it; but altering his intentions, he went into holy orders, and being Fellow of his College, was remarkable for his diligent application to his studies, as well as for the unaffected piety, and unblemished probity of his manners.

His first preferment, for which he quitted an University life, was the Rectory of Brampton in Northamptonshire, which was given him by Sir John Norwich. In this rural retirement, he minded little besides the duties of his function, and his studies. His relaxations from these were very few besides his journies to Cambridge, which he made frequently to preserve a correspondence with his learned acquaintance in that place (a).

It now seemed probable, that the talents of Mr. Cumberland would be confined to a small country parish; his own thoughts being never turned to the raising himself. Mr. Payne, who was his Chaplain, says, "That which is the *Opprobrium Theologorum*, 'the snare (I could almost call it the scandal) of our profession, 'Preferment-seeking, he was perfectly free from.'" But Sir Orlando Bridgman being raised to the high station of Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, invited his friend and fellow-collegiate Mr. Cumberland up to town, and made him his chaplain; and afterwards presented him to the Living of Alhallows in Stamford. After his removal to that place, he also accepted of the weekly lecture there; and in consequence was obliged to preach three times every week in the same church. And he was not only diligent in the discharge of the duties of his function, but also continued to prosecute with ardour his philosophical, mathematical, and philological studies.

In

(a) Payne's brief Account of the Life, Character, and Writings of Bishop Cumberland, 8vo. 1720. P. 7.

In 1672, he published at London, in 4to. a noble work, intituled, "De Legibus Naturæ Disquisitio Philosophica, in qua earum forma, summa capita, ordo, promulgatio, & obligatio e rerum natura investigantur; quinetiam elementa philosophiæ Hobbeianæ, tum moralis tum civilis, considerantur & refutantur." i. e. 'A Philosophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature, in which their form, principal heads, order, promulgation, and obligation, are investigated from the nature of things; and in which also the philosophical elements of Hobbes, moral as well as civil, are considered and refuted.' Mr. Cumberland being at a distance from the press when this book was published, it came into the world very incorrectly printed, and in subsequent editions these faults were much multiplied. Mr. Payne observes, that it was one of the first pieces written in a demonstrative way on a moral subject, and at the same time the perfectest. It is indeed on all hands admitted, that the Philosopher of Malmesbury was never so closely handled, or his notions so thoroughly confuted, as by Dr. Cumberland. He has, however, taken a new road, very different from Grotius, Puffendorff, and other writers, more difficult, and less entertaining indeed, but, at the same time, much more convincing. It was desired that a piece of such general utility should be made better known by being put into an easier method, and translated into the English language. This the author would not oppose, though he did not undertake it himself; being sensible that the obscurity complained of by some, was really in the subject itself. The project, however, was pursued by James Tyrell, Esq; grandson to the famous Archbishop Usher, who published his performance under the following title: "A brief Disquisition of the Law of Nature, according to the principles and method laid down in the Rev. Dr. Cumberland's (now Lord Bishop of Peterborough) Latin treatise on that subject; as also his confutations of Mr. Hobbes's principle, put into another method, with the author's approbation." London, 1692, 8vo. And some years after was published an English translation of our author's book, under the following title: "A Treatise of the Laws of Nature, by the right reverend Father in God, Richard Cumberland, Lord Bishop of Peterborough; made English from the Latin by John Maxwell, M. A. Prebendary of Connor, and Chaplain to his excellency the Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. To which is prefixed, an Introduction concerning the mistaken notions which the Heathens had of the Deity, and the defects in their Morality, whence the use of Revelation may appear, &c." Lond. 1727. 4to.

In 1663, Mr. Cumberland took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and in 1680 that of Doctor; and on both those occasions he performed the public exercises with extraordinary applause. He continued to discharge the duties of his ministerial office with great diligence; and was particularly careful to caution

those under his care against the delusions of Popery. ' He had
 ' been for some time (says Mr. Payne) sensible of the measures
 ' that were too notoriously and too publicly taken in favour of
 ' Popery. As he was a most hearty lover of the Protestant reli-
 ' gion, the great subject of his sermons was to fortify her hearers
 ' against the errors, and to preserve them from the corruptions of
 ' that idolatrous church. He detested nothing so much as Po-
 ' pery, and was jealous almost to an excess of every thing that
 ' he suspected to favour it. The bigotry of that religion, and
 ' the ignorance and slavery it introduces wherever it has power,
 ' cannot but raise ideas dreadful to the last degree, in a man that
 ' has freedom and largeness of thought. I have been told by el-
 ' derly men in these parts, how he, who was in other things of the
 ' coolest temper in the world, used to be fired with zeal, when in
 ' preaching he was exposing that superstition (c).'

In 1686, Dr. Cumberland published, in 8vo. " An Essay to-
 " wards the recovery of the Jewish measures and weights, com-
 " prehending their monies, by help of an antient standard, com-
 " pared with ours of England, useful also to state many of those
 " of the Greeks, Romans, and Eastern nations." He dedicated
 this work to his friend Samuel Pepys, Esq; (d) then president
 of the Royal society. Mr. Le Clerc has given a very large ac-
 count of this performance, in the fifth volume of his *Bibliothèque*
universelle; and it has always been esteemed by the curious.

The Revolution was an event very agreeable to Dr. Cumber-
 land,

(c) Brief View of the Life of Bi-
 shop Cumberland, P. 10.

(d) The following account is
 given of this gentleman by the inge-
 nious Mr. Granger. " SAMUEL
 PEPYS, Secretary to the Admiralty
 in the reigns of Charles II. and James
 II. was descended from the antient
 family of that name, seated at Cotten-
 ham in Cambridgeshire. He was, in
 the early part of his life, introduced
 into the service of the state by his
 kinsman the famous Earl of Sand-
 wich. It is well known that the na-
 val history of Charles II. is the most
 shining part of the annals of his
 reign; and that the business of the
 navy was conducted with the utmost
 regularity and prudence, under
 Charles and James, by this worthy
 and judicious person. He first re-
 duced the affairs of the Admiralty to
 order and method; and that method
 was so just, as to have been a stand-
 ing model to his successors in his im-
 portant office. His "Memoirs," re-
 lating to the navy is a well-written

piece; and his copious collection of
 manuscripts, now remaining, with the
 rest of his library, at Magdalen Col-
 lege in Cambridge, is an invaluable
 treasure of naval knowledge. He
 was far from being a mere man of
 business; his conversation and ad-
 dress had been greatly refined by
 travel. He thoroughly understood
 and practised music; was a judge of
 painting, sculpture, and architecture;
 and had more than a superficial
 knowledge in history and philosophy.
 His fame among the virtuosi was such,
 that he was thought a very proper
 person to be placed at the head of the
 Royal society, of which he was some-
 time president.—His collection of
 English ballads, in five large folio
 volumes, begun by Mr. Seldon, and
 carried down to the year 1700, is one
 of his singular curiosities, as is also
 the pedigree of Edward IV. from
 Adam." He died in 1703. Biograph.
 Hist. of England, Vol. II. P. 531,
 532.

land, as he had been exceedingly alarmed at the measures of King James, and his attempts against the Protestant religion. But he had no desire, nor any expectation, of obtaining any preferment in consequence of this change in the public affairs. However, it happened at this time, contrary to the usual course of things, that merit was the road to preferment. Mr. Payne observes, that "whatever motives might in other times have recommended Clergymen to Bishopricks, at this season nothing could do it but merit. It was not so much considered who had made their Court best, as who had deserved best. And the men who were then raised to that high station were such, and such only, as had been most eminent for their learning, most exemplary in their lives, and firmest to the Protestant interest (e). Whilst these qualifications were only considered, such a man could not easily be overlooked, though he himself did least of any man look for such a promotion. The King was told, that Dr. Cumberland was the fittest man he could nominate to the Bishopric of Peterborough. Thus a private country clergyman, without posting to Court, a place he had rarely seen; without suing to great men; without taking the least step towards soliciting for it; was pitched upon to fill so great a trust, only because he was fittest for it. He walked, after his usual manner, on a post-day to the Coffee-house, and read in the news-papers, that one Dr. Cumberland of Stamford was named to the Bishopric of Peterborough. A greater surprize to himself than to any body else (f).

Dr. Cumberland was consecrated Bishop of Peterborough on the 5th of July, 1691. And he now applied himself to the duties of his episcopal office, with the same diligence and attention which had distinguished him as a private Clergyman. To the last month of his life it was impossible to dissuade him from undertaking fatigues, though superior to his strength; "his answer and resolution was, "I will do my duty as long as I can." And when his friends represented to him, that by his studies and labours he would injure his health, his usual reply was, "A man had better wear out, than rust out." He lived to a great age, and appears to have retained great vigour of mind, as well as great vigour of body, to the last. When Dr. Wilkins had published his Coptic Testament, he made a present of one of them to Bishop Cumberland, who sat down to study it when he was

(e) To the same purpose Bishop Burnet observes, speaking of the promotion of Dr. Cumberland, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Patrick, and others at this time, that "it was visible, that in all these nominations, and the filling the inferior dignities that became void by their promotion, no ambition nor Court favour had appeared; men were not scrambling for preferment, nor using arts, or em-

" ploying friends, to set them forward; on the contrary, men were sought for, and brought out of their retirements, and most of them very much against their own inclinations. They were men both of moderate principles, and of calm tempers."

(f) Brief Account of the Life, &c. of Bishop Cumberland, P. 12, 13.

was past eighty-three. Old as he was he mastered the language; and went through great part of this version, making remarks and observations all the way. At length, in the autumn of the year 1618, he was struck in an afternoon with a dead palsy, from which he could not be recovered. He had not the least previous notice of this; for he rose that morning rather better and more vigorous than usual. He died on the 9th of October, in the 87th year of his age, having been Bishop of Peterborough twenty-seven years. He was buried in his own cathedral, where a plain monument was afterwards erected to his memory.

Bishop CUMBERLAND was a man of considerable abilities and profound learning, of great piety and an irreproachable life. He was remarkable for his humility, benevolence, and sweetness of temper. He lived, says Mr. Payne, with the simplicity and plainness of a primitive Bishop, conversed and looked like a private man, hardly maintaining, as the world calls it, the dignity of his character. He was not one that loved to have the pre-eminence; and he contended with nobody for prerogative and precedence. He lived in a very hospitable manner: no man's house was more open to his friends; who always found themselves entertained by him with kindness, and ease, and freedom. The poor had substantial relief at his door; and his neighbours, and acquaintance, a hearty welcome to his table, after the plentiful and plain manner in which he lived. Every thing in his house served for friendly entertainment, nothing for luxury or pomp. He was always desirous of promoting the happiness of those about him, and of doing them kind offices. He dispensed with a liberal mind to the necessities of others, though his contented mind made him require little for his own. He was of a temper so composed and calm, that he could not be raised to the height of anger. However provoked, he contented himself with expressing his dislike, without falling into any ungarded expressions, or indecencies of passion. Through an excess of charity and candour, he was not willing to think the world so degenerate as it really is. He would believe no ill of any man, unless he had full proof of it: he abhorred entertaining suspicions, but loved rather to think, that there was as much rectitude and integrity in other men as in himself.

Though he lived to a very advanced age, he was entirely free from the peevishness and querulousness that usually attend it. "Would you have retired, says Mr. Payne, from every thing that was censorious, querulous, uneasy, disquieting, you must have gone into his company, and the room where he sat. The easiness and sweetness of his temper was such, as is not to be described by words; nothing but conversation with him, and the experience of it, could give a man a just idea of it. This happy disposition was become a habit to him, and continued to the last day of his life." The same writer intimates, that if he had any fault, it was

a want

a want of activity. " Had his life, says he, been as active, as it was innocent, he would have risen above the pitch of human nature."

Mr. Payne observes, that his natural parts were not quick, but strong, and retentive. He was a perfect master of every subject he studied. Every thing he read staid with him. The ideas in many men's minds are too like the impressions made in soft wax, they never are distinct and clear, and are soon effaced: in his mind they were like impressions cut in steel, they took some time in forming, but they were clear, distinct, and durable.

The studies in which he had been most conversant, were researches into the history and antiquities of the most antient times, mathematics in all its parts, and the scripture in its original languages. But he was also thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of philosophy; he had considerable skill in physic and anatomy; and a great intimacy with the classics, of which he was always very fond, and to the last week of his life would quote them readily and appositely. It is not unusual for learned men to love and affect to be silent: but Bishop Cumberland was so humble, that he thought nobody too low to be conversed with, and so benevolent, that he was willing every body that came near him should partake of his knowledge. As he was the most learned, says Mr. Payne, so he was the most communicative man I ever knew. No conversation pleased him so well as what turned upon some part of learning.

Besides the works published by Bishop Cumberland in his lifetime, as already mentioned, the following pieces of his were published after his death.

I. Sanchoniatho's Phœnician History, translated from the first book of Eusebius de Preparatione Evangelica. With a Continuation of Sanchoniatho's History by Eratosthenes Cyrenensis Canon, which Dicaearchus connects with the first Olympiad. These authors are illustrated with many historical and chronological remarks, proving them to contain a series of Phœnician and Egyptian Chronology, from the first man to the first olympiad, agreeable to the scripture accounts. Lond. 1720. 8vo.

II. Origines Gentium antiquissimæ: or, attempts for discovering the times of the first planting of nations; in several tracts. Lond. 1724. 8vo.



The Life of Sir WILLIAM PETTY.

WILLIAM PETTY was the eldest son of Anthony Petty, a Clothier, and born at Rumsey in Hampshire, on the 16th of May, 1623. Whilst he was very young, he took great delight in conversing with artificers, and imitating their several trades, which he performed very dexterously at twelve years of age. And he tells us himself, that "at the full age of fifteen years, he had obtained the Latin, Greek, and French tongue, the whole body of common arithmetic, the practical geometry and astronomy conducing to navigation, dialling, and with the knowledge of several mechanical trades. After this he went to the University of Caen in Normandy; and upon his return to England was preferred in the King's navy, where at the age of twenty years he had gotten up about threescore pounds, with as much mathematics, as any one of his age was known to have had." With this money, upon the breaking out of the civil war, in 1643, he went into the Netherlands and France for three years, and having vigorously prosecuted his studies, especially that of medicine, at Utrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Paris, he returned home to Rumsey, and brought with him his brother Anthony, (whom he had bred up) with about ten pounds more than he carried out of England (g). It is supposed, that when he was abroad, he chiefly maintained himself by traffic. While he was at Paris, he studied anatomy, and read Vesalius with Mr. Hobbes, "who (as Mr. Wood says) loved his company exceedingly well, and was not wanting on all occasions to forward his pregnant genius."

On the 6th of March, 1647, a patent was granted Mr. Petty by the Parliament, for seventeen years, to teach his art of double writing. "This (as described by Mr. Rushworth) was performed by an instrument of small bigness and price, easily made, and very durable, whereby with an hour's practice one may write two copies of the same thing at once, on a book of parchment, as well as on paper, and in any character whatsoever; of great advantage to lawyers, scriveners, merchants, scholars, registers, clerks, etc. it saving the labour of examination, discovering or preventing falsification, and performing the whole business of

of

‘ of writing, as with ease and speed, so with privacy also.’ Soon after he went to Oxford, where he practised physic and chymistry, and assisted Dr. Clayton, the anatomy professor, in his dissections. On the 7th of March, 1649, he was created Doctor of Physic in that University, and chosen a Fellow of Brazen-nose-college; at which time he was one of the Society engaged in cultivating natural knowledge, and the new philosophy, who often met at his lodgings. On the 25th of June, 1650, he was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians of London; and in December following was one of the persons chiefly concerned in the recovery of a woman who had been hanged at Oxford, for the supposed murder of her bastard child (*b*). And on the first of January the same year, he was made professor of anatomy at Oxford, upon the resignation of Dr. Clayton. And the following month, Dr. Knight having quitted the music professorship, in Gresham College, Dr. Petty was chosen to succeed him (*i*).

By these preferments, in the year 1652, according to his own account, Dr. Petty had improved his stock to four hundred pounds, and having an hundred pounds more advanced him to go to Ireland, he landed at Waterford on the 10th of September that year. He was sent thither in the quality of physician to the army, with an allowance of twenty shillings a day, and was likewise physician to three Lord Lieutenants successively, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Henry Cromwell, in which post he continued till June, 1659, and gained by his practice about four hundred pounds a year more than his pay. In the year 1654, perceiving that the admeasurements of the lands forfeited by the rebellion there in 1641, and intended for a recompence to the soldiers, who had suppressed it, were very insufficiently managed, he obtained a contract, dated the 11th of December that year, for making the said admeasurements, by which he gained about nine thousand pounds, and six hundred pounds more for directing an after survey of the adventurers lands. These sums, together with what he had acquired by his other employments, raised him an estate of thirteen thousand pounds, at a time when as much land was bought for ten shillings in real money, as would yield ten shillings a year rent, above his Majesty’s quit rents, in 1685,

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(*b*) This was one ANNE GREEN, executed at Oxford, December 14, 1650. The story is, that she was hanged by the neck near half an hour, some of her friends in the meantime thumping her on the breast, others hanging with all their weight upon her legs, sometimes lifting her up, and then pulling her down again with a sudden jerk, thereby the sooner to dispatch her out of her pain. After she was in her coffin, being observed

with breath, a lusty fellow stamped with all his force on her breast and stomach, to put her out of her pain; but by the assistance of Dr. Petty, Dr. Willis, Dr. Bathurst, and Dr. Clarke, she was again brought to life. I myself, says Mr. Derham, saw her many years after that. She had, I heard, borne divers children. *Vid.* Derham’s Physico-Theology.

(*i*) Ward, as before, P. 218.

the year in which his will is dated. Part of this money he employed in soldiers debentures, and part of it in purchasing the Earl of Arundel's house and gardens in Lothbury, in the city of London. The debentures, for which, he says, he gave above the market-price, were again disposed of in buying lands in Ireland, a great part of which he lost by the Court of Innocents (*k*) in 1663; and the buildings he had erected on the garden ground in Lothbury, called *Token-House*, were for the most part destroyed by the fire of London. Mr. Wood says, his survey in Ireland, by the help of proper assistants, was completed in about ten months with so great exactness, that there was no estate of sixty pounds a year, but he knew its true value, and had maps drawn of all that was done; and that his own estate there, which amounted to five or six thousand pounds a year, was so large after its reduction by the Court of Innocents, that from Mount Mangorton in Kerry, he could see fifty thousand acres (*l*) of his own land (*m*).

On the 14th of July, 1655, Dr. Petty was admitted a Fellow of the College of Physicians of London. He was likewise one of the Commissioners for parcelling out the lands in Ireland to the army, after they were surveyed; and Clerk of the Council there; as also Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, Henry Cromwell, by whose interest in 1658, he was elected one of the burgesses for Westflow in Cornwall, to serve in the Parliament of Richard Cromwell, which met at Westminster on the 27th of January that year. In this Parliament he was impeached upon the 25th of March following by Sir Hicrome Sankey, for mismanagement of the distributions and allotments of the Irish lands, with other offences relating to that affair. The charge was general, and Dr. Petty being then in Ireland, many of the gentlemen of the long robe were against the receiving it, till it was digested into particulars; but at last it was resolved, that he should be summoned to attend the house that day month. However, he came over sooner, and appearing in the house on the 19th of April, answered to the charge on the 21st, to whom Sir Hicrome replied. Upon this the matter being adjourned, and that Parliament dissolved on a sudden the day following, it was not brought to any issue. Henry Cromwell had written over a letter in his favour to Secretary Thurloe, dated the 11th of that month. Soon after Dr. Petty went back to Ireland, where endeavours were used in order to prosecute him, and he was removed from his public employments; though the Lord-Lieutenant still continued his good opinion of him.

Dr.

(*k*) This was a court of claims relating to the forfeited estates, erected at Dublin in 1662, to adjudge the qualifications of *nocent* and *innocent*.

(*l*) Dr. Ward conjectures, that

Mr. Wood was mistaken in the above calculation, and that it should have been only *fifteen thousand* acres, instead of *fifty thousand*.

(*m*) Ward, P. 219.

Dr. Petty soon after returning to England, was a Member of the *Rota* Club, which used to meet at Miles's Coffee-house in New-palace Yard, Westminster, among whom were Mr. James Harrington, Henry Neville, and many other ingenious men (*n*). This club lasted till about the 21st of February, 1659. But before they broke up, Dr. Petty went again into Ireland, where he continued till the Restoration; and then returning into England, was introduced to King Charles the Second, by whom he was well received, and from whom he received the honour of Knighthood. And having now resigned his Professorship in Gresham College, he obtained the grant of a patent, by which he was constituted Surveyor General of Ireland. And in 1663, he was continued a Fellow of the College of Physicians by their new charter, and by the charter of the Royal Society appointed one of their first Council (*o*).

About that time he was much talked of for his new invention of a double bottomed ship, to sail against wind and tide; which in July, 1664, made one very successful voyage to Holyhead and back again, contrary to the expectation of most persons, who thought it an impracticable experiment. But in a second voyage it had the misfortune to be lost in a violent storm. This invention appeared so remarkable to the author of the History of the Royal Society, that he has given it the following encomium. "It was (says he) the most considerable experiment that has been made in this age of experiments; if either we regard the great charge of the work, or the wonderful change it was likely to make in navigation, or the great success to which this first attempt was arrived. Though it was at first confronted with the doubts and objections of most seamen of our nation, yet it soon confuted them by experience. It appeared very much to excel all other forms of ships in sailing, in carriage, in security, and many other such benefits. Its first voyage it performed with admirable swiftness. And though it miscarried after its return, yet it was destroyed by a common fate, and by such a dreadful tempest, as overwhelmed a great fleet the same night; so that the antient fabricks of ships have no reason to triumph over that new model, when of threescore and ten sail, that were in the same storm, there was not one escaped to bring the news." Sir William presented a model of this ship to the Royal Society, which is yet preserved in their repository. He afterwards employed himself for many years in endeavouring to improve upon his scheme, and procured another vessel to be built, but this did not answer the intended purpose, and all his labours in this way at length came to nothing. About the year 1665, he communicated to the Royal Society "A Dis-

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"course

(*n*) See a more particular Account of this Club, in Vol. V. P. 397, 398.

(*o*) Ward, P. 221.

"course about the building of ships;" which the Lord Brouncker, their President, took into his own possession, and kept it for many years, saying it was too great a secret of state to be commonly perated. He was the author of many other useful inventions, several of which were laid before the Royal Society, whose institution he very diligently promoted, and was very often chosen one of their council (p).

In 1666, Sir William drew up his treatise, called, *Verbum Sapienti*, containing an account of the wealth and expences of England, and the method of raising taxes in the most equal manner: shewing likewise, that England can bear the charge of four millions per annum, when the occasions of the government require it. Had this author lived to the present age, he would have seen this country compelled to bear a much greater burthen! It is certainly well for the kingdom that it can raise so large a revenue; but it must at the same time be confessed, that the evil of exorbitant taxation is abundantly encreased, if we have good reason to believe, that a considerable part of the public money is employed, not in national purposes, but in influencing the representatives of the people to betray the interests of their constituents.

In 1667, Sir William married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, Knight, and Relict of Sir Maurice Fenton, Baronet; and afterwards set up iron works and pilchard fishing, opened lead mines and a timber trade, in Kerry, which turned to very good account. And in the year 1684 he was President of the Philosophical Society formed at Dublin, in imitation of that at London. In the town of Rumsfy there is an house, that was given by him for the maintenance of a charity school, the rent of which is still applied to that use. He died at his house in Piccadilly, within the liberty of Westminster, on the 16th of December, 1687, and in the 65th year of his age; and his corps being carried from thence, was buried in the south-isle of the chancel in Rumsfy church, under a flat stone, on the pavement, whereon is only this short inscription, cut by an illiterate workman: HERE LAYES SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

He left a widow and three children, Charles, Henry, and Anne, with a large estate of many thousand pounds a year among them. For in his will he makes his real estate 6500l. per annum, his personal estate above 45000l. and the demonstrable improvements of his Irish estate 4000l. per annum. His younger brother Anthony died on the 18th of October, 1649, and was buried in Lothbury church. He had also another son, named John, who died before him, and was buried at Dublin (l).

SIR WILLIAM PETTY was a man of great abilities, extensive

five knowledge, and extraordinary industry and application. He gave early proofs of that comprehensive and inquisitive genius for which he was afterwards so eminent; and he made his way in the world under very great disadvantages in point of circumstances (*m*). The variety of pursuits in which he was engaged, shews him to have had a genius capable of any thing to which he chose to apply it. He was an excellent chemist and anatomist, and a perfect master of every other kind of knowledge that was requisite to the profession of physic. He was a very able Mathematician, had a fine hand at drawing, was skilful in the practical part of mechanicks, and a most exact surveyor (*n*). But his chief bias seems to have been towards cultivating the common arts of life, and political interests of states. These were his favourite studies, and continued with him to the last; as he acquaints us himself in the following passage of his will, which is dated the 2d of May, 1685. "I being now (says he) about sixty-two years old, intend the improvement of my lands in Ireland; and so to get in the many debts owing unto me; and to promote the trade of iron, lead, marble, fish, and timber, whereof my estate is capable. And as for studies and experiments, I think now to confine the same to the anatomy of the people, and political arithmetic; as also to the improvement of ships, land carriages, guns, and pumps, as of most use to mankind; not blaming the study of other men." (*o*)

He was the author of the following pieces:

I. Advice to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, for the advancement of some particular parts of learning. Lond. 1648. 4to. In this short tract two things are proposed; first, that proper persons be employed to collect from books all real and experimental learning contained in them, in order to facilitate the way to further improvements; and secondly, that literary workhouses be erected, where children may be taught to do something for their living, as well as to read and write, and likewise the elements of arithmetick, geometry, and some other useful arts.

II. A Treatise of taxes and contributions: shewing the nature and measures of crown lands, assessments, customs, poll-monies, lotteries, benevolence, &c. Lond. 1662. 4to. This was several times re-printed.

III. An Essay in Political Arithmetick, concerning the growth of the city of London, with the measures, periods, causes, and consequences thereof. Lond. 1682. 8vo. Re-printed in 1686.

IV. Five

(*m*) He told Mr. Aubrey, that he was driven to great straits for money, when he was in France; and that he had lived a week upon two or three pennyworth of walnuts. But he, at length, made his way through all difficulties; and, as he expressed it to

that gentleman, "hewed out his fortune himself." Granger's Biographical Hist. of England, Vol. II. P. 315. 316.

(*n*) Granger, as before.

(*o*) *Vid.* Ward, as before:

IV. Five Essays in Political Arithmetic. Lond. 1687. 8vo.

V. Observations upon the Dublin bills of mortality in 1681, and the state of that city. Lond. 1683. Re-printed with additions in 1686.

VI. Political Arithmetic, or, a discourse concerning the extent and value of lands, people, buildings, husbandry, manufacture, commerce, fishery, artizans, seamen, soldiers, public revenues, interests, taxes, superlucration, registries, banks, valuation of men, increasing of seamen, of militias, harbours, situation, shipping, power at sea, &c. as the same relates to every country in general, but more particularly to the territories of his Majesty of Great Britain, and his neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France. Lond. 1690. 8vo. This treatise was presented in manuscript by the author, while living, to King Charles the Second; and after his death published by his son.

He wrote also some other small pieces, and was the author of several ingenious papers in the philosophical transactions.

Sir William Petty's eldest son was created Baron of Shelburne in the county of Waterford in Ireland, by King William the Third; but dying without issue, was succeeded in that honour by his younger brother Henry, who was created Viscount Dunkeron in the county of Kerry in that kingdom, and Earl of Shelburne, in 1718. He married the Lady Arabella Boyle, sister to Charles Earl of Corke, by whom he had several children.



The Life of GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of *Buckingham*.

THIS Nobleman was son and heir of that famous Duke of Buckingham, of whom we have already given an account in the fourth volume of our work (*a*). He was born at Wallingford house, in the parish of St. Martin's in the fields, Westminster, on the 30th of January, 1627, and baptized there on the 14th of February following, by Dr. Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells (*b*) " He inherited " from his father (says Mr. Fairfax) the greatest title, and from " his mother (*c*) the greatest estate of any subject in England; " and from them both so graceful a body as gave a lustre to the " ornaments of his mind (*d*)." He was an infant at the time when his father was killed by Felton. He received his early education from several domestic tutors, and was afterwards sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, with his brother Lord Francis Villiers; from whence they both repaired to King Charles I. at Oxford, and engaging in the royal cause, they were active in storming of the cloister at Litchfield. For this the parliament seized on their estates, but restored them again in consideration of their youth.

Soon after this they were committed to the care of the Earl of Northumberland, and were sent to travel in France and Italy, where (says Mr. Fairfax) they lived in as great state as some of those sovereign princes. They resided chiefly at Florence and Rome. The Duke was instructed in mathematics at Rome by Mr. Abraham Woodhead, who was there at this time on his travels, as tutor to some young gentlemen of University College in Oxford.

The young Duke and his brother returned to England in the
year

(*a*) P. 317 — 336.

(*b*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. P. 301.

(*c*) His mother was the Lady Catherine Manners, sole daughter and heir of Francis Earl of Rutland;

(*d*) *Vid.* Memoirs of the Life of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, by Mr. Brian Fairfax, printed with a catalogue of his Grace's fine collection of pictures, 4to. 1758.

year 1648, when the King was a prisoner in the isle of Wight, and his friends in several parts of England concerting to renew the war against the Parliament: Duke Hamilton in Scotland, the Earl of Holland and others in Surrey, Goring in Kent, and many in London and Essex, appeared in arms. These were the last efforts of the dying cause, and the Duke and his brother, in the warmth of their zeal, engaged with the Earl of Holland, and were the first that took the field about Ryegate in Surrey. The Parliament, with their old army, knew all these designs, and despised them, till the Royalists grew so numerous in some places, that General Fairfax himself was sent to suppress them, who found sharp service in storming Maidstone, and taking Colchester. Some troops of horse were sent, under the command of Colonel Gibbons, to suppress them in Surrey, and they drove the Earl of Holland before them to Kingston, but engaged his party before he got thither, near Nonfuch, and defeated them. Lord Francis Villiers was killed in this action. The manner of his death is thus related by Mr. Fairfax. ‘ My Lord Francis, at the head of
 ‘ his troop, having his horse slain under him, got to an oak-tree
 ‘ in the highway, about two miles from Kingston, where he
 ‘ stood with his back against it, defending himself, scorning to
 ‘ ask quarter, and they barbarously refusing to give it; till, with
 ‘ nine wounds in his beautiful face and body, he was slain.
 ‘ The oak-tree is his monument, and has the two first letters of
 ‘ his name, F. V. cut in it to this day. Thus died this noble,
 ‘ valiant, and beautiful youth, in the twentieth year of his
 ‘ age.’

The Duke, after the loss of his brother, escaped not without difficulty to St. Neot's in Hertfordshire, whither also came the Earl of Holland, who was there taken, and soon after beheaded. The Duke next morning, finding the house wherein he lay surrounded, and a troop of horse drawn up before the gate, had time with his servants to get to horse; and then, causing the gate to be opened, he charged the enemy, and killed the officer at the head of them, and made his escape to the sea-side, and from thence to Prince Charles, who was in the Downs with those ships that had deserted the Earl of Warwick. And even now the Parliament gave him forty days to return to England; but he refused, and chose rather to stay with the Prince: so at the expiration of the time, his estate was seized, being then the greatest of any subject in England, having now his brother's estate fallen to him: and Mr. Fairfax says, the yearly value of the whole was above 25,000*l*.

The same writer observes, that “ all that he had to live on
 “ beyond sea, was the money he got at Antwerp for his pictures,
 “ which were part of that costly and curious collection his father
 “ got together from Italy, by the help of Sir Henry Wotton,
 “ and others, which adorned York-house to the admiration of
 “ all

all men of judgment in pictures (*e*).” These were secured, and sent to him by his old trusty servant John Traylman, who lived in York-house.

Some time after King Charles resolving to go into Scotland, the Duke of Buckingham attended him thither, and now again the Parliament offered to compound for his estate at 20,000*l.* which was less than a year’s value; but he refused the offer. When the King was preparing to march into England, he granted a commission to the Duke of Buckingham to raise a regiment of

Vol. VI. 6.

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horse,

(*e*) This collection had been purchased at a very great expence by the Duke’s father, who gave 10,000*l.* for what had been collected by Sir Peter Paul Rubens; and Sir Henry Wotton, when Ambassador at Venice, purchased many other fine pieces for his grace. He had many capital pieces by Tintoret, Julio Romano, Paul Veronese, Correggio, Rubens, Leonardo da Vinci, Guido, Titian, and Raphael d’Urbino. Thomas Earl of Arundel offered the Duke’s father the value of 7000*l.* in land or money for one of these pieces, the *Ecce Homo* of Titian.

The Duke was also possessed of the fine stained window now standing at the east end of St. Margaret’s church, Westminster; and the progressive changes which this window has undergone are somewhat remarkable, as will appear from the following account.—The magistrates of Dort in Holland, being desirous of presenting Henry VII. with something worthy to adorn his magnificent chapel, then building at Westminster, directed this window to be made, which was five years in finishing; King Henry and his Queen sending their pictures to Dort, from whence their portraits in the window are delineated. But King Henry dying before the window was completed, it fell into the hands of an Abbot of Waltham, who placed it in his abbey church, where it remained till the dissolution of that abbey by Henry VIII. in 1540. To preserve it from being destroyed, it was removed by Robert Fuller, the last Abbot of Waltham, to a private chapel at New-hall, an antient seat belonging to the Butlers, Earls of Ormond, in Wiltshire; which afterwards came into the hands of Sir Thomas

Boleyn, Father of Queen Anne Boleyn. In Queen Elizabeth’s reign New Hall was the seat of Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex; from whose family it was purchased by the first Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. His son sold it to General Monk, who, to preserve it, caused it to be buried under ground during the civil war; at which period many beautiful glass-windows were destroyed in consequence of the zeal of the Puritans against superstitious paintings. After the Restoration, General Monk caused this window to be re-placed in his chapel of New-hall. In 1688 died his son and heir Christopher Duke of Albermarle, by whose death this seat devolved to his Dutchess; but she not residing there, it became ruinous and decayed. New-hall at length came into the possession of John Olmuis, Esq; who demolished great part of the antient structure, and the fine chapel, but the window he preserved, hoping that it might at length be purchased for some church. It lay some time cased up in boxes, till Mr. Conyers, coming to the knowledge of it, purchased it for his chapel at Copthall near Epping, and paid Mr. Price, a great artist in that way, a large sum of money for repairing it. There it remained till his son John, building a new house at some distance from the old seat, had no further use for the window, and sold it to the committee appointed for the repairing and beautifying St. Margaret’s, in 1758. for the sum of 40 guineas. However, soon after it was set up in that church, several articles were exhibited against the church-wardens for setting up a superstitious painting without a licence from the ordinary. *Vid.* Biograph. Britan.

horse, and one of foot, out of the English that should repair to him. And after their march to Worcester, perceiving that very few of quality or distinction repaired to his Majesty, he remonstrated to the King, that it would be more for his interest to remove the Scottish general; alledging, that it would not consist with the honour of any Peer of England to receive his orders; and thereupon asked his Majesty to confer that honour on himself. But this the King refused, at which the Duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the Council, scarcely spoke to the King, and neglected every body else and himself, insomuch that for many days he hardly put on clean linen, nor conversed with any body, nor did he recover this ill humour while the army staid at Worcester. Nevertheless, in the engagement there, he was at the King's right hand, and behaved with extraordinary valour. On the loss of the day he retired northward with his Majesty, who had then a design of going into Scotland; but after some consultation, it was thought more prudent that the King should conceal himself in Boscobel-house. Whereupon the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Derby, and others, in all about sixty horse, marched thither with his Majesty, and having left him there, the Duke, with the Earl of Derby, &c. went northward, to overtake General Lesley with the main body of Scotch horse. But being met by some of the parliament forces, the Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Lauderdale, with most of the Royalists, were taken prisoners. While the Parliament soldiers were plundering these Noblemen, the Duke of Buckingham, with the Lord Leviston, and a few others of the royal party, having quitted their horses, had the good fortune to make their escape, and got into Bloore-Park, near Cheshwardine, about five miles from Newport, where at a little obscure house they obtained some refreshment. They afterwards met with two labourers in an adjoining wood, to whom they communicated the distress to which the fortune of war had reduced them; and finding them like to prove faithful, the Duke delivered his George to his servant Mr. May, (who afterwards restored it to him in Holland) and changed habit with one of the workmen. In this disguise, by the assistance of one Mr. Barlow and his wife, he was after some days conveyed by Nicholas Matthews, a carpenter, to the house of Mr. Hawley, a zealous cavalier at Billstrop in Nottinghamshire, and from thence to the house of the Lady Villiers at Brokesby in Leicestershire; and, after many hardships and encounters, his grace got secure to London, and thence had the good fortune to escape a second time into Holland, where, on his arrival, he was taken for the King; and the King soon after escaping into France, the Duke went to him there (f).

Soon after this the Duke of Buckingham entered as a volunteer

teer into the French army, where he was much regarded by all the French officers, and greatly signalized his courage at the siege of Arras and Valenciennes; soon after which he was made a Knight of the Garter. When he came to the English court, which was but seldom, the King was always glad to see him. He loved his person and his company, though his court was not well disposed to him: in particular, he was far from being acceptable to the Earl of Clarendon, who had a great dislike against him.

The Parliament granted a considerable part of the Duke of Buckingham's estate to their general Lord Fairfax; but the Duke was no loser by this; for coming over privately into England, in 1657, he paid his addresses to that nobleman's only daughter, and was married to her with his consent. But this marriage gave so much offence to Oliver Cromwell, that he sent the Duke to the Tower; which so provoked Lord Fairfax, that high words arose between him and the Protector; but the latter dying soon after, Mr. Fairfax informs us that he carried the news to the Duke, who "had then leave to be a prisoner at Windsor castle, where his friend Abraham Cowley was his constant companion. Richard Cromwell soon after abdicated, and then "his liberty came of course."—"This," proceeds the same writer, "was the happiest time of all the Duke's life, when he "went to his father-in-law's house at Appleton, and there lived "orderly and decently with his own wife; where he neither "wanted, nor so abounded as to be tempted to any sort of extravagance, as he was after, when he came to possess his whole estate. He now understood the meaning of that paradox, "*Dimidium plus toto*, with which he used to pose young scholars; "and found by experience, that the half or third part of his "own estate which he now enjoyed, was more than the whole "which he had at the King and his Restoration.—Now he "lived a most regular life, no courtships but to his own wife, "not so much as to his after beloved and costly mistress, the "Philosopher's stone."—"My Lord Fairfax was much pleased "with his company, and to see him so conformable to the orders "and good government of the family."

The Duke of Buckingham had some share in bringing about the Restoration, and after that event he obtained possession of his whole estate. "At the King's coronation (says Mr. Fairfax) no subject appeared in greater splendor. None kept "greater hospitality than he did at Wallingford-house, especially "for the French nobility that came over. This engaged him "in play, which had he continued, his estate had not lasted so "long; but he resolved to give it over, and kept his resolution "ever after."

The Duke was made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and sworn of the Privy Council, soon after the Restoration. He was also made Lord-Lieutenant of Yorkshire, and Master of

Horse to the King. But notwithstanding these promotions, he afterwards engaged in designs against the government; and in 1666 he was accused of treasonable practices. He was in consequence removed from all his places on the 25th of February that year; and a Serjeant at Arms was sent, by express order from the King, to take him into custody. But he defended his house for some time by force against the Serjeant at Arms, and at last made his escape. Upon this a proclamation was issued on the 8th of March, requiring him to surrender himself by a certain day. In compliance with this proclamation he surrendered himself, and made his submission; and the King having a personal kindness for him, he restore him to his place in the bed-chamber, and even to his seat at the council-board on the 23d of September the following year; and he now possessed so much of the King's favour, as to be able to contribute thereby towards the ruin of the Earl of Clarendon (*g*).

The Duke's influence encreased so much at court, that he had a considerable share in the management of public affairs; and was a leading Member of that Cabinet Council, constituted in 1670, which was generally termed *THE CABAL* (*b*). But in August this year he went Ambassador to France, in order to break the famous triple alliance, which had been the boast of Sir William Temple. Mr. Wood tells us, that the French King liked his person and errand so well, that he entertained him very nobly for several days together, and gave him a sword and belt set with diamonds, to the value of forty thousand pistoles; and a French writer, *Monf. de Verville*, assures us, that "the most Christian King shewed him a greater respect than ever any foreign Ambassador was known to receive. As he knew him, continues the Frenchman, to be *un homme de plaisir*, he entertained him accordingly. Nothing could be so welcome to the Court of Versailles as the message he came about; for which reason a regale was prepared for him, that might have befitted the magnificence of the Roman Emperors, when Rome flourished in its utmost grandeur." But however honourable the Duke's reception might be in France, the design of his embassy was far from being acceptable to the bulk of the people of England, who justly considered the business he went about as inconsistent with the interest of the nation, though it was agreeable to the private views of Charles and his courtiers.

The Duke of Buckingham, after his return to England, having a great personal animosity against the Duke of Ormond, was supposed to be concerned in the attempt of the famous Thomas Blood against the life of that nobleman. This scheme was to have conveyed the Duke of Ormond to Tyburn, and there to have hanged him: with which intent he was taken out of his coach

(*g*) See Vol. V. P. 356, 357. — (*b*) See P. 165.

coach in St. James's street, and carried away by Blood and some others beyond Devonshire house, Piccadilly; but then he was rescued. Blood afterwards endeavoured to steal the crown out of the Tower, and actually got it into his possession; but was seized before he could convey it off. However, though he acknowledged himself that he had been guilty of several other atrocious actions, he was not only pardoned, but had an estate of five hundred pounds a year given him in Ireland, and even admitted into some degree of intimacy with the King. The principal circumstance which is urged in support of this charge brought against the Duke of Buckingham, that he was concerned in the attempt against Ormond, is the following anecdote related by Mr. Carte, that there were reasons to think Buckingham the person who put Blood upon the attempt against the Duke of Ormond, says he, 'cannot well be questioned; after the following relation, which I had from a gentleman (Robert Lesley of Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan, Esq;) whose veracity and memory, none that knew him, will ever doubt, who received it from the mouth of Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely. The Earl of Ossory (son to the Duke of Ormond) came in one day, not long after the affair, and seeing the Duke of Buckingham standing by the King, his colour rose, and he spoke to this effect. My Lord, I know well, that you are at the bottom of this late attempt of blood's upon my father, and therefore I give you fair warning, if my father comes to a violent end by sword or pistol, or the more secret way of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it; I shall consider you as the assassin; I shall treat you as such, and wherever I meet you, I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the King's chair; and I tell it you in his Majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.'

In 1671, the Duke was installed Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and the same year his celebrated Comedy, intitled *THE REHEARSAL*, was first brought upon the stage. It was received with vast applause, and obtained a great character, which it has ever since supported; for it is still frequently exhibited upon our theatres; and but a few years since was acted forty nights in one season to crowded audiences. The design of this play was to ridicule and expose the then reigning taste for plays in heroic rhyme, as also that fondness of bombast and confusion in the language, and noise, bustle, and shew in the conduct of dramatic pieces, which then so strongly prevailed, and which the writers of that time found too greatly their advantage in not to encourage by their practice, to the exclusion of nature and true poetry from the stage. In the character of Bayes, under which Dryden is satirized, the various foibles of poets (whether good, bad, or indifferent,) are so humorously blended, as to make the most finished picture of a poetical coxcomb. In short, the *Rehearsal* has been esteemed by the best judges a most perfect piece

piece in its kind ; and Lord Shaftesbury speaks of it as a very standard in the way of ridicule. However, Mr. Dryden, in revenge for the ridicule thrown on him in this piece, exposed the Duke of Buckingham under the name of Zimri in his *Abfalom* and *Achitophel*; and the portrait is admirable, being allowed, says Wood, by all who knew or ever heard of the Duke, to have been drawn exactly from the life. It is as follows :

- ‘ Some of their chiefs were princes of the land ;
- ‘ In the first rank of these did *Zimri* stand.
- ‘ A man so various, that he seem’d to be
- ‘ Not one, but all mankind’s epitome :
- ‘ Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
- ‘ Was every thing by starts, and nothing long :
- ‘ But in the course of one revolving moon,
- ‘ Was chymist, fidler, statesman, and buffoon :
- ‘ Then all for women, painting, rhiming, drinking,
- ‘ Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking.
- ‘ Blest madman, who could every hour employ
- ‘ With something new to wish, or to enjoy !
- ‘ Railing and raising were his usual themes ;
- ‘ And both (to shew his judgment) in extremes :
- ‘ So over-violent, or over-civil,
- ‘ That every man with him was God or Devil.
- ‘ In squandering wealth was his peculiar art :
- ‘ Nothing went unrewarded, but desert.
- ‘ Beggar’d by fools, whom still he found too late ;
- ‘ He had his jest, but they had his estate.
- ‘ He laugh’d himself from court ; then sought relief
- ‘ By forming parties, but cou’d ne’er be chief :
- ‘ For, spite of him, the weight of business fell
- ‘ On *Abfalom* and wife *Achitophel*.
- ‘ Thus, wicked but in will, of means bereft,
- ‘ He left not faction, but of that was left.’

The Duke was an adviser of the Declaration of Indulgence published March 15, 1671, for suspending the penal laws against Dissenters ; and in 1672, he was sent a second time, together with the Lords Arlington and Halifax, to the French King then at Utrecht, to concert measures secretly for carrying on the second Dutch war ; and about this time he bought Colonel Scott’s regiment. But upon the meeting of the Parliament the ensuing year, a complaint was exhibited against him in the House of Commons, for his share in the mal administration of public affairs. He endeavoured to vindicate himself before that house, and in a long speech which he made there, attributed most of the measures complained of to Lord Arlington. By this defence the Duke escaped any further prosecution : but Arlington, who was examined by the House on the same occasion, was impeached by them. After

After this the Duke engaged in opposition to the Court ; and in October, 1675, he brought a bill into the House of Lords for tolerating the Dissenters ; and was appointed one of the managers in a conference between the two houses of Parliament upon the point of the jurisdiction of the Upper House. In order to check the heat and animosities occasioned by this dispute, his Majesty, in November this year, prorogued the Parliament till Feb. 15, 1676--7, which being upwards of a year, the Duke made a speech on that day, to shew, that, in this prorogation, his Majesty had exceeded the bounds of the Prerogative, and that the Parliament which was now assembled had no right to sit, but was in fact dissolved, and that a new Parliament ought by law to be called. As he persisted to defend this assertion, the next day he was committed to the Tower by the House of Lords; but, upon a petition to the King, he was discharged. In 1680, having sold Wallingford-house, he purchased a house at Dowgate, and resided there, joining with the Earl of Shaftesbury in his designs against the Administration (i).

Of the close of the Duke's life, the following particulars are related by Mr. Fairfax. ' At the death of King Charles, he ' went into the country to his own manor of Helmesly, the seat ' of the Earls of Rutland in Yorkshire. King Charles was his ' best friend ; he loved him, and excused his faults. He was not ' so well assured of his successor. In the country he passed his ' time in hunting, and entertaining his friends ; which he did a ' fortnight before his death as pleasantly and hospitably as ever ' he did in his life. He took cold one day after fox-hunting, by ' sitting on the cold ground, which cast him into an ague and ' fever, of which he died, after three days sickness, at a tenant's ' house, Kirby More side, a lordship of his own, near Helmesly, ' April 16, 1688, ætat. 60.

' The day before his death he sent to his old servant Mr. ' Brian Fairfax, to desire him to provide him a bed at his house ' at Bishop-hill in York ; but the next morning the same man ' returned with the news that his life was despaired of. Mr. ' Fairfax went post, but before he got to him he was speechless. ' The Earl of Arran, son to Duke Hamilton, was with him ; ' who, hearing he was sick, visited him in his way to Scotland. ' When Mr. Fairfax came, the Duke knew him, looked earnestly ' at him, and held him by the hand, but could not speak. Mr. Fair- ' fax asked a gentleman there present, a justice of peace, and a ' worthy discreet man in the neighbourhood, what he had said, ' or done, before he became speechless. He told me some ques- ' tions had been asked him about his estate, to which he gave no ' answer. Then he was admonished of the danger he was in, ' which he seemed not to apprehend ; he was asked, if he would ' have

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‘ have the Minister of the parish sent for to pray with him, to which he gave no answer ; which made another question be asked, If he would have a Popish Priest ? To which he answered with great vehemence, “No, no!” repeating the words, “ He would have nothing to do with them.” Then the afore-said gentleman, Mr. Gibson, asked him again, If he would have the Minister sent for ? And he calmly answered, “ Yes, pray send for him.” This was the morning, and he died that night. The minister came, and did the office required by the church ; the Duke devoutly attending it, and received the sacrament, and an hour after became speechless ; but appearing sensible, we had the prayers of the church repeated by his bed-side, recommending him to the mercy of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ.’—‘ Thus he died quietly in his bed, the fate of few of his predecessors in the title of Buckingham. His body was embalmed and brought to Westminster Abbey, and there laid in the vault with his father and brothers, in Henry the Seventh’s chapel.’

The manner of the Duke of Buckingham’s death has been poetically described in the following lines by Mr. Pope :

“ In the worst inn’s worst room, with mat half hung,
 “ The floors of plaister, and the walls of dung,
 “ On once a flock-bed, but repaired with straw,
 “ With tape ty’d curtains, never meant to draw,
 “ The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
 “ Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
 “ Great VILLIERS lies—alas ! how chang’d from him
 “ That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim !
 “ Gallant and gay, in Cliveden’s proud alcove,
 “ The bow’r of wanton Shrewsbury (*k*) and love ;
 “ Or just as gay, at council, in a ring
 “ Of mimick’d statesmen, and their merry King.
 “ No wit to flatter left of all his store !
 “ No fool to laugh at, which he valued more ;
 “ There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
 “ And fame, this lord of useless thousands ends.”

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM possessed abilities and accomplishments which might have commanded respect, independent of his high rank ; but he justly forfeited the esteem of mankind by his follies and his vices, by his utter want of principle, and his disregard of the most important moral obligations. Bishop Burnet says of him, that ‘ he was a man of a noble pretence. ‘ He had a great liveliness of wit, and a peculiar faculty of
 ‘ turning

(*k*) The Countess of Shrewsbury, has been said, that, during the combat, she held the Duke’s horses in the habit of a page. Cibber’s *Lives of the Duke of Buckingham* ; and it the Poets, Vol. II. P. 322.

* turning all things into ridicule with bold figures and natural descriptions.---He had no principles of religion, virtue, or friendship. Pleasure, frolic, or extravagant diversion, was all that he laid to heart. He was true to nothing, for he was not true to himself. He had no steadiness nor conduct: he could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it. He could never fix his thoughts, nor govern his estate, though then the greatest in England. He was bred about the King: and for many years he had a great ascendant over him: but he spake of him to all persons with that contempt, that at last he drew a lasting disgrace upon himself. And he at length ruined both body and mind, fortune and reputation equally. The madness of vice appeared in his person in very eminent instances; since at last he became contemptible and poor, sickly, and sunk in his parts, as well as in all other respects, so that his conversation was as much avoided as ever it had been courted. He found the King, when he came from his travels in the year 45, newly come to Paris, sent over by his father when his affairs declined: and finding the King enough inclined to receive ill impressions, he, who was just then got into all the impieties and vices of the age, set himself to corrupt the King, in which he was too successful, being seconded in that wicked design by the Lord Percy. And, to complete the matter, Hobbes was brought to him, under the pretence of instructing him in mathematics: and he laid before him his schemes, both with relation to religion and politics, which made deep and lasting impressions on the King's mind. So that the main blame of the King's ill principles, and bad morals, was owing to the Duke of Buckingham.'

He had no children by his Dutcheß, of whom Mr. Fairfax speaks in the following terms. ' Mary Dutcheß of Buckingham was the only daughter of Thomas Lord Fairfax, and Ann the daughter of Horace Lord Vere. A most virtuous and pious Lady, in a vicious age and court. If she had any of the vanities, she had certainly none of the vices of it. The Duke and she lived lovingly and decently together; she patiently bearing with those faults in him which she could not remedy. She survived him many years, and died near St. James's, at Westminster, and was buried in the vault of the family of Villiers, in Hen. VIIIth's chapel, anno 1705. ætat. 66.'

Besides the *Rehearsal*, the Duke of Buckingham was the author of several other pieces, particularly the following:

I. A short discourse upon the reasonableness of men's having a religion or worship of God. Lond. 1685. It passed through three editions.

II. A Demonstration of the Deity, published a little before the Duke's death.

III. A Letter to Sir Thomas Osborn.

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IV. The Restoracion, or right will take place; a tragedy.

V. The Battle of Sedgmoor, a satirical and political farce.

VI. The militant couple, or the husband may thank himself. A fragment.

VII. Pindaric on the death of Lord Fairfax.

VIII. The Lost Mistress, a complaint against the Countess of ***** , 1675. This was probably the Countess of Shrewsbury, whose Lord he killed in a duel on her account, and who is said (as hath been before observed) to have held the Duke's horse, disguised like a page, during the combat. It is also added, that this profligate woman went to bed to Buckingham in the shirt stained with her husband's blood.

IX. A character of an ugly Woman, or an hue and cry after beauty, in prose, written in 1678.

X. A consolatory epistle to Captain Julian, &c.

XI. Three Letters to Lord Arlington and Lord Berkeley.

XII. A Key to the Rehearsal.

XIII. An account of a conference between the Duke and Father Fitz-gerald, whom King James sent to convert his Grace in his sickness. There is much wit and humour in this piece.

XIV. Essay upon reason and religion; in a letter to Nevil Pain, Esq;

XV. On human reason; addressed to Martin Clifford, Esq.

XVI. Five letters on Election-Affairs, &c.

XVII. Ten little burlesque and satirical Poems.—Several of his speeches in parliament have also been published.



The Life of ANDREW MARVELL.

ANDREW MARVELL was the son of Mr. Andrew Marvell, Minister and Schoolmaster of Kingston upon Hull in Yorkshire, where he was born in the year 1620. His parts being very great, his progress in letters was proportionable; so that at thirteen years of age, he was admitted of Trinity-College in Cambridge. But he had not been long there, when he fell into the hands of the Jesuits; for those busy factors of the Romish church, under the connivance of this, as well as the preceding reign, spared no pains to make protestants; for which purpose several of them were planted in or near the Universities, in order to make conquests among the young scholars. Mr. Marvell fell into their snares, as Chillingworth had done before him, and was inveigled up to London; but his father being apprized of it, soon after pursued him, and finding him in a bookseller's shop, prevailed with him to return to College. He afterwards applied to his studies with great assiduity, and took a bachelor of arts degree in 1638.

About this time he lost his father, who was unfortunately drowned in crossing the Humber, the particulars of which accident are thus related.---“ On that shore of the Humber opposite to Kingston, lived a lady whose virtue and good sense recommended her to the esteem of Mr. Marvell, (the father) as his piety and understanding obliged her to take a particular notice of him; from this mutual approbation arose an intimate acquaintance, which was soon improved into a very strict friendship. This lady had an only daughter, whose duty, ingenuity, devotion, and general exemplary behaviour, had endeared her to all who knew her, and rendered her the darling of her mother; whose fondness for her arose to such a pitch, that she could scarcely bear to let her child be ever out of her sight. Mr. Marvell, desiring to increase and perpetuate the amity between the families, asked the lady to let her loved daughter come over to Kingston, to stand god-mother to a child of his; which, out of her great regard for him, she consented to, though she thereby deprived herself of the pleasure of her daughter's company, for a longer space of time (as the young Lady must necessarily lie at Kingston one night) than she would have agreed to on any other consideration, but that of obliging her friend, our author's father. The young Lady came over to Kingston, and the cere-

mony was performed. The next day, when she came down to the water-side, in order to return home, she found the wind very high, and the water so extremely rough (a circumstance well known frequently to happen there) as to render the passage dangerous: so dangerous at this time, that the watermen earnestly dissuaded her from all thoughts of crossing. But she, who since her birth had never wilfully given her mother a moment's uneasiness, and who knew how miserable she would be till she saw her daughter again, insisted on going, notwithstanding all that could be urged by the watermen, or by Mr. Marvell, who earnestly intreated her to return to his house, and wait for better weather. Mr. Marvell finding her thus resolutely bent to venture her life, rather than run the risque of disobliging a fond parent, told her, as she had brought herself into that dangerous situation purely upon his account, he thought himself obliged both in honour and conscience to share it with her; and accordingly, having with difficulty persuaded some watermen to attempt the passage, they both got into the boat. Just as they put off, Mr. Marvell threw his gold headed cane on shore to some friends who attended at the water-side, telling them, that as he could not suffer the young lady to go alone, and as he apprehended the consequence might be fatal, if he perished, he desired them to give that cane to his son, and bid him remember his father. Thus, he armed with innocence, and his fair charge with filial duty and affection, they both cheerfully set forward, to meet their inevitable fate: the boat was overset, and they were lost (1)." The extreme grief in which this melancholy event plunged the young lady's mother, may be easily conceived: however, after her sorrow was somewhat abated, she sent for young Mr. Marvell, and did all she could towards supplying the loss which he had sustained by the untimely death of his father; for she charged herself with the expence of his future education, and at her death left him all she was possessed of.

In consequence of this Lady's kindness to our Author, he was enabled to travel through most of the polite parts of Europe. It appears that he had been at Rome, from his poem, intitled, "Flecknoe, an English Priest at Rome;" in which he has described with great humour, that wretched Poet, Richard Flecknoe, from whom Mr. Dryden gave the name of Mac Flecknoe, to his satire against Shadwell (m). During his travels, another

(1) Biograph. Britan.

(m) THOMAS SHADWELL was descended from an antient family in Staffordshire, and was born about the year 1640, at Lauton Hall in Norfolk, a seat belonging to his father, who was a gentleman of a good fortune, and in the commission of the peace for three counties, Middlesex,

Norfolk, and Suffolk. He was sent for some time to the Temple to study the law, but that profession not being agreeable to his inclinations, he resolved to travel. He had a taste, and some genius, for polite literature; and, upon his return home, falling into acquaintance with the most celebrated wits of the age, he applied himself

ther occasion also happened of exercising his wit. In France, he found much talk of one Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, an abbor, who pretended to enter into the qualities of those he had never seen, and to prognosticate their good or bad fortune from an inspection of their hand writing. The absurd pretences of this man were handsomely satirized by our author, in a Latin poem written upon the spot, and addressed to him. Very little more is known relative to this period of Mr. Marvell's life: we are only told, that he spent some time at Constantinople, where he resided as Secretary to the English Embassy at that Court.

In the year 1653, we find him returned to England, and employed by Oliver Cromwell in the business of a tutor to one Mr. Dutton; as appears from a letter of Mr. Marvell to the Protector, still extant. His first appearance in any public capacity at home, was his being made assistant to the celebrated John Milton, as Latin Secretary to the Protector, which happened in 1657. A little before the Restoration, he was chosen by his native town, Kingston upon Hull, to sit in that Parliament which began at Westminster, April the 25th, 1660, and afterwards for that which began

himself wholly to cultivate those elegant studies, which were the fashionable amusements of the times; and it was not long before he became eminent in dramatic poetry, a specimen of which appeared in a comedy called "the Sullen Lovers, or the Impertinents," which was acted at the Duke's Theatre. As the play was well received, he wrote many more comedies, which met with good success. But his poetical character was much hurt, by his being placed in a kind of opposition to Dryden; as though he possessed real abilities, yet he was greatly inferior to that justly celebrated Poet. Shadwell was connected with the Whigs, and Dryden with the Tories; and being in some degree set up as rivals to each other, a mutual dislike grew up between them. And after the Revolution, the post of Poet-Laureat was taken from Dryden, (in consequence of his having embraced the Romish Religion) and given to Shadwell; which occasioned Dryden to write a very severe satire against him, intitled, *Mac-Flecknoe*. Mr. Shadwell died suddenly in 1692, in the fifty-second year of his age, at Chelsea, and was interred in the church there. He appears to have been, as to his private life, a man of an amiable character, and possessed of

many personal accomplishments. And it has been justly observed of his comedies, that they have in them many fine strokes of humour; the characters are often originals, strongly marked, and well sustained: and it is said, that he had the greatest expedition imaginable in writing, and sometimes produced a play in less than a month. An edition of his Works, in four volumes, 8vo. was published in 1720.

Besides several other pieces of poetry, he wrote the following plays. 1. The Sullen Lovers, as mentioned before. 2. The Humorists; a comedy. 3. The Virtuoso, a comedy. 4. Psyche, a tragedy. 5. The Libertine, a tragedy. 6. Epson Wells, a comedy. 7. The Miser, a comedy. 8. A true Widow, a Comedy: the prologue to this was written by Dryden, who at the time this play was exhibited was upon good terms with Shadwell. 9. The Lancashire Witches, and Teague O'Divelly, the Irish Priest; a comedy. 10. The Woman Captain, a Comedy. 11. The Squire of Alsatia, a comedy. 12. Bury Fair, a comedy. 13. Amorous Bigot, with the second part of Teague O'Divelly. 14. The Scowerers; a comedy. 15. The Volunteers, or the Stock-Jobbers; a comedy.

began May the 8th, 1661. In this station he discharged his trust with the utmost fidelity; and was truly a representative of those who elected him, for whom he ever shewed a great regard. He constantly sent the particulars of every proceeding in the House of Commons to the heads of the place for which he was chosen; and to those accounts he always joined his own opinion of them. And his constituents had so just a sense of their obligations to him, that they allowed him an honourable pension all the while that he represented them, which was to the time of his death, and always entertained an high respect for him (*n*).

Mr. Marvell was indeed justly intitled to the esteem of all his countrymen, for his almost unparallled integrity, which was superior to every temptation, notwithstanding the narrowness of his circumstances. Mr. Cooke informs us, that "he made himself obnoxious to the government, both in his actions and writings; and notwithstanding his proceedings were all contrary to his private interest, nothing could ever shake his resolution. He having one night been entertained by the King, who had been often delighted in his company, his Majesty the next day sent the Lord Treasurer Danby to find out his lodging. Mr. Marvell, who then lodged up two pair of stairs in a little court in the Strand, was writing when the Lord-Treasurer opened the door abruptly upon him. Surprized at the sight of so unexpected a visitor, he told him he believed he had mistook his way. The Lord Danby replied, Not now I have found Mr. Marvell; telling him that he came with a message from his Majesty, which was to know what he could do to serve him. His answer was, in his usual facetious manner, that it was not in his Majesty's power to serve him. But coming to a serious explanation of his meaning, he told the Lord-Treasurer he knew the nature of courts full well, he had been in many; that whoever is distinguished by a prince's favours, is certainly expected to vote in his interest. The Lord Danby told him, his Majesty had only a just sense of his merits, in regard to which alone he desired to know whether there was any place at court he could be pleased with. These offers had no effect on him, though urged with the greatest earnestness. He told the Lord-Treasurer he could not accept them with honour, for he must be either ingrateful to the King in voting against him, or false to his country in giving into the measures of the court; therefore the only favour he begged of his Majesty was, that he would esteem him as dutiful a subject as any he had, and more in his proper interest in refusing his offers, than if he had embraced them. The Lord Danby, finding no arguments could prevail, told him the King his master had ordered a thousand pounds for him, which he hoped he would receive, till he could think what further to ask of his Majesty.

(*n*) *Life of Andrew Marvell, Esq;* by Thomas Cooke, prefixed to his works, in 2 Vols. 12mo. 1727. P. 9, 10.

jeſty. This laſt offer was rejeſted with the ſame ſtedfaſtneſs of mind as was the firſt; though, as ſoon as the Lord-Treaſurer was gone, he was forced to ſend to a friend to borrow a guinea (e).

This ſtory has been ſomewhat differently related, in a pamphlet printed in Ireland, about the year 1754, of which an account was given in the tenth volume of the *Monthly Review*, from whence we ſhall extraſt it, as follows: ‘ The borough of Hull, ‘ in the reign of King Charles II. choſe Andrew Marvell, a young ‘ gentleman of little or no fortune, and maintained him in London for the ſervice of the public. His underſtanding, integrity, and ſpirit, were dreadful to the then infamous adminiſtration. Perſuaded that he would be theirs for properly ‘ aſking, they ſent his old ſchool fellow, the Lord-Treaſurer ‘ Danby, to renew acquaintance with him in his garret. At ‘ parting, the Lord-Treaſurer, out of pure affection, ſlipped into ‘ his hand an order upon the Treafury for a thouſand pounds, ‘ and then away to his chariot. Andrew, looking at the paper, ‘ calls after the Treaſurer, “ My Lord, I requeſt another moment.” Up again to the garret, and Jack the ſervant boy was called. “ Jack, child, what had I for dinner yeſterday ?” ‘ Don’t you remember, Sir? you had the little ſhoulder of ‘ mutton that you ordered me to bring from a woman in the ‘ market.” “ Very right, child. What have I for dinner ‘ to-day.” “ Don’t you know, Sir, that you bid me lay by the ‘ blade-bone to broil.” “ ’Tis ſo, child, very right, go away.”——“ My Lord, do you hear that? Andrew’s dinner ‘ is provided; there’s your piece of paper, I want it not. I ‘ know the ſort of kindneſs intended. I live here to ſerve my ‘ conſtituents; the miniſtry may ſeek men for their purpoſe, I ‘ am not one.” (p)

It may be here remarked, that if the qualification-acts had taken place in the days of Mr. Marvell, he could not have been elected a Member of Parliament. And this reflection may, perhaps, juſtly lead us to doubt, whether thoſe acts have been ſo beneficial to the conſtitution as it was at firſt ſuppoſed they would be; or rather, whether they have not been prejudicial. It is at leaſt certain, that ſince the qualification-acts have taken place, our parliaments have been very far from being more virtuous than they uſed to be. And it is evident, that theſe acts are ſome reſtraint upon the electors. Men of known integrity and abilities are but few in every claſs of life: and the inhabitants of ſmall towns and boroughs may often be at a loſs to meet with perſons properly qualified, whom they would chuſe to ſend to the great council of the nation. And ſhould they have ever ſo much confidence in the integrity and abilities of any particular man, whom they would wiſh to elect as their representative in parliament,

(e) Cooke, P. 12, 13. (p) *Monthly Review*, Vol. X. P. 479.

ment, they cannot return him, if he be not possessed of the fortune which the laws have prescribed. And as none but men of fortune can be chosen, these are too apt to consider themselves as much superior to the generality of their constituents, and therefore act more independently of them, and with less attention to their sentiments and inclinations, than is consistent with the character of deputies and representatives of the people. Nor can the mere possession of an independent fortune, be considered as any sufficient security against corruption. It is true, that when we reason only speculatively, it appears rational to suppose that men of large fortunes would not be so liable to corruption, as those whose less affluent circumstances seem to expose them more naturally to temptation. But experience often proves, that this kind of reasoning is uncertain and fallacious. Those who possess much, are desirous of obtaining more; they are solicitous to rise higher, and with this view court the favour of those above them; and are often too much inveterated by luxury, to be influenced by any principles of patriotism. Whilst, on the other hand, men of inferior fortunes, but of more moderate views and expectations, and of more regular and temperate manners, though they enjoy less property, often possess more independence of mind, and are more influenced by a virtuous affection to their country.

In 1672, Mr. Marvell engaged in a controversy with the famous Dr. Samuel Parker (*q*), who being a most zealous high-churchman,

(*q*) SAMUEL PARKER was born at Northampton in the year 1640. He was son to John Parker, Esq; afterwards Serjeant at Law, and made one of the Barons of the Exchequer by the Parliament in 1659. He was educated among the Puritans in ammar-learning at Northampton, from whence he was sent to Wadham College in Oxford, and admitted in 1659, under a Presbyterian tutor. Here, it is said he led a strict and religious life, and entered into a weekly society, then called the *Gruellers*, who fasted and prayed, and met at a house in Halywell, where he was so zealous and constant an attendant upon prayers, sermons, and sacraments, that he was esteemed "one of the most precious young men in the university." However, upon the Restoration he hesitated a little what side to take, though he continued to talk publicly against Episcopacy, for which he was much discountenanced by the new warden Dr. Blandford. Whereupon

he removed to Trinity-College, where, by the prevailing advice of Dr. Ralph Bathurst, then a senior fellow of that society, he renounced his puritanical opinions, and became a most zealous member of the church of England. In 1663, he took the degree of master of arts; and soon after entering into orders, he resorted frequently to London, and became Chaplain to a Nobleman; and displayed his wit in drolleries and reflections upon his old friends the Puritans.

In 1665, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; and published about the time some *Physico-Theological Essays*, which he dedicated to Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, who became his patron, and in 1667 made him his chaplain. Being thus put into the road to preferment, he left Oxford, and resided at Lambeth under the eye of his patron, who in 1670 collated him to the Archdeaconry of Canterbury; and the same year he had the degree of Doctor of Divinity

churchman, exerted himself very much in defending the persecution of the Non-conformists. That Divine, in 1670, published a book intitled "Ecclesiastical Polity;" and in 1671, "a Defence of Ecclesiastical Polity;" and in 1672, "A Preface to
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Divinity conferred upon him at Cambridge, when William Prince of Orange was entertained there. In 1672, he was installed into one of the Prebends of Canterbury; and was collated also by the Archbishop, about the same time, to the Rectories of Ickham and Chartham in Kent.

As Dr. Parker distinguished himself by his zeal in support of every exorbitant claim both of the church and of the Crown, he maintained an unreserved obsequiousness to the Court during the Reign of King Charles II. and upon the accession of his brother to the Throne, he continued in the same servile complaisance; and it was not long before he reaped the fruits of it in the Bishopric of Oxford, to which he was nominated by King James II. on the death of Dr. Fell in 1686, being allowed to hold the Archdeaconry of Canterbury in Commendam. He was also made a Privy Counsellor, and constituted, in an illegal manner, by a Royal Mandamus, President of Magdalen-College in Oxford, an unjustifiable procedure, which was justly and severely censured, and warmly opposed.

Bishop Parker's desire to obtain court-favour was so strong, that he appeared willing to sacrifice his religion to it; for when King James was endeavouring to establish Popery in England, he wrote in favour of Transubstantiation, and the worship of saints and images. The Papists, it is certain, made sure of him as a Profelyte. In a letter from a Jesuit of Liege to a Jesuit of Fribourg, and dated Feb. 2, 1688, is this passage. 'The Bishop of Oxford himself seems to be a great favourer of the Catholic Faith: he proposed in Council, whether it was not expedient, that one College at least in Oxford should be allowed the Catholics, that they might not be forced to be at so much charges, in going beyond sea to study? But it is not yet known what answer was made. The same

' Bishop having invited two of our Noblemen (i. e. Roman Catholics) with others of the Nobility, to a feast, drank the King's health to a certain heretical Lord there, wishing his Majesty good success in all his undertakings. Adding also, that the religion of the Protestants in England, did not seem to him in a better condition, than Buda was before it was taken; and that they were next to Atheists that defended that faith.'

In another letter, from Father Edward Petre, a Jesuit, and Privy-Counsellor to King James, directed to Father La Chaize, and dated Feb. 9, the same year, are these words. 'The Bishop of Oxford has not yet declared himself openly; the great obstacle is his wife, whom he cannot rid himself of: His design being to continue Bishop, and only change communion; as it is not doubted but the King will permit, and our Holy Father confirm: though I do not see how he can be further useful to us in the Religion he is in, because he is suspected, and of no esteem among the Hereticks of the English Church; nor do I see that the example of his conversion is like to draw many others after him, because he declared himself so suddenly. If he had believed my counsel, which was to temporize for some longer time, he would have done better; but it is his temper, or rather zeal, that hurried him on.' These two letters were first printed in a collection of tracts in 4to. published in 1689.

Parker observed so little decency in his compliance with every measure of the Court, however unjustifiable, and his servility was so gross and open, that he became quite contemptible, and his influence and authority in his diocese were so insignificant, that when he assembled his clergy, and desired them to subscribe an address of thanks to the King for his declaration of liberty

Bishop Bramhall." In all these he recommended unlimited monarchy, and a rigorous persecution of all dissenters from the established church. In his *Ecclesiastical Polity* he says, "It is better to submit to the unreasonable impositions of Nero and Caligula, than to hazard the dissolution of the state." And in the same work he asserts, "that it is absolutely necessary to the peace and government of the world, that the supreme magistrate of every commonwealth should be vested with a power to govern and conduct the consciences of subjects in affairs of religion." And he asserted, that "Princes may with less hazard give liberty to men's vices and debaucheries, than to their consciences." And speaking of the different sects then subsisting, he lays it down as a fixed rule for all Princes to go by, that "tenderness and indulgence to such men, were to nourish vipers in our bowels, and the most sottish neglect of our own quiet and security." Mr. Marvell, being desirous of exposing as he deserved this advocate for civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, published his *REHEARSAL TRANSPOSED*; in which with great strength of argument, and much wit and humour, he shews the absurdity of Parker's tenets. The Doctor, however, published an answer, but did not think proper to put his name to it: whereupon, in 1673, Mr. Marvell published, "The Rehearsal transposed, the second part, occasioned by two letters: the first printed by a nameless author, intitled, *A Reproof*, &c. The second letter left for me at a friend's house, dated Nov. 3, 1673; subscribed J. G. and concluding with these words: If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Dr. Parker, by the Eternal God I will cut thy throat." Several other anonymous pieces were published against Marvell in favour of Parker, but our author had so greatly the advantage both of the

berthy of conscience, (which was infused merely to favour the Papists) they rejected it with such an unanimity, that he got but one single clergyman to concur with him in it. The last effort he made to serve the court, was his publishing "Reasons for abrogating the Test." This book, Bishop Burnet observes, raised such a disgust against Parker, "even in those that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help seeing that, he sunk upon it." At length, finding himself despised by all good men, the trouble of mind occasioned thereby threw him into a disemper, of which he died unlamented, at the president's lodgings in Magdalen-College, on the 20th of March, 1687; in the Anti-Chapel of which College he was bu-

ried, on the 24th of the same month.

Burnet observes, that Bishop Parker "was a covetous and ambitious man; and seemed to have no other sense of religion, but as a political interest, and a subject of party and faction. He seldom came to prayers, or to any exercises of devotion; and was so lifted up with pride, that he was become insufferable to all that came near him."—"There was an entertaining liveliness in all his books; but it was neither grave nor correct." He was the author of several books, both in Latin and English; and, among others, a History of his own Times. He left a son of his own name, who was a man of learning, and published several pieces; but he would never take the oaths after the Revolution.

the Doctor and his associates, that Parker did not think proper to engage further in the controversy. Anthony Wood, who was no friend to Mr. Marvell's principles, observes, 'that it was generally thought, by many of those who were otherwise favourers of Parker's cause, that the victory lay on Marvell's side.' And he adds, that 'it wrought this good effect on Parker, that for ever after it took down his high spirit.' And Bishop Burnet remarks, that Marvell 'writ in a burlesque strain, but with so peculiar and so entertaining a conduct, that from the King down to the tradesman, his books were read with great pleasure. That not only humbled Parker, but the whole party: for the author of the *Rehearsal transposed* had all the men of wit on his side.' And the same Prelate elsewhere speaks of King Charles II. as being much pleased with the wit of Marvell's book, which he styles the best satire of the time; and further observes, that the *Rehearsal transposed* "gave occasion to the single piece of modesty, with which Dr. Parker could be charged, of withdrawing from the Town, and not importuning the press for some years, since even a face of brass must grow red, when it is so burnt, as his was then." And Dean Swift, speaking of the usual fate of common answers of books, and how short-lived their labours are, adds, that "there is indeed an exception, when any great genius thinks it worth his while to expose a foolish piece: so we still read Marvell's answer to Parker with pleasure, though the book it answers be sunk long ago."

Mr. Marvell frequently corresponded with his friends on parliamentary affairs; and some of his letters on this subject are preserved; from one of which, dated April 14, 1670, we shall select the following passage, relative to King Charles's attending in the House of Peers, to hear their debates. 'The same day my last letter bore date there was an extraordinary thing done. The King, about ten o'clock, took boat, with Lauderdale only, and two ordinary attendants, and rowed awhile as towards the bridge, but soon turned back to the Parliament stairs, and so went up into the House of Peers, and took his seat. Almost all of them were amazed, but all seemed so; and the Duke of York especially was very much surprized. Being sat, he told them it was a privilege he claimed from his ancestors to be present at their deliberations. That, therefore, they should not, for his coming, interrupt their debates, but proceed, and be covered. They did so. It is true, that this has been done long ago, but it is now so old, that it is new, and to disuse that at any other, but so bewitched a time, as this, it would have been looked on as an high usurpation, and breach of privilege. He indeed sat still, for the most part, and interposed very little; sometimes a word or two. But the most discerning opinion was, that he did herein as he rowed, for having had his face first to the Conventicle Bill, he turned short to the Lord Ross's. So that, indeed, it is credible, the King, in prospect of

‘diminishing the Duke of York’s influence in the Lord’s House, in this, or any future matter, resolved, and wisely enough at present, to weigh up and lighten the Duke’s efficacy, by coming himself in person. After three or four days continuance, the Lords were very well used to the King’s presence, and sent the Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain, to Him. when they might wait, as an House on him, to render their humble thanks for the honour he did them. The hour was appointed them, and they thanked him, and he took it well. So this matter, of such importance on all great occasions, seems rivetted to them, and us, for the future, and to all posterity. Now the Lord Ross’s bill came in order to another debate, and the King present. Nevertheless the debate lasted an entire day; and it passed by very few voices. The King has ever since continued his session among them, and says it is better than going to a play.’ (r)

In another letter Mr. Marvell observes, that ‘the Earl of Clare made a very bold and rational harangue, the King being present, against the King’s sitting among the Lords, contrary to former precedents, during their debates; but he was not seconded.’ In the same letter is also the following passage, from whence it appears to what an height corruption was arrived in the reign of Charles the Second. ‘The King having, upon pretence of the great preparations of his neighbours, demanded three hundred thousand pounds for his navy, (though in conclusion he hath not set out any,) and that the Parliament should pay his debts, which the Ministers would never particularize to the House of Commons, our house gave several bills. You see how far things were stretched, though beyond reason, there being no satisfaction how those debts were contracted, and all men foreseeing that what was given would not be applied to discharge the debts, which I hear are at this day risen to four millions, but diverted as formerly. Nevertheless such was the number of the constant courtiers, increased by the apostate patriots, who were bought off, for that turn, some at six, others ten, one at fifteen, thousand pounds in money, besides what offices, lands, and reversions, to others, that it is a mercy they gave not away the whole land, and liberty, of England.’— ‘The House of Commons has run almost to the end of their line, and are grown extreme chargeable to the King, and odious to the people. Lord St. John, the Marquis of Winchester’s son, one of the House of Commons, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Bennet, Lord Arlington’s brother, Sir Will. Bucknoll the brewer, all of the house, in fellowship with some others of the city, have farmed the old customs, with the new act of imposition upon wines, and the wine-licences, at six hundred thousand

(r) Epistles, &c. in the second Volume of Mr. Marvell’s Works, P. 61—63.

“ sand pounds a year, to begin this Michaelmas, You may be
 “ sure they have covenants not to be losers. They have signed
 “ and sealed ten thousand pounds a year more to the Dutchess of
 “ Cleveland (*s*), who has likewise near ten thousand pounds a
 “ year out of the new farm of the country excise of beer and ale,
 “ five thousand pounds a year out of the post-office, and, they
 “ say, the reversion of all the King’s leases, the reversion of
 “ all places in the custom-house, the green wax, and, indeed,
 “ what not? All promotions, *spiritual* and temporal, pass under
 “ her cognizance.”

In 1676, Mr. Marvell published a piece, intitled, “ Mr.
 “ Smirk, or the Divine in Mode. Being certain annotations on
 “ the animadversions on the Naked Truth. Together with a
 “ short historical essay, concerning general councils, creeds, and
 “ impositions in matters of religion.” These were first printed
 in the name of Andreas Rivetus, junior; and the first part of this
 publication was a vindication of a book, intitled, “ The Naked
 “ Truth;” written in favour of religious liberty, in opposition
 to the arrogant claims of assuming churchmen, and particularly
 against Dr. Turner, then Master of St. John’s College, Cam-
 bridge, a great defender of ecclesiastical tyranny, and the im-
 position of human creeds and articles of faith.

In 1677, Mr. Marvell published, “ An account of the growth
 “ of Popery, and arbitrary government, in England; more par-
 “ ticularly from the long prorogation of November, 1675, ending
 “ the 15th of February, 1676, till the last meeting of Parlia-
 “ ment, the 16th of July, 1677.” He begins this book with a
 commendation of the constitution of our government, shewing
 how happy we are under such wholesome laws, which, if faith-
 fully observed, must make a people happy, and a Monarch great;
 that

(*s*) The following account is given
 of this Lady, who was one of King
 Charles the Second’s favourite mis-
 tresses, by Mr. Granger. “ BARBA-
 RA VILLIERS, Dutchess of CLEVE-
 LAND, was sole daughter and heir of
 William Viscount Grandison, and
 wife to Roger Palmer, Esq; after-
 wards created Earl of Castlemaine.
 Her person was to the last degree
 beautiful; but she was in the same
 degree rapacious, prodigal, and re-
 vengeful. She had, for a considera-
 ble time, a great, and no less danger-
 ous influence over the King; as no
 woman of her age was more likely to
 beggar, or embroil a kingdom. She
 was the most inveterate enemy of the
 Earl of Clarendon, who thought it an
 indignity to his character to shew
 common civilities, much more to pay

his court, to the mistress of the great-
 est Monarch upon earth. It was im-
 possible that the King could be an ab-
 solute stranger to her intrigues; but
 he seems to have had as little delicacy
 with regard to the virtue of his mis-
 tresses, as his brother was observed
 to have in point of beauty. Though
 her pride was great, she is said to have
 been sometimes humble in her am-
 ours; and if we may believe the
 scandalous chronicles of this reign,
 she could descend to play-wrights,
 players, and rope-dancers. When
 the King’s affections were alienated
 from her, he, to pacify her, created
 her Dutchess of Cleveland.” She died
 in 1709. Granger’s Biographical
 History of England, Vol. II. P. 423,
 424.

that the subject and the King are equally under those laws ; and that he is no longer a King, than he continues to obey them. But yet, he observes, ‘ the Kings of England are in nothing inferior ‘ to other Princes, save in being more abridged from injuring ‘ their own subjects, but have as large a field, as any, of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own virtue, and to reward and encourage it in others. In short, there is nothing ‘ that comes nearer the divine perfection, than where the Monarch, as with us, enjoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to all that is evil.’ Our author also sets in a true light the miseries of a nation under a Papal, and the blessings of a Protestant administration. And after slightly tracing Popery from earlier times, he takes a view of the public transactions from the Dutch war in 1665, but dwells more particularly on the proceedings at home from November 1675, to July 1677. He relates the occasion and progress of the Dutch war; and shewed that the Papists, and the French in particular, were the true springs of all our counsels. This book, which is written with a great spirit of freedom, gave such offence to the Ministry, that the following order was published in the Gazette.

• Whereas there have been lately printed and published several
 • seditions and scandalous libels against the proceedings of both
 • Houses of Parliament, and other his Majesty’s Courts of Justice, to the dishonour of his Majesty’s government, and the
 • hazard of public peace, these are to give notice, that what person soever shall discover unto one of the Secretaries of State,
 • the printer, publisher, author, or hander to the press, of any of
 • the said libels, so that full evidence may be made thereof to a
 • Jury, without mentioning the informer, especially one libel,
 • intitled, *An Account of the Growth of Popery, &c.* and another
 • called, *A seasonable argument to all the grand juries, &c.* the
 • discoverer shall be rewarded as follows: he shall have fifty
 • pounds for such discovery, as aforesaid, of the printer, or the
 • publisher, of it from the press, and for the hander of it to the
 • press, one hundred pounds, &c. (1).” Mr. Marvell, however, does not appear to have been prosecuted on account of this publication: the Ministry, probably, could not prove him to be author of it.

By thus opposing the Ministry and their measures, he created himself many enemies, and rendered himself very obnoxious to the government; so that it is said his life was often threatened, and he was sometimes forced to conceal himself from public view. He died, in August, 1678, in the 58th year of his age, not without strong suspicions of being poisoned. He was interred in the church of St. Giles in the fields.

Mr. MARVELL was a man of considerable abilities and learning,

ing, and a warm and steady friend to the interests of civil and religious Liberty, which he defended with great vigour, and with equal courage. And it must ever be remembered to his honour, that he possessed a degree of public virtue, and an incorruptible integrity of mind, which in any age would have entitled him to the esteem and applause of his fellow citizens, and which in late times has been almost unexampled.

The ingenious Mr. Granger observes, that ‘ANDREW MARVELL was an admirable master of ridicule, which he exerted with great freedom in the cause of liberty and virtue. He never respected vice for being dignified, and dared to attack it wherever he found it, though on the Throne itself. There never was a more honest satirist. His pen was always properly directed, and had some effect, at least, upon such as were under no check or restraint from any laws human or divine. He hated corruption more than he dreaded poverty; and was so far from being venal, that he could not be bribed by the King into silence, when he scarce knew how to procure a dinner. His satires give us a higher idea of his patriotism, parts, and learning, than of his skill as a poet.’

Mr. John Aubrey, who personally knew Mr. Marvell, says, that ‘he was of a middling stature, pretty strong set, roundish faced, cherry-checked, hazel eyed, brown haired. He was, in his conversation, very modest, and of a very few words. He was wont to say, he would not drink high or freely with any one, with whom he would not trust his life.’ Mr. Cooke says, ‘Mr. Marvell was very reserved among those he did not well know, and a most delightful and improving companion among friends. He was always very temperate, and of an healthful and strong constitution, to the last.’ And the same writer observes, that he left a small paternal estate behind him (u).

In 1688, the inhabitants of the town of Kingston upon Hull, to testify their grateful remembrance of Mr. Marvell’s patriotic services, collected a sum of money to erect a monument to his memory over the place of his burial, in the church in which he was interred; but the parson of the parish would not permit either monument or inscription to be placed there. It may justly be thought strange, that any opposition should be made to the erecting a monument to the memory of a man of so much merit as Mr. Marvell, when monuments are frequently raised to such unworthy persons; but the truth probably was, that the parson was a bigot, and a friend to priestly and to princely tyranny; and therefore could not bear that any honour should be done to a man who was an enemy to both. The friends of truth and liberty have ever been honoured with the hatred of bigotted ecclesiastics.

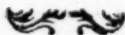
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(u) Biograph. Hist. of England, Vol. II. P. 257, 330.

The following epitaph was drawn up on this occasion, and intended to have been placed on the proposed monument:

- ‘ Near this place
- ‘ Lieth the body of ANDREW MARVELL, Esq;
- ‘ A man so endowed by nature,
- ‘ So improved by education, study, and travel,
- ‘ So consummated by experience and learning;
- ‘ That joining the most peculiar grace of wit,
- ‘ With a singular penetration and strength of judgment,
- ‘ And exercising all these in the whole course of his life
- ‘ With unalterable steadiness in the ways of virtue,
- ‘ He became the ornament and example of his age;
- ‘ Beloved by good men, feared by bad, admired by all;
- ‘ Though imitated, alas! by few;
- ‘ And scarce paralleled by any.
- ‘ But a tomb-stone can neither contain his character,
- ‘ Nor is marble necessary to transmit it to posterity.
- ‘ It is engraved in the minds of this generation,
- ‘ And will be always legible in his inimitable writings.
- ‘ Nevertheless,
- ‘ He having served near twenty years successively in Parliament,
- ‘ And that with such wisdom, dexterity, integrity, and courage,
- ‘ As became a true Patriot,
- ‘ The Town of Kingston upon Hull,
- ‘ From whence he was constantly deputed to that assembly,
- ‘ Lamenting in his death the public loss,
- Have erected this monument of their grief and gratitude.
- ‘ 1688.
- ‘ He died in the 58th year of his age,
- ‘ On the 16th day of August, 1678.
- ‘ *Heu fragile humanum genus! heu terrestria vana!*
- ‘ *Heu quam spectatum continet urna virum!*

Mr. Marvell's satires, and other poetical compositions, with some of his letters, were collected together by Mr. Thomas Cooke, and published in two volumes, 12mo. in 1726.



The Life of SIMON PATRICK, Bishop of Ely.

THIS learned Prelate was the son of a mercer at Gainfborough in Lincolnshire, where he was born on the 8th of September, 1626. He was educated in Queen's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1647, and the following year was chosen Fellow of his College. He took the degree of Master of Arts in 1651, and about the same time received holy orders from Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, at Higham, to which place that prelate had retired after his ejection from his Bishopric. He was soon after taken as Chaplain into the family of Sir Walter St. John of Battersea, who gave him that Living about the beginning of the year 1658, upon which his Fellowship was declared void.

About this time he published in 8vo. his "*Mensa Mystica*;" or, a Discourse concerning the Sacrament of the LORD's Supper: to which is added, A Discourse concerning Baptism." And in 1659, he published in 12mo. a piece, intitled, "The Heart's Ease: or a remedy against all Troubles. With a consolatory Discourse, particularly directed to those who have lost their friends and dear relations." This had passed through many editions.

In 1661, he was elected by a majority of fellows Master of Queen's College, in opposition to a royal mandamus, appointing Mr. Anthony Sparrow for that place; but the affair being brought before the King and Council, was soon decided in favour of Sparrow: and some of the fellows who had sided with Mr. Patrick were ejected. However, the following year the rectory of St. Paul's Covent-garden, was given him by the Earl of Bedford; and he endeared himself much to the parishioners by his excellent preaching and good example, and particularly by continuing all the while among them during the plague in 1665. It is said further, that out of a special regard to them, he refused the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, which was offered him, lest it should take him off too much from his parish (w).

As he had some reasons of dislike to his old College, when
VOL. VI. 6. 2 Q he

(w) Vid. Biograph. Britan. and New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo.

he wanted to proceed in Divinity, he entered himself in Christ's College in Oxford; and there, on the 27th of June, 1666, was incorporated Bachelor in Divinity; and, on the 5th of July following, admitted Doctor of Divinity. And about that time, he was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty.

In 1668, he published in 4to. 'The Parable of the Pilgrim: written to a friend.' And the same year, in 8vo. 'An Exposition of the Ten Commandments.' And in 1669, he published in 8vo. 'A friendly Debate between two Neighbours, the one a Conformist, the other a Nonconformist, &c.' This was written against by the dissenters, some of whom were much exasperated by it; and it must be confessed, that though in this piece Dr. Patrick very justly exposes the extravagancies of some enthusiastic dissenters, yet he is far from answering the objections of the more rational and consistent nonconformists.

In 1672, he was installed Prebendary of Westminster; and was some time Sub-dean of that church; and in 1679, he was made Dean of Peterborough. During King James the Second's reign, he distinguished himself by his zeal in defence of the Protestant religion against the attacks of Popery. The King, in order to gain over, or at least to mollify him, sent for him; and, after some very civil discourse, desired him to remit of his zeal against his church, and quietly enjoy his own religion. But the Doctor answered with a proper resolution, "That he could not give up " a religion so well proved as that of the Protestants."

In 1686, Dr. Patrick and Dr. Jane had a conference with two Romish Priests in the King's presence, who was desirous of bringing over the Earl of Rochester to Popery. Of this conference the following account is given by Bishop Kennet. 'Great endeavours were used to bring Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, Lord High Treasurer, in King James's reign, to embrace Popery; but in vain. At length, his Lordship being prest and fatigued by the King's intreaties, told his Majesty, "That to let " him see it was not through any prejudice of education, or obstinacy, that he persevered in his religion, he would freely " consent to hear some Protestant divines dispute with some " Popish Priests, and promised to side with the conquerors." Thereupon the King appointed a conference to be held at Whitehall, at which his Majesty and several persons of honour were present with the Earl of Rochester. The Protestant Champions were, Dr. Patrick, and Dr. William Jane, the two Chaplains then in waiting. Those on the Popish side, were one Gifford, a Doctor of the Sorbonne (x); and Mr. Tilden, who
having

(x) Mr. Granger informs us, that this Gifford, who was consecrated a Prelate of the church of Rome, in the banquetting house at Whitehall, in the last year of King James's reign, died at Hammer-smith in the beginning of

the year 1734. at upwards of ninety years of age. His heart was, according to his direction, sent to Doway, where he received his education. Biograph. Hist. of England, Vol. II. P. 526.

having turned Papist at Lisbon, went under the name of Dr. Godden: and the subject of their dispute was, *The Rule of Faith*, and, *The proper Judge in Controversies*. This conference was very long; and at last the Romish Doctors were pressed with so much strength of reason and authority against them, that they were really put to silence. Whereupon the Earl of Rochester openly declared, "That the victory the Protestant divines had gained, made no alteration in his mind, being beforehand convinced of the truth of his religion, and firmly resolved never to forsake it." The King going off abruptly, was heard to say, "he never saw a bad cause so well, nor a good one so ill maintained."

Dr. Patrick opposed, to the utmost of his power, the reading of King James's declaration for liberty of conscience, which was published in order to favour the Papists. He also assisted Dr. Tennison, in setting up a school at St. Martin's, to confront the Popish one, opened at the Savoy, for seducing the youth of the town into Popery. At the Revolution, he was advanced to the Bishopric of Chichester, vacant by the death of Dr. John Lake. He was consecrated on the 13th of October, 1687. Soon after, he was appointed one of the commissioners for reviewing the liturgy; and was also employed, with others of the new Bishops, in settling the affairs of the church of Ireland. In 1691, he was translated to the Bishopric of Ely, vacant by the deprivation of Dr. Francis Turner for refusing to take the oaths. He discharged the duties of his episcopal office with much application and integrity, and to the last appears to have prosecuted his studies with great assiduity. He died at Ely on the 31st of May, 1707, in the eighty-first year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral, where a monument was soon after erected to his memory. He was a man of very extensive learning and eminent abilities, and possessed great merit as a writer. His devotional compositions have been much applauded, and his paraphrases and commentaries on a considerable part of the Scriptures are in great esteem. Bishop Burnet ranks him among those worthy and eminent Clergymen, in this nation, who deserved a high character, and were indeed an honour to the church, and to the age in which they lived.

Bishop Patrick published a great number of sermons, sundry tracts against Popery, and many other pieces, besides those which have been before mentioned. His paraphrases and commentaries on the Scriptures are as follows: 1. *The Book of Job paraphrased*. Lond. 1679. 8vo. 2. *The Book of Psalms paraphrased*, with arguments to each Psalm, 2 Vols. 8vo. Lond. 1680. 3. *The Proverbs of Solomon paraphrased*. Lond. 1683. 8vo. 4. *A Paraphrase upon the Book of Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon*. Lond. 1685. 8vo. These paraphrases have been reprinted several times in 8vo. as also in two Volumes, 4to. and one Volume, Folio. 5. *A commentary on the first Book of*

Moses, called Genesis. Lond. 1695. 4to. This was afterwards followed with commentaries upon the rest of the historical Books of the Old Testament, to the end of Esther: the whole being comprized in nine Volumes in 4to. They were re-printed in two Volumes, Folio, in 1727.



The Life of JEREMY TAYLOR, Bishop of Down and Connor.

THIS excellent Prelate was born at Cambridge, but in what year is not known. David Lloyd says, that his father was a barber. However, at thirteen years of age he was admitted in Gonville and Caius College, where he continued till he had taken the degree of Master of Arts. Afterwards entering into holy orders, he occasionally supplied, three or four times, the place of Mr. Riiden, who had been his chamber-fellow, at the lecture in St. Paul's church, London; when his abilities were displayed so advantageously as to attract the notice of Archbishop Laud, who procured him to be elected Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford, in 1636 (y). Soon after, endeavours were used by some Romish Emissaries to seduce him to Popery; but a sermon which he preached at St. Mary's on the 5th of November, 1638, convinced him that these efforts were vain.

Archbishop Laud continued to patronize Mr. Taylor, and not only made him his Chaplain, but gave, or procured for him, the Rectory of Uppingham in Rutlandshire. He did not, however, upon his acceptance of this Living, immediately leave the University; but continued there a year or two longer, for his further improvement. About 1640, he quitted it, and his fellowship; and marrying, settled at his rectory, where he was much admired for his excellent preaching (z).

In 1642, he was created Doctor of Divinity at Oxford; being then

(y) Mr. Walter Harris observes, that "his promotion to this fellowship was against the statutes of the College in two respects: first, as he had exceeded the years, within which the statutes make candidates capable of election; and next, as he had not been of three years standing in the University of Oxford, being only just then admitted into it. However, being a person of shining parts, and likely to prove an ornament to the University, he was dispensed with; and thereby obtained in that house a great share of the casuistical learning,

for which he was afterwards remarkably eminent. The motive which induced the Archbishop of Canterbury to settle him in this retirement, was the observation he had made of his promising genius, and that he might, by these means, enjoy more leisure and opportunities for study and improvement, than was consistent with the active life of a parish minister." *Vid.* Harris's Translation and Continuation of Sir James Ware's History of the Bishops of Ireland, P. 209. edit. Dublin, 1739.

(z) Biograph. Britan.

then Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles I. and a frequent Preacher before him and the Court, whilst they were in that city. In the station of a Chaplain, he attended his Majesty in several campaigns; but still continued to prosecute his studies, as well as his situation would permit him.

After the death of King Charles I. Dr. Taylor's Living being sequestered, he retired into Wales, where he met with a kind reception from Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carberry, at Golden Grove in Carnarthenshire, where he is said to have taught school for the maintenance of himself and his children. It was in this solitude that he wrote several excellent books; one of which, a devotional work, he styles, "*The Golden Grove*," from the place where he wrote it (*a*). At this time he lost three of his sons, youths of great hopes, in a short space; which touched him so sensibly, that it made him desirous to leave the country. From thence he went to London, and for a time officiated in a private congregation of Royalists, which exposed him to some danger: for some of the Presbyterians then in power, were unjust and inconsistent enough, to endeavour to deprive the Episcopalians of that liberty of conscience, to which all men have an unquestionable claim, and for which they had themselves warmly contended.

While Dr. Taylor was in this situation, he fell into the acquaintance of Edward, Lord Viscount Conway, who invited him into Ireland, and afforded him a pleasant and commodious retreat at Portmore, a place adapted for contemplation and study; where he continued till the Restoration, when he went over to England to congratulate the King. He was soon after made Bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland. He was consecrated on the 27th of January, 1661, in St. Patrick's church in Dublin; and was also made a Privy Counsellor. About the middle of the same year, the King likewise granted him the administration of the Bishopric of Dromore. He discharged the duties of his episcopal office with great care, diligence, and fidelity; and gave excellent rules and directions to his clergy, of which he taught them the practice by his own example.

The University of Dublin manifested their particular regard for him, by desiring to have him for their Vice-Chancellor; which honourable office he held to the day of his death. He died at Lisburne on the 13th of August, 1667, and was buried in the choir of the church of Dromore, which he had rebuilt at his own expence.

BISHOP TAYLOR was a man of great genius, and very extensive learning. He was one of the greatest divines of the age in which he lived, intimately acquainted with the Sacred Writings, and well read in the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers, and the Doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin

(*a*) Harris's Edit. of Ware's Hist. of the Irish Bishops, P. 209, 210.

Latin church. He was also skilled in the Civil and Canon Law, and well versed in all the branches of polite literature. He had thoroughly digested all the antient moralists, and the Greek and Roman Poets and Orators; and was conversant with the best French and Italian writers.

His piety was steady, rational, and fervent; and his practice of the several duties of Christianity truly exemplary. He was remarkable for his humility, and was always courteous and affable, and easy of access, even to persons of the lowest rank. He never thought pride and arrogance necessary to keep up the dignity of the episcopal character; but was of a meek, gentle, and lowly temper. He was equally distinguished for his benevolence and humanity; so that, excepting moderate portions to his three daughters, he spent nearly all his income in acts of generosity, charity, and public spirit.

His person is said to have been extremely handsome, and his voice was uncommonly harmonious. He excelled greatly as an orator; and his sweet and obliging disposition, and his polite manners, joined to the acuteness of his wit, and the extent of his knowledge, rendered his private conversation equally delightful and instructive.

He was the author of many books, the most considerable of which are the following:

I. A Treatise of the sacred order and offices of episcopacy, by divine institution, apostolical tradition, and catholic practice, &c. Oxford. 1642, and 1647. 4to.

II. A Discourse concerning Prayer *ex tempore*, or, by pretence of the Spirit, in justification of authorized and set forms of Liturgy. Lond. 1646, and 1647. 4to.

III. The Golden Grove: or, a manual of daily prayers and litanies, fitted to the days of the week; together with a short method of peace and holiness.

IV. A Discourse of the Liberty of Propheying. Shewing, the unreasonableness of prescribing to other men's faith, and the iniquity of prosecuting differing opinions. Lond. 1647. 4to. In this book he pleads with great eloquence and strength of reason for liberty of conscience. It is, indeed, an excellent treatise, and hath been much and deservedly applauded by the friends to religious freedom, and the common rights of mankind, though it hath been censured by bigotted zealots, and the advocates for ecclesiastical tyranny.

V. The great exemplar of sanctity, and holy life, according to the Christian institution, described in the life and death of JESUS CHRIST. In three parts. Lond. 1645. 4to. Reprinted afterwards several times in Folio.

VI. Fifty-two Sermons preached at Golden-grove. With a Supplement of eleven Sermons, preached after the Restoration. Folio. 1678.

VII. A Discourse of Baptism, its institution and efficacy upon

all believers. Together with a consideration of the practice of the church in baptizing infants, and the practice justified. 1652. 4^{to}.

VIII. *The Rule and Excise of Holy Living*: in which are described the means and instruments of obtaining every virtue, and the remedies against every vice, and considerations serving to the resisting all temptations, &c.-- *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying*: in which are described the means and instruments of preparing ourselves and others respectively for a blessed death. 1759. 8vo. Both parts are dedicated to Richard Earl of Carbery; and they have passed through many editions.

IX. *Unum Necessarium*: or, the doctrine and practice of Repentance rescued from popular errors. Lond. 1655. 8vo.

X. Measures and offices of friendship: in a letter to the most ingenious and excellent Mrs. Katharine Philips (*b*). Lond. 1657.

XI. *A Collection of Polemical Discourses*; wherein the Church of England is defended in many material points. Lond. 1674. Folio.

XII. *The Ephesian Matron*. Lond. 1659. 12mo.

XIII. *Ductor Dubitantium*; or, the rule of conscience in all her general measures; serving as a great instrument for the determination of cases of conscience. In four Books. Lond. 1660. two Volumes, Folio.

XIV. *A Discourse of artificial Beauty in point of conscience between two ladies*. Lond. 1662. 8vo.

XV. *Contemplations on the State of Man in this Life, and in that which is to come*. Lond. 1684. 8vo.

XVI. *The Worthy Communicant*. Lond. 1660. 8vo.

XVII. *Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Dioceses of Down and Connor*, Dublin, 1661. 8vo.

(*b*) See an extract from this Work, P. 263 of this Volume.



The Life of Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

ROGER L'ESTRANGE was the youngest son of Sir Hamond L'Estrange, Bart. He was born at Hunstanton-hall in Norfolk, his father's seat, on the 17th of December, 1616. He received a very liberal education, which he is supposed to have completed at Cambridge. His father being a zealous Royalist, took care to instil the same principles into his son, which young Roger eagerly embraced. And accordingly in 1639, he attended King Charles I. in his expedition into Scotland. His attachment to the Royal cause, some years after, nearly cost him his life. For, in the year 1644, soon after the Earl of Manchester had reduced the town of Lynn in Norfolk to the authority of the Parliament, Mr. L'Estrange, thinking he had some interest in the place, as his father had been governor of it, formed a scheme for surprizing it; and received a commission from the King, constituting him governor thereof in case of success: but his design being betrayed by two of his confederates, he was seized, tried, and condemned, and received sentence as a traitor (c).

L'Etrange has himself given an account of this affair in the following terms. ' My judgment led me to the King's party, and that I served without any other aim or benefit than the discharge of my duty. In 1644, I was betrayed by a brace of villains (by name Lemau and Haggar) upon a treaty to surprize Lynn Regis: the former of these had been at Oxford, and there solicited and obtained the promise of a command at sea; and both of them were bound up under an oath of secrecy and fidelity, as rank as words could make it. Being seized, and his Majesty's commission found about me, I was hurried away first to Lynn, thence to London, and there transmitted to the city court-martial for my trial (where two prime men were, a salesman and an ostler;) in this extremity nothing was left unsaid that might infame me, and with so strong a confidence too that the best friends I had were staggered at it. I was at last brought to the bar, and charged first as a spy, then as a traitor, with all the circumstances of rudeness and severity imaginable: upon that bearing, the court was inclining to acquit me, it was proposed, and carried, under pretence of favour to me,

Vol. VI. 6. 2 R ' that

‘ that judgment might be deferred, and two days longer given
 ‘ me for the advantage of my defence: in this interim they had
 ‘ packed a committee, and then condemned me as a traitor,
 ‘ many persons contributing to this vote that never heard one
 ‘ syllable of my trial. My sentence being passed, I was then
 ‘ cast into Newgate; whence I dispatched a petitionary appeal
 ‘ to the Lords, the time appointed for my execution being the
 ‘ Thursday following: but, with great difficulty, I got a re-
 ‘ prieve for fourteen days, and after that, prolonged for a farther
 ‘ hearing. In this condition of expectancy I lay almost four
 ‘ years a prisoner, with only an order betwixt me and the gal-
 ‘ lows. I am the more particular in this, because I have so
 ‘ many honourable witnesses to prove the truth of every syllable
 ‘ I say.’

Whilst L’Estrange lay in prison, he was visited by Mr. Thomas Thorowgood and Mr. Arrowsmith, two of the assembly of divines, who very kindly offered him their utmost interest, if he would make some petitionary acknowledgment, and submit to take the covenant, but he refused. After thirty months spent in vain endeavours, either to come to an hearing, or to put himself into an exchangeable condition, he printed a state of his case, dedicating his charge and defence as an appeal from the court-martial to the Lords and Commons; he intitled it, “L’Estrange’s
 “ appeal from the court-martial to the Parliament.”

About the time of the Kentish insurrection, in 1648, he got out of prison, with the keeper’s privity, as he tells us himself, and went into Kent, and retiring to the house of Mr. Hales, a young gentleman, heir to a great estate in that county, he spirited him up to undertake to head the insurrection; but this design, being precipitantly entered into, and imprudently conducted, failed of success. After this miscarriage, Mr. L’Estrange, with much difficulty, escaped beyond sea, where he continued till about the latter end of August, 1653; when, taking his opportunity, in the change of the government, upon Cromwell’s dissolution of the long parliament, he returned into England, and caused a paper to be presented to the Council at Whitehall to this effect: that, finding himself within the act of indemnity, he thought it convenient to give them notice of his return. Soon after this he was summoned, on the 7th of September, to attend the Council-board; which he accordingly did; and from this time his affairs began to wear a more favourable aspect. But being told by one of the Commissioners, that his case was not comprehended in the act of indemnity, he concluded that his best course would be to speak to Cromwell himself, as he did at last in the Cock-pit. And Cromwell then talked to him of the restlessness of the Royal party, telling him that they would do well to give some testimony of their quiet and peaceable intentions; adding, that rigour was not at all his inclination, but that he was but one man, and could do but little himself. Shortly
 after,

after, he received his discharge, by an order which was dated the 31st of October, 1653.

After his discharge, he appears to have lived entirely free from any disturbance from the persons then in power, to the time of the Restoration. But he was then taken little notice of, either by Charles II. or his ministers; which he very much resented. However, he was afterwards appointed to a profitable but odious office, that of Licenser of the Press; which post he held till a little before the Revolution.

In the mean time, he published several treatises in support of the measures of government; and in 1663, he set up a newspaper, called, "The Public Intelligencer, and the News;" the first of which came out on Monday the 31st of August, and the second on Thursday the 3d of September in that year, and continued to be published twice a week, Mondays and Thursdays, till Friday the 19th of January, 1665, when he laid it down on the design then concerted of publishing the London Gazette; the first of which papers made its appearance on Saturday the 4th of February following (d).

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After

(d) Before L'Estrange set up his paper, intitled, "The Public Intelligencer, and the News," Henry Muddiman and Giles Dury had been authorized to publish their intelligence, every Monday and Thursday, under the titles of *Parliamentary Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus*; which were continued upwards of three years. These had been preceded by the *Mercurii Politici*, published during the commonwealth, and under the protectorate of Cromwell, and for some time after; which were written by Marchamont Nedham, of whom we shall here give some account.

MARCHAMONT NEDHAM was born at Burford in Oxfordshire, in the year 1620. At the age of fourteen he was sent to All Soul's College, and in 1637, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Afterwards repairing to London, he was for some time an Usher in Merchant-Taylor's school. After which, as Anthony Wood informs us, "he became an under-clerk in Gray's Inn, where, by virtue of a good legible court-hand, he obtained a comfortable subsistence." He had not been long in this employ before he began a weekly paper, under the title of *Mercurius Britannicus*, written on the side of the parliament, which made him very popular. About the same time he stu-

died phisic, and in 1645 began to practise; and by this, and his political writings, supported a genteel figure. However, according to Mr. Wood, he soon after changed sides. "So it was, (says that writer) that whether by his imprisonment in the Gatehouse for his aspersions of his Majesty, in the opening or explaining his cabinet letters, an. 1645, or for some scorn or affronts put upon him, he forthwith left the *blest cause*, and obtaining the favour of a known Royalist to introduce him into his Majesty's presence at Hampton Court, an. 1647, he then and there knelt before him, and desired forgiveness for what he had written against him and his cause: which being readily granted, he kissed his Majesty's hand, and soon after wrote *Mercurius Pragmaticus*: which being very witty, satirical against the Presbyterians, and full of loyalty, made him known to and admired by the bravadoes of wits of those times. But he being narrowly sought after, left London, and for a time sculked at Minster Lovell, near Burford in Oxfordshire, in the house there of Dr. Peter Heylin. At length being found out, imprisoned in Newgate, and brought into danger of his life, Lenthall, the speaker of the House of Commons, who

"knew

After the dissolution of the second Parliament of Charles II. L'Estrange set up a paper in vindication of the government, intitled, "The Observator;" in which, Mr. Granger says, "he went at great lengths to vindicate the measures of the court, as were ever gone by any mercenary Journalist." And Mr. Richard Baxter, in his Narrative of his own life, says, "Many of the malignant clergy and laity, especially L'Estrange, the Observator, and such others, do with so great confidence publish the most notorious falsehoods, that I must confess it hath greatly depressed my esteem of most history, and of human nature." The Observator was carried on some years, and the papers were formed into three volumes.

As L'Estrange was a zealous advocate for despotism, and laboured much in that cause during the reign of Charles II. so he continued to support the measures of James II. from whom, as some reward of his services, he received the honour of Knighthood. He wrote strenuously in defence even of the dispensing power, claimed by that weak and arbitrary prince, and went such lengths in defending his most obnoxious proceedings, that he was accused by some of having become a proselyte to the church of Rome. But this accusation appears to have given him much uneasiness, which was heightened by his daughter's embracing Popery. Hereupon, to clear himself from this aspersions, he drew up a solemn declaration, directed to his kinsman, Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, in which he disclaimed any knowledge of his

"knew him and his relations well, and John Bradshaw, president of the High Court of Justice, treated him fairly, and not only got his pardon, but with promises of rewards and places, persuaded him to change his stile once more, meaning for the Independents, then carrying all before them. So that being brought over, he wrote *Mercurius Politicus*." This was a weekly paper, which, as hath been observed before, was continued some years; and besides news, contained many discourses against monarchy, and in behalf of a free state. But a little before the Restoration, the publication of this paper was prohibited by an order from the council of state.

After the Restoration, Mr. Nedham was obliged for some time to conceal himself, till, as Wood expresses it, by "money given to an hungry courtier, he obtained his pardon under the great seal." After this he practised as a physician among the dissenters, from which he derived an handsome subsistence to the time of his

death, which happened suddenly in 1678, at the house of one Kidder, in Devereux-court, near Temple-bar, London. He was a man of parts and learning, and an able writer; his productions were much read in his own time, and have since often been quoted and spoken of with much approbation, by very good judges of political compositions.

He was the author of a great number of pieces, among which are the following. 1. The case of the kingdom stated, according to the proper interests of the several parties engaged, &c. The third edition of this was printed at London in 1647, in 4to. 2. The case of the commonwealth of England stated, &c. Lond. 1649, in two parts 4to. and again in 1650, in 4to. 3. Discourse of the excellency of a free state above kingly government, Lond. 1650. 4to. 4. Discourse concerning schools and school-masters. Lond. 1663. 4to. 5. *Modula Medicina*; a plea for the free profession and renovation of the art of physic, Lond. 1665. 8vo.

his daughter's design of becoming a Papist, which he protested he utterly disapproved; and he asserted in the strongest terms his own attachment to the church of England. He received the sacrament as an attestation of the truth of this declaration, at the time of publishing it; which is supposed to have been in the year 1690.

Among others who attacked the character of Sir Roger E'Estrange, was the noted Miles Prance (e). And Echard, in his History of England, says, that Dr. Sharp told him, when Archbishop of York, that whilst he was rector of St. Giles in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, L'Estrange, Mr. Richard Baxter, and Miles Prance, on a certain sacrament-day, all approached the communion-table together; L'Estrange at one end, Prance at the other, and Baxter in the middle: that these two, by their situation, were administered to before L'Estrange, who, when it came to his turn, taking the bread in his hand, asked the Doctor if he knew who that man (pointing to Prance) on the other side of the rails was; to which the Doctor answering in the negative, L'Estrange replied, 'That is Miles Prance; and I here challenge him, and solemnly declare before GOD and this congregation, that what that man has sworn or published concerning me is totally and absolutely false; and may this sacrament be my damnation if all this declaration be not true.' Echard adds, 'Prance was silent, Mr. Baxter took special notice of it, and Dr. Sharpe declared, "He would have refused Prance the sacrament, had the challenge been made in time."

Sir Roger L'Estrange met with no favour from the court after the Revolution; and Queen Mary is said to have had a great contempt for him. He died on the 11th of September, 1704, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. He was interred in the church of St. Giles in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, where there is an inscription to his memory.

He was the author of many political tracts, and also published the following translations. 1. Josephus's Works. 2. Cicero's Offices. 3. Seneca's Morals. 4. Erasmus's Colloquies. 5. Æsop's Fables. 6. Quevedo's Visions. 7. Bona's Guide to Eternity. 8. Five Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier.

Mr. Thomas Gordon, author of the independent Whig, &c. says, that 'the productions of Sir Roger L'Estrange are not fit to be read by any who have taste or good breeding: they are full

" of

(e) Miles Prance was a silversmith, who was accused by one Wren, and also by William Bedloe, of being an accomplice in the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. This he at first strenuously denied. But he afterwards confessed himself guilty, being prevailed upon to do so, as it is said, by the Earl of Shaftesbury; and also

accused two Popish priests, together with Green, Berry, and Hill, of being concerned in the same crime. However, his testimony was not very consistent; and he was tried and convicted of perjury; but having retracted his evidences in several particulars relative to the plot, his punishment was remitted.

‘ of technical terms, of phrases picked up in the streets, from apprentices and porters; and nothing can be more low and nauseous. His sentences, besides their grossness, are lively notions, which can never be translated, (a sure way to try language) and will hardly bear repetition. “ Between hawk and buzzard; clawed him with kindness; alert and friskly; guzzling down tipple; would not keep touch; a queer put; lay cursed hard upon their gizzard; cram his gut; conceited noddy; old chuff; and the like; are some of Roger’s choice flowers. Yet this man was reckoned a master, nay, a reformer of the English language: a man who writ no language, nor does it appear that he understood any; witness his miserable translations of Cicero’s Offices and Josephus; that of the latter is a version full of mistakes, wretched and low, from an easy and polite one of Monsr. D’Andilly. Sir Roger is among the several hands who attempted Tacitus, and the third book of the History is said to be done by him. He knew not a word of it, but what he has taken from Sir Henry Savile, and him he has wretchedly perverted and mangled. Sir Roger had a genius for buffoonery and a rabble, and higher he never went. His stile and his thoughts are too vulgar for a sensible artificer. To put his books into the hands of youth or boys, for whom Æsop, by him burlesqued, was designed, is to vitiate their taste, and to give them a poor low turn of thinking; not to mention the vile and slavish principles of the man. He has not only turned Æsop’s plain beasts from the simplicity of nature into jesters and buffoons, but out of the mouths of animals, inured to the boundless freedom of air and deserts, has drawn doctrines of servitude, and a defence of tyranny.’ These observations are somewhat severe; but it must be confessed that, in general, they are well founded. — Mr. Granger observes, that L’Estrange was ‘ one of the great corrupters of our language, by excluding vowels and other letters not commonly pronounced, and introducing pert and affected phrases,’



The Life of WILLIAM LLOYD, Bishop of Worcester.

WILLIAM LLOYD was born at Tilehurst in Berkshire, on the 18th of August, 1627. He was son to Mr. Richard Lloyd, rector of Tilehurst, and vicar of Sunning, in that county. He was initiated in grammar and classical learning by his father, under whom he made so great a progress, that he understood Greek and Latin, and somewhat of Hebrew, at eleven years of age; and was entered, at the beginning of the year 1639, a student of Oriel College in Oxford; from whence, in the following year, he was removed to a scholarship in Jesus College. In 1642, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then left the University, which was at that time garrisoned for the use of the King. But after the surrender of it to the Parliament, he returned to it again, was chosen Fellow of his College, and commenced Master of Arts in 1746 (f).

In 1648, he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Skinner, Bishop of Oxford; and afterwards became tutor to the children of Sir William Backhouse, Esq; of Swallowfield in Berkshire. In 1654, upon the ejection of Dr. Pordage by the Presbyterian committee, he was presented to the rectory of Bradfield, in the same county, by Elias Ashmole, Esq; (g) patron of that Living in right of his wife. Accordingly he was examined by the Tryers, who were then appointed to enquire into the qualifications of those who offered themselves as candidates for the ministry, and received their approbation; but designs being formed against him by two ministers at Reading, who endeavoured to bring in Dr. Temple, pretending the advowson was in Sir Humphrey Forster, he chose to resign his presentation to Mr. Ashmole, rather than engage in a contest.

In

(f) Biograph. Britan. and New and Gen. Dict. 8vo. See also Wood's Athen. Oxon.

(g) ELIAS ASHMOLÉ was the only son of Simon Ashmole, saddler, of the city of Litchfield, in Staffordshire. He was born on the 23d of May, 1617. It happened that his

mother's sister was married to James Paget, Esq; Puisne Baron of the Exchequer, and his second son Thomas being extremely fond of his cousin Ashmole, proved the cause of his future preferment. On this gentleman's motion he was taught music as well as grammar, and having a genius for it,

In 1656, he was ordained Priest by Dr. Brownrig, Bishop of Exeter; and the same year he went to Wadham College in Oxford, as governor to John Backhouse, Esq; who was a gentleman-commoner there; and with him he continued till 1659. The year following, he was incorporated Matter of Arts at Cambridge; and, about the same time, was made a prebendary of the collegiate church of Rippon in Yorkshire. In 1666, he was appointed

it, became a chorister in the cathedral at Litchfield. When he was sixteen years of age he was sent for up to London, and taken into Baron Paget's family; and applied himself to the study of the law, in which he made a considerable progress; employing his leisure hours in perfecting himself in music, and other genteel accomplishments.

In the year 1638, he became a solicitor in Chancery; he entered into the married state the same year; and in 1641, was sworn an attorney in the Court of Common Pleas. But the civil war breaking out, he retired into Cheshire: and towards the end of the year 1644, he went to Oxford, the chief residence of the King at that time, where he entered himself of Brazen-nose College, and applied himself with great diligence to the study of natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy. In 1645, he became one of the gentlemen of the ordinance in the garrison at Oxford, from whence he removed to Worcester, where he was commissioner, receiver, and register of the excise; and soon after captain in Lord Ashley's regiment, as well as comptroller of the ordinance. In 1646, he was elected a brother of the free and accepted masons; and in some of his manuscripts there are said to be many curious particulars relating to the history of this society.

The King's affairs being now grown desperate, after the surrender of the garrison of Worcester, Mr. Ashmole retired again to Cheshire, where he continued a short time, and then repaired to London. Upon his arrival in town, he became acquainted with those eminent astrologers Sir James Moore, Mr. Lilley, and Mr. Booker, who received him into their fraternity, and elected him steward of their annual feast. In 1647 he went down

into Berkshire, where he lived an agreeable and retired life, in the village of Englefield. His first wife had now been dead some years, and he here became acquainted with the Lady Mainwaring, to whom he was married in 1649. Soon after his marriage, he went and settled in London, where his house was frequented by all the learned and ingenious men of that age.

In 1650, he published a treatise written by Dr. Arthur Dee, relating to the philosopher's stone; together with another tract on the same subject, by an unknown author. He did not put his name, as editor, to this publication, but affixed to it a fictitious name, viz. James Hasolle, Esq. About the same time he was employed in preparing for the press a complete collection of the works of such English chemists, as had till then remained in manuscript. This undertaking was attended with great labour and expence, and the work was published towards the close of the year 1652. He proposed at first to have carried it on to several volumes, but he afterwards dropped this design, and seemed to take a different turn in his studies. In the mean time, his marriage with Lady Mainwaring involved him in many law-suits with other people, and at last produced a dispute between themselves, which came to an hearing on the 8th of October, 1657, in the court of Chancery; and on this occasion Serjeant Maynard observed, that in the eight hundred sheets of depositions taken on the part of the lady, there was not so much as a bad word proved against Mr. Ashmole; so that her bill was dismissed, and she delivered back to her husband.

He had now for some time addicted himself to the study of antiquity and records; which recommended him

appointed Chaplain to the King; and in December, 1667, was collated to a prebend of Salisbury; and about the same time he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. In 1668, he was presented by the crown to the vicarage of St. Mary's in Reading; and, on the 13th of June following, installed arch-
VOL. VI. 7. 2 S deacon

him to the intimate acquaintance of Sir William Dugdale, whom about this time he attended in his survey of the Fens, and was very useful to him in that undertaking. In 1658, he made a journey to Oxford, where he was extremely well received, and where he undertook the making a full and distinct description of the coins given to the public library there by Archbishop Laud. Upon the restoration of Charles II. he was introduced to that Prince, who received him very graciously, and on the 18th of June, 1660, bestowed on him the place of Windsor Herald; and a few days after he appointed him to draw up a description of his medals, which were accordingly delivered into his possession, and King Henry the VIIth's closet was assigned for his use, being also allowed his diet at court. On the 3d of September, the same year, he was made a commissioner of excise; and on the 2d of November he was called to the bar in Middle-Temple Hall. On the 15th of January, 1661, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society; and on the 9th of February following, the King signed a warrant for constituting him Secretary of Surinam in the West Indies. On the 9th of June, 1668, he was appointed by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, accomptant-general, and country-accomptant in the excise. His second wife, Lady Mainwaring, dying on the first of April in the same year, he soon after made his addresses to Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to his friend Sir William Dugdale; and he was married to this lady in Lincoln's Inn chapel, on the 3d of November, by Dr. Lloyd. In 1669, the University of Oxford, in consideration of the many favours they had received from Mr. Ashmole, created him doctor of physic by diploma.

In 1672, he published, in folio, his "Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the most noble Order of the

"Garter." This was his capital performance, and he presented a copy of it to Charles II. who received it very respectfully, and soon after granted to Mr. Ashmole, as a mark of his approbation of the work, and of his personal esteem for him, a privy seal for four hundred pounds out of the custom of paper. In January, 1675, he resigned his office of Windsor Herald. It was afterwards proposed to raise him to the post of Garter King at Arms; but he declined that office, and it was conferred upon Sir William Dugdale. On the 26th of January, 1679, a fire broke out in the Middle Temple, in the next chamber to Mr. Ashmole's; by which accident he lost a noble library, with a collection of nine thousand coins, antient and modern, and a vast repository of seals, charters, and other antiquities and curiosities; but his manuscripts and his most valuable gold medals were fortunately at his house at Lambeth.

In 1683, Mr. Ashmole presented to the University of Oxford his large and curious collection of rarities of various kinds. This benefaction was considerably augmented by the addition of his manuscripts and library at his death. The whole is preserved in that stately edifice at Oxford, which is now styled ASHMOLÆ'S MUSEUM. He died on the 18th of May, 1692, in the seventy-sixth year of his age; and was interred in the church of Great Lambeth in Surrey, where a black marble stone was laid over his grave, with a Latin inscription. He was a man of great worth and learning, an able antiquarian, and well skilled in chemistry, heraldy, and natural philosophy. He was the author of several pieces, besides those publications which have been already mentioned; and left sundry manuscripts behind him. The "Diary of his Life," written by himself, was published at London in 1717, in 12mo.

deacon of Merioneth. In 1672, he was also installed Dean of Bangor; and in 1674, appointed residentiary of Sarum. And about this time he published several learned treatises against Popery. In 1676, he was instituted to the vicarage of St. Martin's in the Fields, Westminster, and in 1680 he was promoted to the Bishopric of St. Asaph.

In 1684, Bishop Lloyd published his "History of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian religion." This book was occasioned by the disputes concerning Episcopacy, particularly David Blondel's treatise upon the subject. In 1688, our author was one of the seven Bishops who were committed to the Tower, for presenting a petition to King James II. against that Prince's declaration for suspending the laws in favour of the Papists, which the Clergy were enjoined to read in the churches. The Bishops were afterwards tried for this petition, which was termed a libel; but they were acquitted after a solemn trial in the Court of King's Bench. The rejoicings were very great on account of the acquittal of the Bishops. They reached even to Hounslow Heath, where the King had assembled his troops, in order to favour his arbitrary and illegal designs. His Majesty was entertained that day by Lord Feverham, general of the army, in his tent. And when the news arrived of the acquittal of the Bishops, the army received it with a general shout. The King being started at the noise, sent Lord Feverham to enquire the cause. His Lordship soon returned, and told his Majesty, it was nothing but the soldiers joy on account of the Bishops being acquitted. "And call you that nothing?" said the King; and appeared exceedingly discomposed and chagrined at this incident.

About the latter end of the year 1688, Bishop Lloyd, having concurred heartily in the Revolution, was made Lord Almoner to King William the Third; and in 1692, was translated to the See of Coventry and Litchfield. In 1699, he published, "A Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras, and of other famous men his contemporaries: with an Epistle to the Reverend Dr. Bentley, about Porphyry's and Jamblichus's Lives of Pythagoras." On the 22d of January, 1699---1700, he was translated to the Bishopric of Worcester.

In 1702, a complaint was made to the House of Commons, that Bishop Lloyd and his son had interfered improperly in the election of Knights of the Shire for the county of Worcester, and endeavoured to hinder Sir John Packington from being chosen. And in consequence of this complaint the House came to the following resolutions. 'Resolved, 'That it appears to this House, 'that the proceedings of William Lord Bishop of Worcester, his 'son and his agents, in order to the hindering of an election of 'a Member for the county of Worcester, has been malicious, 'unchristian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and

“ and privileges of the Commons of England. Resolved, that
“ an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she will be
“ graciously pleased to remove William Lord Bishop of Worcester
“ from being Lord Almoner to her Majesty. And that Mr. At-
“ torney-general do prosecute Mr. Lloyd, the Lord Bishop of
“ Worcester’s son, for his said offence, after his privilege, as a
“ Member of the Lower House of Convocation, is out.” The
Bishop was accordingly removed from his post of Lord Almoner.
He died at Hartlebury castle, on the 30th of August, 1717, in
the ninety-first year of his age; and was buried in the church of
Fladbury in Worcestershire, of which his son was rector; and
where a monument to his memory was affixed to the wall, on the
north-side the chancel.

The following character is given of Bishop LLOYD by Burnet,
who knew him well. “ He was a great critic in the Greek and
“ Latin authors, but chiefly in the Scriptures; of the words and
“ phrases of which he carried the most perfect concordance in his
“ memory, and had it the readiest about him of all men that
“ ever I knew. He was an exact Historian, and the most punc-
“ tual in Chronology of all our divines. He had read the most
“ books, and with the best judgment, and had made the most co-
“ pious abstracts out of them, of any of this age. He was so
“ exact in every thing he set about, that he never gave over any
“ part of study, till he had quite mastered it. But when that
“ was done, he went to another subject, and did not lay out his
“ learning with the diligence with which he laid it in. He had
“ many volumes of materials upon all subjects, laid together in
“ so distinct a method, that he could with very little labour write
“ on any of them. He had more life in his imagination, and a
“ truer judgment, than may seem consistent with such a laborious
“ course of study. Yet, as much as he was set on learning, he
“ had never neglected his pastoral care. For several years he
“ had the greatest cure in England, St. Martin’s, which he took
“ care of with an application and diligence beyond any about
“ him; to whom he was an example, or rather a reproach, so few
“ following his example. He was a holy, humble, and patient
“ man, ever ready to do good when he saw a proper oppor-
“ tunity.”

He published several sermons, and other pieces, besides those
which have been mentioned: particularly, 1. Considerations
touching the true way to suppress Popery in this kingdom, &c.
with an historical account of the Reformation in England Lond.
1673, 4to. 2. A letter to Dr. William Sherlock, in vindication
of that part of Josephus’s history, which gives an account of
Jaddus the High-Priest’s submitting to Alexander the Great,
while Darius was living. Lond. 1691. 4to. 3. A seasonable Dis-
course, shewing the necessity of maintaining the established re-
ligion, in opposition to Popery. Lond. 1673. 4to. 4. A Defence

of the preceding Discourse. 5. The Difference between the Church and the Court of Rome. 6. A discourse of GOD's Ways of disposing of Kingdoms. Published by Authority. Lond. 1691. 4to.—He also left several pieces behind him unfinished: in particular a System of Chronology, out of which his chaplain, Benjamin Marshall, M. A. is said to have composed his Chronological Tables, which were printed at Oxford in 1712, and 1713.



The Life of APHARA BEHN.

APHARA BEHN was descended from a good family, whose residence was in the city of Canterbury. She was born in the reign of King Charles I. but in what year is uncertain. Her father's name was Johnson, who, through the interest of the Lord Willoughby, to whom he was related, being appointed Lieutenant-General of Surinam, undertook a voyage to the West Indies with his whole family, among whom was our Poetress, at that time very young. In the Memoirs of her Life, written by a Lady who was intimately acquainted with her, it is observed, that "even in the first bud of infancy, she discovered such early hopes of her riper years, that she was equally her parents joy and fears: for they too often mistrust the loss of a child, whose wit and understanding outstrip its years, as too great a blessing to be long enjoyed.—None had greater fears of that nature, or greater cause for them: for besides the vivacity and wit of her conversation at the first use almost of reason in discourse, she would write the prettiest soft engaging verses in the world (*b*)."

Her father, Mr. Johnson, died in his voyage, but his family reaching Surinam, settled there for some years. Here it was that she learned the history of, and became personally acquainted with, the African Prince Oroonoko, and his beloved Imoinda, whose adventures she has herself so pathetically related in her celebrated novel of that name, and which Mr. Southern (*i*) has made the ground-

(*b*) History of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs. Behn, written by a Lady, prefixed to her Novels, edit. 8vo. 1718. P. 2.

(*i*) THOMAS SOUTHERN was a dramatic poet of some eminence, who was born about the time of the Restoration; but of the place of his birth, and his education, very different accounts are given. Anthony Wood says, he was the son of George Southern of Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire, and educated at Pembroke College in Oxford; but Cibber tells us, that he was born at Dublin, and educated at the Uni-

versity there. However, it appears that he was entered as a student in the Middle Temple, London; but he applied himself more to poetry, than to the study of the law. His first dramatic performance was "the Persian Prince, or Loyal Brother," which was acted in the year 1682. The character of the LOYAL BROTHER was intended to compliment James Duke of York, who did not let the poet go unrewarded. His next play was a comedy called, "the Disappointment, or the Mother in Fashion;" performed in the year 1684.

In the reign of King James II. at the

ground-work of a very interesting tragedy. She informs us herself, that she had often seen and conversed with Oronoko, and been a witness to many of his exploits; and that at one time he, and Imoinda his wife, were scarcely an hour in a day from her lodgings; that they eat with her, and that she obliged them in all things she was capable of; entertaining him with the lives of the Romans and great men of antiquity, which made him charmed with her company; while she engaged his wife with teaching her all the pretty works she was mistress of; relating stories of nuns, and endeavouring to bring her to the knowledge of the true GOD (*k*). This intimacy between Oronoko and

Mrs.

the time of Monmouth's rebellion, he went into the army, having an ensign's commission. He was afterwards made a lieutenant, and was promoted to the rank of captain a little before the Revolution. But after that event he returned to his studies and wrote several plays, which procured him both money and reputation. In the preface to his tragedy, called "The Spartan Dame," he acknowledges, that he received from the booksellers 150*l.* for this play, which was thought at that time a very extraordinary price. He was also the first who raised the advantage of play-writing to a second and third night; which Mr. Pope alludes to in the following lines:

— "Southern born to raise

"The price of prologues and of plays." It appears indeed that Southern was industrious to draw all imaginable profits from his poetical labours. It is said that Dryden once took occasion to ask him, how much he got by one of his plays? to which he answered, that he was really ashamed to inform him. But Mr. Dryden being a little importunate to know, Southern plainly told him, that by his last play he cleared seven hundred pounds; which appeared astonishing to Dryden, as he himself had never been able to acquire more than one hundred by his most successful pieces. But the truth, it is said, was, that Southern was not beneath the drudgery of solicitation, and often sold his tickets at a very high price, by making applications to persons of distinction; which Dryden perhaps thought was beneath the dignity of a Poet.

But it is probable that in the lines above quoted, Mr. Pope has also a reference to the following story. — The reputation which Mr. Dryden

gained by the many prologues he wrote, made the players always solicitous to have one of his, as being sure to be well received by the public. Dryden's price for a prologue had usually been five guineas, with which sum Mr. Southern once presented him; when Dryden returning the money said, "Young man this is too little; I must have ten guineas." Southern answered upon this, that five had been his usual price. "Yes," says Dryden, "it has been so, but the players have hitherto had my labours too cheap; for the future I must have ten guineas."

Mr. Southern died on the 26th of May, 1746, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He lived the last ten years of his life in Westminster, and attended the abbey-service very constantly; being, as is said, particularly fond of church music.

Besides the plays already mentioned, Mr. Southern wrote the following: 1. *The Disappointment*, a Comedy. 2. *Sir Anthony Love*, or *the Rambling Lady*. 3. *The Wives Excuse*, or *Cuckolds make themselves*. 4. *The Maid's last Prayer*, or any thing rather than fail. 5. *The Fate of Capua*. 6. *Money's the best Mistress*. 7. *Oronoko*; a Tragedy. 8. *The Fatal Marriage*, or *the innocent Adultery*; a tragedy.

(*k*) Mrs. Behn says, that of all the subjects of their conversation, Oronoko liked what she said relative to the Deity the worst: and she adds, that "he would never be reconciled to our notions of the Trinity, of which he ever made a jest: it was a riddle he said, would turn his brain to conceive." *Seventeen Histories*, &c. Vol. I. P. 104. edit. 8vo. 1718.

Mrs. Behn occasioned some reflexions on her conduct, from which the lady who wrote some account of her life, as before referred to, endeavours to justify her in the following manner. 'Here (says she) I can add nothing to what she has given the world already, but a vindication of her from some unjust aspersions I find are insinuated about this town in relation to that Prince. I knew her intimately well, and I believe she would not have concealed any love affair from me, being one of her own sex, whose friendship and secrecy she had experienced : which makes me assure the world, there was no affair between that Prince and Astræa, (Mrs. Behn) but what the whole plantation were witnesses of ; a generous value for his uncommon virtues, which every one that but hears them, finds in himself, and his presence gave her no more. Beside, his heart was too violently set on the everlasting charms of his Imoinda, to be shook with those more faint (in his eye) of a white beauty ; and Astræa's relations, there present, had too watchful an eye over her, to permit the frailty of her youth, if that had been powerful enough.'

After her return to England, she became the wife of Mr. Behn, a merchant residing in London, but of Dutch extraction. How long he lived after their marriage does not certainly appear, but it seems not to have been any considerable time. However, her wit and abilities brought her into some degree of estimation at Court ; and King Charles II. was much pleased with the entertaining and accurate account she gave him of the Colony of Surinam. And it is said that his Majesty thought her a proper person to transact some affairs of importance abroad, during the course of the Dutch war. Accordingly she went over to Antwerp, where, by her intrigues and gallantries, she insinuated herself into the knowledge of some secrets of state, so as to answer the ends proposed by sending her over. And in the latter end of the year 1666, by means of the influence she had over one Vander Albert, a Dutchman of eminence, who was become greatly enamoured of her, she got out of him the design formed by De Ruyter, in conjunction with the family of the De Wits, of sailing up the Thames, and burning the English ships in their harbours, which they afterwards put in execution. This she immediately communicated to the English Court ; but though the event proved her intelligence to be well grounded, yet it was at that time only ridiculed. This so much disgusted her, that she dropt all farther thoughts of political affairs, and during the remainder of her stay at Antwerp, gave herself up entirely to the gaieties and gallantries of the place.

Her Dutch Lover, Vander Albert, did, however, still continue his addresses : and after having made some unsuccessful attempts to obtain the possession of her person on easier terms than matrimony, at length consented to make her his wife ; but while he was preparing at Amsterdamb for a journey to England with that intent,

intent, a fever carried him off, and left her free from any amorous engagements. She was also strongly solicited by a very old man, a kinsman of Vander Albert's, whom she calls Van Bruin, at whose expence she diverted herself for a time, and then rejected him with that contempt which he appears to have deserved.

In her voyage back to England, she was very near being lost at sea, the vessel she was in being driven on the coast by a storm, but happening to founder within sight of land, the passengers were, by the timely assistance of boats from the shore, all happily preserved. And Mrs. Behn arriving in London, dedicated the rest of her life to pleasure and poetry. Her wit gained her the esteem of Dryden, Southern, Charles Cotton, (1), and other men of genius. And it appears that she was much in love with a gentleman, whom she corresponded with under the name of *Lycidas*. Some of her letters to him are inserted in the life of her written by her female friend. They are full of the most amorous and passionate sentiments and expressions. But he seems not to have returned her passion with equal ardour; for in the last of her letters to him that is published, she expresses herself in the following terms. 'I may chance from the natural inclination of my sex, to be as false as you would wish, and leave you in quiet. For as I am satisfied I love you in vain, and without return, I am satisfied that nothing, but the thing that hates me, could treat me as *Lycidas* does: and 'tis only the vanity of being beloved by me, can make you countenance a softness so displeasing to you. How could any thing, but the man that hates me, entertain me so unkindly? Witness your excellent opinion of me, of loving others; witness your passing by the end of the street where I live, and squandering away your time at any coffee house, rather than allow me what you know in your soul is the greatest blessing of my life, your dear dull melancholy

(1) CHARLES COTTON was a gentleman of a good family in Staffordshire. The character of his father, who was one of Lord Clarendon's friends, is finely drawn by that noble writer, in his Memoirs of his own life. He was educated at Cambridge, where he was esteemed one of the ornaments of that University. He was a great master of the modern languages, particularly of the French; from which, among other things, he has translated the *Horace* of Corneille, the *Life* of the Duke of Espernon, and *Montaigne's Essays*. The last of these translations was much and deservedly applauded, and especially by the celebrated Lord Halifax. He also translated several of *Lucian's dialogues* into English satiric, and some poems

from *Horace*, *Catullus*, &c. He was author of a poem on the Wonders of the Peake in Derbyshire, and other original pieces. But the most celebrated of his works is his *Virgil Translated*, which has passed through many editions, and in which he has so far succeeded, as to be only inferior to Butler in Burlesque. A new edition of his poetical works was printed in one Volume, 12mo. in 1765. He died about the time of the Revolution. He was an ingenious and accomplished gentleman; social, hospitable, and generous; but as he was far from being an economist, he, in the latter part of his life, was much involved in debt, and perpetually harassed with duns, attorneys, and bailiffs. *Grange's Biographical Hist. of England, &c.*

‘ melancholy company ; I call it dull, because you can never be
‘ gay or merry where Astræa is. How could this indifference
‘ possess you, when your malicious soul knew I was languishing
‘ for you : I dyed, I fainted, and pined for an hour of what you
‘ lavished out, regardless of me, and without so much as think-
‘ ing on me !”

Mrs. Behn died on the 16th of April, 1689, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster-Abbey, covered only with a plain marble stone. The Lady to whom we are indebted for some account of her life, says, that she was mistress of uncommon charms of body, as well as mind ; (*m*) and adds, ‘ she was of a generous and open temper, something passionate, very serviceable to her friends in all that was in her power ; and could sooner forgive an injury, than do one. She had wit, honour, good humour, and judgment. She was mistress of all the pleasing arts of conversation, but used them not to any but those who loved plain dealing.-- I knew her intimately, and never saw ought unbecoming the just modesty of our sex, though more gay and free than the folly of the precise will allow.’ (*n*).

As to her dramatic writings, they are full of wit and ingenuity, but have in them many indecent scenes and expressions, and are of too immoral and vicious a tendency to be fit for public exhibition. In her political notions, she was a bigotted Royalist ; and took great pleasure in ridiculing the Presbyterians, and all who had any concern in opposing the tyranny of the Princes of the House of Stuart. And under the specious pretext of exposing hypocrisy, she, like many other dramatic poets, especially those of the period in which she lived, made a jest of religion, and the most sacred moral obligations. Pope, alluding to her indecency, says,

“ The stage how loosely does Astræa (*o*) tread,
“ Who fairly puts all characters to bed !”

She wrote the following Plays : 1. The Rover, or the banished cavaliers ; a comedy. 2. The second part of the same. 3. The Dutch lover ; a comedy. 4. Abdelazar, or the Moore’s Revenge ; a tragedy. 5. The Young King, or the Mistake ; a tragi-comedy. 6. The Roundheads, or the Good Old Cause ; a comedy. 7. The City Heiress, or Sir Timothy Treatwell ; a comedy. 8. The Town Fop, or Sir Timothy Tawdry ; a comedy.

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dy.

(*m*) Mr. Bowman, a player at Drury-lane Theatre, who was well acquainted with Mrs. Behn, informed the writer of her article in the General Dictionary, that she was very agreeable in her person, had fine eyes, and was of a very graceful stature ; and remarkable for the uncommon sprightliness of her conversation.

(*n*) Memoirs of Mrs. Behn, P. 2, 50, 51.

(*o*) *Astræa* is an assumed poetical name, by which the distinguished herself, and by which she was generally known, and which has been erroneously supposed to be her real name.

dy. 9. *The False Count*, or a new way to play an old game; a comedy. 10. *The Lucky Chances*; or, an Alderman's bargain; a comedy. 11. *The Forced Marriage*, or the jealous Bridegroom; a tragi-comedy. 12. *Sir Patient Fancy*; a comedy. 13. *The Widow-Ranter*, or the History of Bacon in Virginia; a tragi-comedy. 14. *The Feigned Courtezans*, or a Night's intrigue; a comedy. 15. *The Emperor of the Moon*; a farce. 16. *The Amorous Prince*, or the curious husband; a comedy. 17. *The younger Brother*, or the amorous Jilt; a comedy.---All these plays, except the last, were collected together, and published in two volumes, 8vo. in 1702; and in 1724, an edition was published in four volumes, 12mo. including the *Younger Brother*.

Mrs. Behn's Novels and Histories are published together in two volumes, both in 8vo. and 12mo.---They are as follows: 1. *The History of Oroonoko*, or the Royal Slave. 2. *The Fair Jilt*, or *Prince Tarquin*. 3. *Agnes de Castro*, or the Force of generous Love. 4. *The Lucky Mistake*. 5. *Memoirs of the Court of the King of Bantam*. 6. *The Nun*, or the perjured Beauty. 7. *The Adventure of the Black Lady*. 8. *The Unfortunate Bride*, or the blind Lady, a Beauty. 9. *The Dumb Virgin*, or the Force of Imagination. 10. *The unfortunate happy Lady*; a true History. 11. *The wandering Beauty*, or the lucky fair one. 12. *The unhappy Mistake*, or the impious Vow punished. These volumes also contain a translation of Fontenelle's *Plurality of Worlds*, and *History of Oracles*, and an Essay on Translation and translated Prose; together with the *Lover's Watch*, or the Art of making Love, and the *Lady's Looking Glass* to dress herself by, or the art of charming.

She also wrote the celebrated *Love-Letters* between a Nobleman and his sister-in-law, first printed in 1684. And she likewise published three volumes of *Miscellany Poems*, the first in 1684, the second in 1685, and the third in 1688. They consist of songs, and other little pieces, by the Earl of Rochester, Sir George Etherege, and others, with some pieces of her own.



The Life of GEORGE SAVILE, Marquis of Halifax.

THIS Nobleman was descended from a family of great antiquity in Yorkshire. He was son to Sir William Savile, by Anne daughter to Thomas Lord Coventry; and is supposed to have been born about the year 1630. Of the earlier part of his life we meet with no account; but it appears that he did what he could towards bringing about the Restoration, and after that event soon distinguished himself by his great abilities. In the tenth year of Charles the Second's reign, he was created Baron Savile of Eland, and Viscount Halifax. In April 1672, he was called to a seat in the Privy Council, and in June following went over to Holland with the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arlington, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, to treat about a peace with France, when he met with great opposition from his colleagues.

In 1675, a bill was brought into the House of Peers, by which all Members of either House of Parliament, and all who possessed any office, were required to swear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King; that they abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him; and that they would not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Protestant religion, or of the established government either in church or state. But this bill, by which it was intended to exclude all men from Parliament, or from any offices under the government, but the friends of passive obedience and non-resistance, was vigorously opposed; and, among others, Lord Halifax zealously exerted himself against so pernicious a bill, which was indeed utterly incompatible with the principles of the English constitution.

In 1676, he was removed from the Council-board, by the interest of the Earl of Danby, the Lord-Treasurer. However, upon a change in the Ministry, in 1679, his Lordship was made a Member of the new Council. And the same year, in the consultations about the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the Throne, he opposed that measure; but proposed such limitations of James's authority, in case of his accession to the Throne, as should disable him from doing any harm, either in church or

state; such as the taking out of his hands all power in ecclesiastical matters, the disposal of the public money, and the power of making peace and war, and lodging these in the two houses of Parliament; and that the Parliament in being, at the King's death, should continue without a new summons, and assume the Administration. And it was said by some of Halifax's friends, that the limitations proposed were so advantageous to public liberty, that a man might be tempted to wish for a Popish king, in order to obtain them. Upon this difference of opinions, a faction was quickly formed in the new council; Halifax, Essex, and Sunderland declaring for limitations, and against the exclusion; while Shaftesbury was equally zealous for the latter.

When the bill was brought into the House of Peers, Lord Halifax appeared with great resolution at the head of the debates against it; and Mr. Hume says, that on this occasion he "displayed an extent of capacity, and a force of eloquence, " which had never been surpassed in that assembly." However, the part which he took in this affair gave so much offence to the House of Commons, that it occasioned them soon after to address the King to remove him from his councils and presence for ever. But he prevailed with his Majesty soon after to dissolve that Parliament, and was created an Earl. However, upon the King's deferring to call a new Parliament, according to his promise to his Lordship, he is said to have fallen sick through vexation of mind; and he expostulated severely with those who were sent to him on that affair, refusing the post both of Secretary of State, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

A new Parliament was called in 1680, wherein the Earl of Halifax still opposed the exclusion bill, and gained great reputation by his management of the debates; but this occasioned a new address from the House of Commons to remove him. However, after that bill was rejected in the House of Peers, his Lordship pressed them, though without success, to proceed to limitations; and began with moving, that the Duke of York might be obliged to live five hundred miles out of England during the King's life.

In August, 1682, he was created a Marquis, and soon after made Privy Seal; and upon King James's accession, President of the Council. But on refusing his consent to the repeal of the tests, he was told by that Monarch, that though he could never forget his past services, yet, since he would not comply in that point, he was resolved to have all of a piece; and so his Lordship was dismissed from all public employments.

He was afterwards consulted by Mr. Sidney, whether he would advise the Prince of Orange's coming over; but the matter being opened to him at a great distance, he did not encourage a further freedom, considering the attempt as impracticable, since it depended upon so many accidents. However, upon the arrival of that Prince, he was sent by the King, with the Earls of Rochester

chester and Godolphin, to treat with him, then at Hungerford.

In that assembly of the Lords, which met after King James's withdrawing himself the first time from Whitehall, the Marquis of Halifax was chosen their President : and upon the King's return from Feversham, he was sent, together with the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Delamer, from the Prince of Orange, with a message, directing his Majesty to quit his palace at Whitehall, and retire to some place in the country. In the convention Parliament, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Lords, and strenuously supported the motion of the vacancy of the throne, and the conjunctive sovereignty of the Prince and Princess, upon whose accession he was again made Privy Seal. But in 1689, the Marquis quitted the court, and opposed many of the measures of Administration. His death, which happened in April, 1695, was occasioned by a gangrene in a rupture that he had long neglected. He behaved with a decent firmness at the approach of death, and declared himself a sincere Christian, regretting the many errors of his past life.

The Marquis of HALIFAX was a man of fine genius, considerable learning, and great eloquence. He was much celebrated for his wit ; but he has been censured for the imprudent exertion of it. The liveliness of his imagination, it has been said, sometimes got the better of his judgment ; for he would never lose his jest, though it spoiled his argument in the gravest debate. He was also charged with being unsteady in his principles. And Mr. Hume speaking of him, says, ' this man, who possessed the finest genius, and most extensive capacity, of all employed in public affairs during the present reign, (that of Charles II.) affected a species of neutrality between the parties, and was esteemed the head of that small body, known by the denomination of *Trimmers*. This conduct, which is much more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not however procure him the former character ; and he was always, with reason, regarded as an intriguer, rather than a patriot.' His private character appears to have been amiable, and he was punctual in his payments, and just and honourable in his transactions with others. He was succeeded in his honours and estates by his son William ; but he dying without male issue in 1700, the dignity became extinct in this family, and the title of Earl of Halifax was revived in the person of Charles Montague, the same year.

The Marquis of Halifax was the author of the following pieces :

I. *Advice to a Daughter.* This is an excellent piece : Mr. Granger observes, that ' it contains more good sense, in fewer words, than is perhaps to be found in any of his cotemporary authors.

II. The

II. The Character of a Trimmer: His opinion of the laws and government, the Protestant religion, the Papsts, and Foreign Affairs. In this piece the noble writer has given his own political sentiments at large; and if these sentiments are compared with his conduct, perhaps the latter would appear more consistent and uniform than it has commonly been supposed to be.

III. The Anatomy of an Equivalent.

IV. A Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his Majesty's (James II.) late gracious declaration of indulgence.

V. Some Cautions offered to the consideration of those who are to chuse Members to serve in the ensuing Parliament. There are many excellent observations in this piece, which deserves the attention of those who have a right to vote for Members of Parliament.

VI. A rough draught of a new Model at Sea.

VII. Maxims of State. — From which we shall select the following:

“ A Prince who falleth out with *laws*, breaketh with his best friends.”

“ The exalting his own *authority* above his *laws*, is like letting in his *enemy* to surprize his guards. The laws are the only guards he can be sure will never run away from him.”

“ *Arbitrary power* is like most other things that are very hard, they are also very apt to break.”

“ Where the least useful part of the people have the most credit with the Prince, men will conclude, that the way to get every thing is to be good for nothing.”

“ If a Prince does not shew an aversion to Knaves, there will be an inference that will be very natural, let it be never so unmannerly.”

“ A Prince who followeth his own opinion too soon, is in danger of repenting it too late.

“ The Prince is to take care that the greater part of the people may not be angry at the same time; for though the first beginning of their ill humour should be against one another, yet if not stopt, it will naturally end in anger against him.”

“ Changing *hands*, without changing *measures*, is as if a drunkard in a dropsey should change his doctors, and not his diet.”

“ *Quality* alone should only serve to make a shew in the embroidered part of the government; but *ignorance*, though never so well born, should never be admitted to spoil the public business.”

“ A People may let a King fall, yet still remain a People; but if a King let his People slip from him, he is no longer King.”

All the above tracts were collected together, and published in

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in one volume, 8vo. in 1704. The third edition was published in 1717, in 12mo. The Marquis also wrote "Historical Observations upon the reigns of Edward I. II. III. and Richard II. with remarks upon their faithful Counsellors and false Favourites;" and some other small pieces.



The Life of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, Bart.

THIS able Statesman, and eminent Writer, was son to Sir John Temple, (master of the Rolls and Privy Counsellor in Ireland, in the reign of King Charles I.) by a sister of the learned Dr. Henry Hammond. He was born at London in the year 1628; and was first sent to school to Penshurst in Kent, under the inspection of his uncle, Dr. Hammond, who was then Minister of the parish. He was afterwards removed to a school at Bishop Stortford in Hertfordshire, to be farther instructed in the Greek and Latin tongues. At seventeen years of age, he was placed in Emmanuel-College, Cambridge, under the famous Dr. Cudworth. In 1648, he quitted the University, in order to travel into foreign countries. He spent two years in France, and from thence proceeded to Holland, Flanders, and Germany: and in the course of these travels he made himself a compleat master of the French and Spanish languages.

He returned to England in 1654, and soon after married a daughter of Sir Peter Osborne. He had met with her in 1648, in the Isle of Wight, (through which he passed when he set out on his travels) when King Charles was a prisoner in Carisbrook-castle; and accompanying her to Guernsey, where her father was then Governor, conceived a passion for her, which ended in marriage.

During the Protectorship of Cromwell, Mr. Temple passed his time privately with his father, two brothers, and a sister, then in Ireland, with whom he lived in the most perfect harmony. And he applied himself at this period closely to the study of history and philosophy. He refused all offers of entering into any employment under Cromwell; and at the Restoration, in 1660, was chosen member of the convention in Ireland. At this time the generality were vying with each other who should pay most court to the King, and a poll bill was now brought into the Irish Parliament. Mr. Temple, with many others, thought it to the height of what the nation could bear. But the Lords Justices, whilst it was debating, sent a message to the house to desire it might be doubled. Many dislike this proposition, but Mr. Temple was the first that opposed it, though others afterwards joined with him. When the Lords Justices heard from whence the opposition came, they sent some persons to reason with Mr.

Temple

Temple upon the subject; but he told them, he had nothing to say to it out of the house. However, the bill was passed, we are told, during his absence. After this a Parliament being assembled in Ireland, Mr. Temple was chosen, with his father, for the county of Currell; and his arguments often had great weight in the debates, though he never connected himself with any party, nor gave himself any concern about who were pleased, or who offended, by his conduct. During his stay in Ireland, his Lady bore him five children, but they all died in their infancy (*p*).

In 1662, he was chosen one of the commissioners, who were appointed to be sent from the Irish Parliament to the King; and on this occasion he also waited on the new Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond. He soon after returned again to Ireland, but with the resolution of quitting that kingdom, and removing his family into England. At his return, he began to observe a very different countenance in the Duke of Ormond, from what he had found before: and soon grew to have so much share in that Nobleman's kindness and esteem, that the Duke complained to him, we are told, that "he was the only man in Ireland, that had never asked him any thing." And when he acquainted him with his design of carrying his family into England, his grace said, that he should at least give him leave to write in his favour to the two great Ministers, the Chancellor and the Earl of Arlington; and he did it so much to his advantage, that this recommendation gave Mr. Temple the first entrance into their good graces, and the good opinion of the King. The only use which he made of this, was, to tell Lord Arlington, then Secretary of State, that if his Majesty had any employment abroad, which he thought such a man as he was capable of serving him in, he should be very happy in it; but desired it might not carry him into the northern climates, which he had a great aversion to. Lord Arlington said, he was sorry for it, because there was at that time no other undispensed of, but that of going Envoy to Sweden.

In 1665, about the beginning of the first Dutch war, Lord Arlington sent a messenger to Mr. Temple, desiring him to come immediately to his house; which he did, and found his business was to tell him, that the King had occasion to send one abroad upon an affair of the greatest trust and importance, and that he had resolved to make him the first offer of it; but that he must know presently whether he would accept of it, or not, without telling him what it was; and be content to go in three or four days, with saying more of it to any of his friends. After having considered a little, he told his Lordship, that he took him to be his friend, and since he must consult with nobody

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(*p*) *Vid.* Life and Character of Sir William Temple, written by a particular friend, prefixed to the edition of his Works published in 1731, in two Volumes, Folio, P. 3, 4.

else, would be advised by him. He said, his advice was, that he should not refuse it, whether he liked it or not, as an entrance into his Majesty's service, was the way to something he might like better; and then told him, it was to go to the Bishop of Munster, and conclude a treaty between the King and him, by which the Bishop should be obliged, upon receiving a certain sum of money, to enter immediately with his Majesty into the war against Holland. Accordingly in July he began his journey to Coesvelt, and in a very few days after he concluded and signed the treaty there; in which his perfect knowledge in Latin was of no little advantage to him, the Bishop conversing in no other language. After signing the treaty, he went to Brussels, saw the first payment made, and received the news that the Bishop was in the field, by which this negociation began first to be discovered. But nobody suspected the part Mr. Temple had in it, as he continued privately at Brussels, till it was whispered to the Marquis Castell Rodrigo, the Governor, that he came upon some particular errand, (which he was then at liberty to own); upon which the Marquis sent to desire his acquaintance, and that he might see him in private, to which he easily consented. Soon after a commission was sent him to be resident at Brussels, with a patent by which he was created a baronet (q).

In April 1666, Sir William Temple sent for his family into Flanders, but before their arrival was posted again into Munster, to prevent the Bishop from making peace with the Dutch, which he threatened to do, on account of the ill payments from England. He went in disguise as a Spanish envoy, having twenty Spanish guards to attend him. Thus he went first to Dusseldorp, where the Duke of Newburgh, though in the French interest, gave him a guard to Dortmund; but, on his arrival there, the gates being shut, Sir William was forced to go to a village about a league's distance, which being full of Brandenburg troops, he was obliged to eat and lodge in a barn upon straw, with his page for a pillow. The page heard one of the Bradenburgh soldiers ask one of his guards after an English envoy who was expected; the fellow said he was upon the road, and would be at Dortmund in a day or two. He was next day entertained, at a castle of the Bishop of Munster, by one Gorges, a Scotch Lieutenant-General in that Prelate's service, with what he calls a very episcopal way of drinking. Coming into the great hall, where stood many flaggons ready charged, the Lieutenant-General called for wine to drink the King's health. They brought him a formal bell of silver, that might hold about two quarts. He took it, pulled out the clapper, and, in giving that to Sir William, to whom he intended to drink, had the bell filled, drank it off to his Majesty's health, and then asking Sir William for the clapper, put it on, turned down the bell, and rung it out to
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shew he had played fair, and left nothing in it. This done, he took out the clapper, desired Sir William to give it whom he pleased, then gave his bell to be filled again, and brought it to Sir William; who, being little used to drinking, had commonly some gentlemen with him that would serve for that purpose when it was necessary; and so he had the entertainment of seeing this health go current through about a dozen hands, with no more share in it than just what he pleased. Sir William did not succeed in his endeavours to fix the Bishop of Munster in his first alliance; however, he engaged him for five or six thousand of his best troops to enter into the Spanish service, England and Spain being at this time united against France and Holland. He soon returned again to Brussels, where he passed a year very agreeably.

At the close of the year 1666, a peace was concluded with the Dutch at Breda; and about two months after, Sir William Temple's sister, who lived with him at Brussels, taking a strong fancy to see Holland, he was willing to give her that satisfaction, and therefore went thither *incognito*. But while he was at the Hague, he made a private visit to M. de Witt, in which occasional interview, he laid the foundation of the great intimacy and confidence that grew afterwards between them. In the spring of the year 1667, a new war broke out between France and Spain, whereby Brussels being in some danger of falling into the hands of the former, Sir William sent his lady and family into England, but staid there with his sister till Christmas following, when the King sent for him to come over privately to England, and taking the Hague in his way, there to make De Witt another visit. He accordingly did so, and then, pursuant to his instructions, proposed those overtures that produced the Triple Alliance; to perfect which, after his arrival at the English Court, he returned, on the 16th of January, 1668, in five days, with the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Holland, where the conferences being opened two days after, he brought that treaty to a perfect conclusion in five days more.

This triple alliance, between England, Holland, and Sweden, was generally approved by the public; and Sir William Temple received the highest commendations for having managed this important affair with such eminent ability. Bishop Burnet says, "the Triple Alliance was certainly the master-piece of King Charles's life; and, if he had stuck to it, would have been both the strength and the glory of his reign." And the famous De Witt wrote to the Earl of Arlington, that, "as it was impossible to send a minister of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper and genius of the United Provinces, than Sir William Temple, so he believed no other person either would, or could, more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he found the states to answer the good intention of the King of Great Britain: and that Sir William Temple

“ ought not to be less satisfied with the readiness with which the
 “ states had passed over to the concluding and signing of
 “ those treaties for which he came thither, than their high
 “ mightinesses were with his conduct and agreeable manner of
 “ dealing in the whole course of his negociation.”

The States General likewise wrote the following letter to King Charles II. on this occasion. It was dated February 18, 1668.

‘ S I R,

‘ It is merely in compliance to custom, that we do ourselves
 ‘ the honour to write to your Majesty, in answer to the letter
 ‘ you were pleased to send us, relating to Sir William Temple :
 ‘ for we can add nothing to what your Majesty has seen yourself
 ‘ of his conduct, by the success of the negociation committed to
 ‘ his charge. As it is a thing without example, that in so few
 ‘ days, three such important treaties have been concluded : so
 ‘ we can say, that the address, vigilance, and sincerity of this
 ‘ minister, are also without example. We are extremely oblig-
 ‘ ed to your Majesty, that you are pleased to make use of an in-
 ‘ strument so proper for confirming that strict amity and good in-
 ‘ telligence which the treaty of Breda had so happily begun ;
 ‘ and we are bold to say, that, if your Majesty continues to make
 ‘ use of such ministers, the knot will soon grow too fast to be
 ‘ united, and your Majesty will ever find a most particular satis-
 ‘ faction by it, as well as we ; who, after our most hearty thanks
 ‘ to your Majesty for this favour, shall pray God, &c.’

After the ratification of the Triple Alliance, Sir William repaired to Brussels, and a treaty being set on foot between France and Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle, he set out for that place on the 24th of April, in quality of his Majesty’s Ambassador Extraordinary and Mediator. He arrived there on the 27th, and it was chiefly owing to his assistance, that the Spanish Ministers were brought to sign the articles of that peace on the second of May. This service being completed, he returned to Brussels on the 9th of this month, with the view of remaining in that city in his former station of Resident. But upon his arrival there, he met with letters from the Earl of Arlington, which brought him to the King’s orders to continue in the equipage of an Ambassador, in order to serve his Majesty in the same quality in Holland ; where, upon occasion of the late alliances, his Majesty was resolved to renew a character which the Crown of England had discontinued since King James’s time. Sir William, being now left at liberty to return to England as soon as he pleased, embraced the opportunity, and returning by the way to Holland, left most of his domestics and equipage at Utrecht. Upon his arrival at London, he was received with all possible marks of favour by the King. And the Spanish Ambassador, and Baron D’Isola, the Emperor’s Envoy, as well as other of his friends, were desirous of asking the Peerage for him, and it was with difficulty that he prevented it ; but it appears that this was an ho-

nour he never coveted, and was resolved, if it were ever offered him, it should either begin with his father, or his son. However, every thing being settled relative to his departure for Holland, he set out, and arrived at the Hague with his new character of the King's Ambassador, in the latter end of August, 1668.

He was received and distinguished by all the marks of regard and esteem the States could express for his character and person; and by the good opinion he had gained, was able to bring them into such measures, as De Witt said, he was sure was not in the power of any other man to do. He lived in confidence with that minister, by order from the King, and in constant and familiar conversation with the Prince of Orange, then eighteen years old. He compassed the chief design of his Embassy, in engaging the Emperor and Spain in the measures that were then desired. But in the mean time, the Dutchess of Orleans, who was sister to King Charles II. was sent over into England, in order to prevail upon his Majesty to enter into an alliance with France against Holland. Her endeavours for this purpose were too successful: however, Sir William Temple, though he had observed in the English Court a disposition to complain of the Dutch on very small occasions, suspected nothing of the real state of the case, till Lord Arlington, in September, 1669, hurried him over, by telling him, that as soon as he received his letter, he should put his foot in the stirrup. Accordingly he immediately returned to England, and when he came to Lord Arlington, whom he always saw the first, and who he imagined had something of great importance to communicate to him, he found that his Lordship had not one word to say to him; and after making him wait a great while, only asked him several indifferent questions about his journey, and he was received next day as coldly by the King. But the designs of the Court soon came out, and Sir William Temple was pressed to return to the Hague, and make way for a war with Holland, with which, less than two years before, he had been so much applauded for having made so strict an alliance; but he excused himself from having any share in it. This so much provoked the Lord Treasurer Clifford, that he refused to pay him an arrear of two thousand pounds, due from his Embassy. All this passed without unkindness from the King; but the behaviour of Lord Arlington, so unlike the friendship he had professed, was much resented by Sir William Temple.

He now retired to a house he had purchased at Sheen, near Richmond, in Surrey. How he passed his time there, appears from a letter, dated November 22, 1670, to his father, in which he writes thus: 'Sir, I must make my humble acknowledgments
' for so great a present as you have been pleased to send me to-
' wards that expence I have resolved to make at Sheen; and as-
' sure you no part of it shall either go any other way, or lessen
' what I had intended of my own. I doubt not but to compass
' what I told you of my Lord Lisle, for enlarging my small ter-
' ritories

* ritories there; when that is done, I propose to bestow 1000l. upon the conveniences of the house and garden, and hope that will reach all I care for; so that your 500l. may be laid out rather for ornament than use, as you seem to desire, by ordering me to make the front perfectly uniform.’

In another letter to his father, dated Sept. 14, 1671, he expresses himself thus. ‘ All people, says he, are full of the politics and expectations of what will be next, which you must expect to hear from Gazettes, and no more from me, who shall not so much as enquire, or care to know, but return to my corner at Sheen, and endeavour to pass the rest of my life as quietly and innocently as I can, and for the rest, like a private man, run the fortune of my country. I have been long enough in courts and public business to know a great deal of the world and of myself, and to find that we are not made for one another, and that neither of us are like to alter either our natures or our customs, and that, in the course and period of public government, as well as private life, *quisque suos patimur manes.*’

Sir William Temple always took great delight in improving his situation at Sheen: this appears from a letter of his written before either of the above, addressed to Lord Lisle from Brussels, before his coming over to England. ‘ The best of it is, says he, my heart is set so much upon my little corner at Sheen, that, while I keep that, no other disappointments will be very sensible to me; and because my wife tells me she is so bold as to enter into talk of enlarging our dominions there, I am contriving here this summer, how a succession of cherries may be compassed from May to Michaelmas, and how the riches of Sheen vines may be improved by half a dozen forts which are not yet known there, and which I think much beyond any that are.’

During his retirement, Sir William employed part of his time in writing his Observations on the United Provinces, and a part of his Miscellanies. But about the end of the summer of 1673, the King growing weary of the second Dutch war, which was liked by few at Court, and none any where else, sent for Sir William Temple, to go into Holland, and conclude a peace with the States; towards which, overtures began now to be made on both sides. But powers having been sent at this time from the States to the Marquis de Frefno, the Spanish Ambassador at London, Sir William Temple was ordered to treat with him; and accordingly in three days the peace was concluded, and the point of the flag carried, which had been so long contested. Upon this Lord Arlington offered Sir William the Embassy into Spain, but his father, who was then old and infirm, being averse to his acceptance of it, he refused. He was also offered, soon after, the place of Secretary of State, on his paying the sum of six thousand pounds; but this he declined.

In June, 1674, he was again sent Ambassador into Holland, with

with an offer of the King's mediation between France and the confederates, then at war, which was not long after accepted; and Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Lionel Jenkins were declared Ambassadors and Mediators; and Nimeguen (which he had proposed) was consented to at last by all parties, to be the place of treaty.—But before Sir William went on this embassy, he had a private conference with the King, in which he censured with great freedom the late measures of government. It appears from the account of this conference which he has given us in his *Memoirs*, that he was well convinced that Charles II. was desirous of enslaving the people, and setting up a despotic government, if not of establishing the Romish religion in England also. He did not, however, attempt to convince the King of the iniquity of his designs: he contented himself with shewing him the difficulties that attended them, and the extreme improbability of their ever succeeding. ‘I shewed (says he) how difficult, if not impossible, it was to set up here the same religion or government that was in France: that the universal bent of the nation was against both: that many who were, perhaps, indifferent enough in the matter of religion, considered it would not be changed here but by force of an army; and that the same force which made the King master of their religion, made him master of their liberties and fortunes too. That in France there was none to be considered but the nobles and the clergy: that if a King could engage them in his designs, he had no more to do; for the peasants having no land, were as insignificant in the government, as the women and children are here. That on the contrary, the great bulk of land in England lies in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, and their hearts are high by ease and plenty, as those of the French peasantry are wholly dispirited by labour and want. That the Kings of France are very great in possessions of land, and in dependencies, by such vast numbers of offices both military and civil, as well as ecclesiastical; whereas those of England, having few offices to bestow, having parted with their lands, their court of wards and knight's services, have no means to raise or keep armies on foot, but by supplies from their Parliaments, nor revenues to maintain any foreign war by other ways. That if they had an army on foot, yet if composed of English, they would never serve ends that the people hated and feared.’ He added several other reasons to shew the impracticability of establishing an absolute government in England; and concluded with telling the King, that he never knew but one foreigner who understood England well, and that was Gourville; (who, he says, he knew the King esteemed the soundest head of any Frenchman he had ever seen) and that when Sir William was at Brussels in the first Dutch war, and Gourville heard the Parliament grew weary of it, that sagacious foreigner said, The King had nothing to do but to make the peace; that he had been long enough in England,

England, and seen enough of our Court, and people, and Parliaments, to conclude, "That a King of England who will be "THE MAN OF HIS PEOPLE, is the greatest King in the world; "but if he will be something more, by God he is nothing at "all." The King at first heard what Sir William said to him with some impatience; but at last he expressed his approbation of his sentiments as well as those of Gourville; and, laying his hand upon Sir William's, he added, "And I will be the Man of "my People (r)." But Charles did not keep his word.

During his stay at the Hague, the Prince of Orange, who was fond of speaking English, and also liked the English plain way of eating, constantly dined and supped once or twice a week at Sir William's house, who thereby grew so much into the Prince's esteem and confidence, as gave him so great a part in that important affair of his marriage with the Princess Mary. One instance in which he made use of his interest with the Prince, deserves to be mentioned; as he reckoned it himself among the good fortunes of his life. There were five Englishmen taken and brought to the Hague, whilst he was there, and in the Prince's absence, who were immediately tried and condemned by a council of war, for deserting their colours. Some of his servants had the curiosity to visit their unfortunate countrymen, and came home with a melancholy story, that by what they had heard it seemed to be a mistake, and that they were all like to die innocent; but that however it was without remedy, as their graves were digging, and they were to be shot next morning. Sir William Temple left nothing unattempted to prevent their sudden execution, and sent to the officers to threaten them, that he would complain first to the Prince, and then to the King, who, he was sure, would demand reparation, if so many of his subjects suffered unjustly. But nothing would move them, till he made it his last request to reprieve them one day, in which the Prince happened to come within reach of returning an answer to a message he sent; upon which they were released. The first thing they did was to go and see the graves which had been dug for them, and the next, to come and return thanks to Sir William Temple for having saved their lives (s).

While Sir William was at Amsterdam, he cultivated an acquaintance with Monf. Hoeft, the chief burgomaster there, a man of worth and learning, with whose conversation he was much pleased. Speaking of this gentleman, in his *Memoirs*, he introduces the following passage. "Dining one day at Monf. Hoeft's, "and having a great cold, I observed every time he spit, a tight "handsome wench (that stood in the room with a clean cloth in "her hand) was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the board "clean: somebody at table speaking of my cold, I said, the
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(r) Temple's *Memoirs*, second part, P. 30—34. edit. 1700. (s) *Life of Sir William Temple*, as before, P. 9, 10.

‘ most trouble it gave me was to see the poor wench take so much pains about it. Monf. Hoeft told me, ’Twas well I escaped so; and that if his wife had been at home, though I were an Ambassador, she would have turned me out of doors for fouling her house. And laughing at that humour, said, There were two rooms of his house that he never durst come into, and believed they were never open but twice a year to make them clean. I said, I found he was a good patriot, and not only in the interests of his country, but in the customs of his town, where that of the wives governing, was I heard a thing established. He replied, ’Twas true, and that all a man could hope for there, was to have *une douce Patrone* (an easy Governess), and that his wife was so. Another of the magistrates at table, who was a graver man, said, Monsieur Hoeft was pleasant; but the thing was no more so in their town, than in any other places, that he knew of. Hoeft replied very briskly, it was so, and could not be otherwise, for it had long been the custom; and whoever offered to break it, would have banded against him, not only the women of the town, but all those men too that were governed by their wives, which would make too great a party to be opposed. In the afternoon, upon a visit, and occasion of what had been said at Monf. Hoeft’s, many stories were told of the strange and curious cleanliness so general in that city: and some so extravagant, that my sister took them for jest; when the Secretary of Amsterdam, that was of the company, desiring her to look out of the window, said, Why, Madam, there is the house where one of our magistrates going to visit the mistress of it, and knocking at the door, a strapping North Holland lass came and opened it. He asked, whether her mistress was at home; she said, Yes; and with that he offered to go in. But the wench, marking his shoes were not very clean, took him by both arms, threw him upon her back, carried him cross two rooms, set him down at the bottom of the stairs, pulled off his shoes, put him on a pair of slippers that stood there, and all this without saying a word: but when she had done, told him he might go up to her mistress, who was in her chamber (t).’

In July, 1676, Sir William Temple removed his family to Nimeguen, where he passed the year without making any progress in the treaty, that from several accidents was then at a stand; and a year after, letters were sent to him from the Lord-Treasurer, to order him to return and succeed Mr. Coventry in his place of Secretary of State, which he made some difficulty of resigning, unless he had leave to name his successor; which the King refused, and was displeased with him for desiring it. Sir William Temple, who was not fond of the proposed change, de-

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fired

fired his Majesty to let it alone till all parties were agreed, and till the treaty was concluded in which he was then engaged. However, Sir William returned to England in the spring of the year 1668; and though the affair of the Secretary's place was dropt at his desire, he did not return to Nimeguen that year. About this time the Prince of Orange also came into England, and soon after married the Princess Mary, daughter to the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. But after the Prince and Princess were gone into Holland, the inclination at court always leaning towards France, the King would have engaged Sir William Temple in some negotiations with that Crown, so contrary to those he had been before concerned in, and which he was so ill satisfied with, that he offered to give up his pretensions to the Secretary's place, which he desired the Lord Treasurer to acquaint his Majesty with, and so went to Sheen, with the hopes of being taken at his word, grown very weary, as Monsr. De Wit used to express it, of the perpetual fluctuation he had observed in all our Councils since Queen Elizabeth's reign. But upon discovery of the French designs not to evacuate the Spanish towns which had been agreed on by the treaty to be delivered up, the King commanded Sir William Temple to go upon a third Embassy to the States, with whom he concluded a treaty, by which England was engaged upon the refusal of the French to evacuate the towns in forty days, to declare immediate war with France. But before half that time was run out, one De Crofs was sent from the English Court into Holland, upon an errand that damped all the good humour which that treaty had given them there, and the life it had put into all their affairs. And these strange and sudden alterations in the English Councils, which Sir William Temple had seen too often to be much surprized at, gave him a distaste to all public employments, though he continued for a short time longer to be engaged in them.

In 1679, he went back to Nimeguen, where the French delayed signing the treaty to the last hour, which, after he had concluded, he returned to the Hague, from whence he was soon sent for to enter upon the Secretary's place, which Mr. Coventry was at last resolved to part with; and the Lord Sunderland, who was newly come into the other Secretary's place, pressed him with much earnestness to accept of it. He very unwillingly obeyed the King's commands to come over, having long had at heart a visit he had promised to make the Great Duke of Tuscany, as soon as his Embassy was ended; with whom he had begun a particular acquaintance in England, and kept up a correspondence ever since. And the present posture of affairs was such, that Sir William was very unwilling to engage in public business: he, therefore, at length finally declined the Secretary's place, which was given to Sir Lionel Jenkins. However, he had a principal share in establishing a new Privy Council, of which he was himself one of the members: but he was much displeased at the ad-
mission

mission of the Earl of Shaftesbury, by whose conduct and intrigues he thought public affairs would be much embarrassed. He continued occasionally to attend the Council, and also sometimes held private conferences with the Ministers. And in 1680, the King sent for him, and proposed his going Ambassador into Spain. Sir William complied with this proposal, and set himself to prepare for it; but when his equipage was almost ready, and part of the money for it paid, the King changed his mind, and told him, he would have him defer his journey till the end of the present sessions of Parliament, of which he was then a member for the University of Cambridge.

In this Parliament, the bill of exclusion was agitated, which Sir William Temple declared himself against: and the last thing he did in Parliament was to carry the King's answer to an address of the House of Commons, containing his Majesty's resolution never to consent to the exclusion of the Duke of York. However, his compliance with the King's inclination in this particular, which appears to have been agreeable to his own judgment, did not prevent his giving umbrage to the court, by expressing his sentiments with freedom at the Council-board. The King had declared in the council, without previously asking their advice, that he would prorogue the Parliament for a longer time than he had intended, and that he would hear nothing against it; charging the Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly. Upon which Sir Wm. Temple stood up, and told the King, that as to the resolution he had taken, he would say nothing, because he was resolved to hear no reasoning upon it; therefore he would only presume to offer his Majesty his humble advice, as to the course of his future proceedings; which was, that his Majesty, in his affairs, would please to make use of some council or other, and allow freedom to their debates and advices, after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he please. That if he did not think the persons, or number of this present council, suited with his affairs, it was in his power to dissolve them, and constitute another of any number he pleased, and to alter them again when he would. But to make *counsellors that should not counsel*, (he said) he doubted whether it was in his Majesty's power, or not, because it implied a contradiction: and, so far as he had observed, either of former ages, or the present; he questioned whether it was a thing had been practised in England by his Majesty's predecessors, or was so now by any of the Princes in Christendom.

Sir William Temple being greatly disgusted with the manner in which the national affairs were conducted, resolved to retire entirely from public business; and accordingly he declined serving for Cambridge again in Parliament; and sent the King word by his son, that 'he would pass the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdoms, but would never more meddle with public affairs.' He was in consequence soon after struck

out of the list of Privy-Counsellors: and from this time Sir William lived at Sheen till the end of that reign, and during a part of the next. The writer of his life before referred to, says, "He lived from that time at Sheen, till 1685, without ever seeing the town or court, and had the privilege of not returning any visits that were made him from thence by persons of the best quality and fortune, who during those five years frequented his house and table; yet he never failed of waiting on his Majesty, whenever he came into the neighbourhood, and nobody was better received by his own master whilst he lived, and by King James afterwards, who often turned the whole conversation to him, as soon as he entered the room at Richmond (*u*)."

Soon after the marriage of his son, Mr. John Temple, to Mademoiselle Rambouillet, a rich heiress, and only daughter of Monf. Du Plessis, a French Protestant of a very good family, Sir William resigned his seat at Sheen to his son; and having purchased a small seat, called Moor Park, near Farnham in Surrey, which he took a great fancy to for its solitude and retirement, and the healthiness and pleasantness of its situation; and being much afflicted with the gout, and broken with age and infirmities, he resolved to pass the remainder of his life there. In his way thither, he waited on King James, then at Windsor, and begged his favour and protection, declaring, that he would always live a good subject, but, whatever happened, never enter again upon any public employment; and he desired his Majesty never to give credit to whatever he might hear to the contrary. The King, who used to say, Sir William Temple's character was always to be believed, assured him of his favour, but gently reproached him for not coming into his service, which he told him was his own fault.

Sir William had no share in bringing about the Revolution, and was so far from being in any secrets relative to that great event, that he is said to have been one of the last men in England who believed that any thing of that kind would happen. However, after the landing of the Prince of Orange, Moor Park being thought unsafe, as it lay in the way of both armies, he went back to the house he had given up to his son at Sheen. He refused permission to his son to go and meet the Prince of Orange at his landing; but after the abdication of King James, and the Prince's arrival at Windsor, Sir William Temple went to wait upon his Highness, and carried his son with him. The Prince pressed him to enter into his service, and to be his Secretary of State; and told him, that it was in kindness to him he had not been acquainted with his design; but Sir William persisted in declining any public employment. The Prince visited him two or three times at Sheen; but he soon returned to his retirement at Moor Park.

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From this time he employed himself wholly in his studies, and the cares and amusements of a country life, and saw but little company. He had, however, the honour of being often consulted by King William, in some of his secret and important affairs, and of a visit from him in his way from Winchester: and he used to wait upon his Majesty at Richmond and Windsor, where he was always very graciously received, with that ease, and familiarity, and particular confidence, which had been begun in Holland so many years before.

Though Sir William declined any public employment himself, he did not oppose his son's acceptance of a post; accordingly Mr. John Temple, who is said to have been an able and accomplished man, was appointed Secretary at war by King William. But this proved the occasion of a great domestic misfortune to Sir William; for Mr. Temple, who was his only son, had scarcely been a week in his office, when he drowned himself at London-bridge. This extraordinary affair happened on the 14th of April, 1689, when Mr. Temple, having spent the whole morning at his office, took a boat, about noon, as if he designed to go to Greenwich; when he had got a little way, he ordered the waterman to set him ashore, and then making some dispatches which he had forgot, proceeded. Before he cast himself away, he dropt in the boat a shilling for the waterman, and a note to this effect:

"My folly in undertaking what I was not able to perform, has done the King and Kingdom a great deal of prejudice. I wish him all happiness, and abler servants than

JOHN TEMPLE."

It was thought, by some, that he hereby meant his incapacity for the secretaryship at war, and the rather, because he had asked the King leave to resign the day before. But others assign a different cause for his melancholy, which has been thought more probable, and to which Burnet attributes his putting an end to his life. General Richard Hamilton being upon suspicion confined in the Tower, Mr. Temple visited him sometimes, upon the score of a former acquaintance; when discoursing upon the present juncture of affairs, and how to prevent the effusion of blood in Ireland, the General said, That the best way was to send thither a person in whom Tyrconnel could trust; and he did not doubt, if such a person gave him a true account of things in Ireland, he would readily submit. Mr. Temple communicated this overture to the King, who, approving of it, and looking upon General Hamilton to be the properest person for such a service, asked Mr. Temple whether he could be trusted; and he readily engaging his word for him, Hamilton was sent to Ireland; but, instead of discharging the commission he was sent on, and persuading Tyrconnel to submit, he encouraged him as much as possible to stand out, and offered him his assistance, which Tyrconnel gladly accepted. Mr. Temple contracted an
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extreme melancholy upon Hamilton's desertion; and though the King encouraged him, being convinced of his innocence, yet this did not prevent his taking the unhappy method before-mentioned of ending his days. He left behind him two daughters, (whom he had by the French lady before spoken of) to whom Sir William bequeathed the bulk of his estate; but with this express condition, that they should not marry Frenchmen: "a nation" (says Mr. Boyer) to whom Sir William ever bore a general hatred, upon account of their imperiousness and arrogance to "foreigners."

In 1694, Sir William lost his wife, who was a lady of great merit and accomplishments, and highly esteemed by King William and Queen Mary. He was now upwards of sixty, an age at which, he used to say, a man ought to conclude himself no longer of use in the world, but to himself and his friends. He lived four years after, extremely afflicted with the gout; which, with the help of age, and a natural decay of strength and spirits, put a period to his life in January, 1698, in his seventieth year. He died at Moor Park, where his heart was buried in a silver box, under the sun dial in his garden, opposite to the window where he used to contemplate and admire the works of nature with his beloved sister, the ingenious Lady Giffard. This was directed by his will; agreeable also to which, his body was privately interred in Westminster-Abbey, near his wife and his daughter Diana, who had been buried there before, as was his sister the Lady Giffard afterwards; and over them all a black marble monument was erected, with a short Latin inscription.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's person and character have been delineated, by the writer of his life before referred to, who is said to have been one of his particular friends, in the following manner. "He was rather tall than low; his shape, when young, very exact; his hair a dark brown, and curled naturally, and whilst that was esteemed a beauty, nobody had it in greater perfection; his eyes grey, but lively; and his body lean, but extreme active, so that none acquitted themselves better at all sorts of exercise.

"He had an extraordinary spirit and life in his humour, with so agreeable turns of wit and fancy in his conversation, that nobody was welcomer in all sorts of company, and some have observed, that he never had a mind to make any body kind to him, without compassing his design.

"He was an exact observer of truth, thinking none that had failed once ought ever to be trusted again; of nice points of honour; of great humanity and good nature, taking pleasure in making others easy and happy; his passions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reason and thought; his humour gay,
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but very unequal from cruel fits of spleen and melancholy, being subject to great damps from sudden changes of weather, but chiefly from the crosses and surprizing turns in his business, and disappointments he met with so often, in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and service of his country, which he thought himself two or three times so near compassing, that he could not think with patience of what had hindered it, or of those that he thought had been the occasion of his disappointments.

“ He never seemed busy in his greatest employments; was a great lover of Liberty, and therefore hated the servitude of courts, said he could never serve for wages, nor be busy (as one is so often there) to no purpose; and never was willing to enter upon any employment, but that of a public minister.

“ He had been a passionate Lover, was a kind Husband, a fond and indulgent Father, a good master, and the best friend in the world; and knowing himself to be so, was impatient of the least suspicion or jealousy from those he loved. He was ever kind to the memory of those he had once liked and esteemed; wounded to the heart by grief, upon the many losses of his children and friends, ’till recovered by reason and philosophy, and that perfect resignation to Almighty God, which he thought so absolute a part of our duty; upon those sad occasions often saying, His holy name be praised; his will be done.

“ He was not without strong aversions, so as to be uneasy at the first sight of some he disliked, and impatient of their conversation; apt to be warm in disputes and expostulations, which made him hate the one, and avoid the other, which he used to say, might sometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends. He turned his conversation to what was more easy and pleasant, especially at table, where he said ill humour ought never to come, and his agreeable talk at it, if it had been set down, would have been very entertaining to the reader, as well as it was to so many that heard it. He had a very familiar way of conversing with all sorts of people, from the greatest Princes to the meanest servants, and even children, whose imperfect language, and natural and innocent talk, he was fond of, and made entertainment out of every thing that could afford it: when that he liked best failed, the next served turn.

“ He lived healthful till forty-two, then begun to be troubled with rheums upon his teeth and eyes, which he attributed to the air of Holland, and which ended, when he was forty seven, in the gout, upon which he grew very melancholy, being then Ambassador at the Hague: he said, a man was never good for any thing after it; and though from this time he had frequent returns of ill health, he never cared to consult physicians; saying, he hoped to die without them, and trusted wholly to the care and advice of his friends, which he often expressed himself so happy
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in, as to want nothing, but health; which, since riches could not help him to, he despised them.

“ He was born to a moderate estate, and did not much encrease it during his employments, which he tells his son, in his letter to him before the second part of his *Memoirs*, “ It is fit “ should contribute something to his entertainment, since they “ had done so little to his fortunes, upon which he could make “ him no excuse, since it was so often in his power, that it was “ never in his thoughts, which were ever turned upon how much “ less he wanted, rather than how much more.” And in a fine strain of philosophy he concludes, “ If yours have the same “ turn, you will be but too rich ; if the contrary, you will be “ ever poor.”

“ The presents made him in his several embassies, were chiefly laid out in building and planting, and in purchasing old statues and pictures, which were his only expence, or extravagance, but not too great for his income. Those that knew him little, thought him rich, to whom he used to answer pleasantly, That he wanted nothing but an estate: and yet nobody was more generous to his friends, or more charitable to the poor, in giving often to true objects of charity, an hundred pounds at a time, and sometimes three hundred (*α*).”

Lord Orrery observes, that “ Sir William Temple is an easy, careless, incorrect writer, elegantly negligent, politely learned, and engagingly familiar (*π*).” Mr. Hume says, “ Of all the considerable writers of this age, Sir William Temple is almost the only one, who kept himself altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness, which overwhelmed the nation. The style of this author, though extremely negligent, and even mixed with foreign idioms, is agreeable and interesting. That mixture of vanity which appears in his works, is rather a recommendation to them. By means of it, we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honour and humanity; and fancy that we are engaged, not in the perusal of a book, but in conversation with a companion (*γ*).”

Sir William Temple's Works have all passed through several editions. The whole of them have been collected together, and published in two volumes, folio, and in four volumes, 8vo. They consist chiefly of his *Memoirs*, *Letters*, *Observations on the United Provinces*, and *Miscellanies*. His *Miscellanies* are divided into two parts. The first contains, 1. A Survey of the constitutions and interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France, and Flanders, &c. 2. An Essay upon the original and nature of government. 3. An Essay upon the advancement

(*α*) Life of Sir William Temple, prefixed to his Works, P. 19—22.

(*π*) Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift, second Edition, p. 153. (*γ*) Hist. of England, Vol. VIII. P. 325, 326. Edit. 8vo. 1763.

advancement of trade in Ireland. 4. Upon the conjuncture of affairs in October, 1673. 5. Upon the excesses of grief. 6. An Essay upon the cure of the gout by Moxa. The second part contains four Essays. 1. Upon Ancient and Modern Learning. 2. Upon the gardens of Epicurus. 3. Upon Heroic Virtue. 4. Upon Poetry.



The Life of HENRY BOOTH, Lord Delamer, and Earl of Warrington.

THIS patriotic Nobleman was second son of George Lord Delamer. During the life of his father, he was Knight of the Shire for the county of Chester, in several Parliaments, in the reign of King Charles II. And in the House of Commons he constantly shewed himself a firm opposer of arbitrary power, and a steady friend to the rights of the people. He exerted himself in support of the bill of exclusion, and in the speech which he made on that occasion he endeavoured to prove, (to use his own words) that "the next of kin has not so absolute an inherent right to the Crown, but that he may for the good of the nation be set aside:" as all government was instituted for the benefit of the people, and not for the private interest of any particular family or individual.

He was very solicitous to have procured an act for the punishing those, who were known to have received bribes from the Court, in the Parliament which was styled the Pension Parliament, in the reign of King Charles II. In the speech which he made on this subject in the subsequent Parliament, he said, "Breach of trust is accounted the most infamous thing in the world, and this these men have been guilty of to the highest degree. Robbery and stealing our law punishes with death; and what deserve they, who beggar and take away all that the nation has, under the protection of disposing of the people's money for the honour and good of the King and kingdom?" He proposed, that a bill should be brought in by which these hawking senators (who styled themselves, he observes, the *King's Friends*) should be rendered incapable of serving in Parliament for the future, or of enjoying any office civil or military; and that they should be obliged, as far as they were able, to refund all the money which they had received for secret services to the Crown; or, in other words, for betraying their constituents. "Our law" (said he) "will not allow a thief to keep what he has got, by stealth, but of course orders restitution; and shall these proud robbers of the nation, not restore their ill gotten goods?"

He opposed, with a becoming spirit, the unjust and arbitrary power assumed by the Privy Council, of imprisoning men contrary to law. He made also a long speech against the corruption of
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the Judges, in which he affirmed, that in a variety of cases they had sold, denied, or delayed justice; that they had taken bribes, and threatened juries and evidence; "perverting the law to the highest degree, and turning it upside down, that arbitrary power might come in upon their shoulders." He, therefore, moved, that an enquiry should be made into their conduct, and that such of them as were found guilty might receive the punishment they merited.

His defence of the Bill of Exclusion, and opposition to the measures of the Court in other instances, rendered him so obnoxious to the Duke of York, that by his influence he was committed prisoner to the Tower of London; but after several months strict confinement, he was set at liberty. In 1684, he succeeded his father in his honours and estates, his elder brother having died in his childhood. But the Duke of York having succeeded to the Throne the same year, under the title of King James II. he was soon after again committed close prisoner to the Tower; some time after he was admitted to bail; but was quickly afterwards taken up again, and committed a third time prisoner to the Tower, on a false accusation of High Treason.

On Thursday the 14th of January, 1685, he was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, before the Lord-Chancellor Jefferies, who was his personal enemy, and who was constituted Lord-High-Steward on that occasion. He was not tried by the whole House of Peers, though the Parliament was then actually existing by prorogation; but by a select number of twenty-seven Peers, summoned by the Lord-High-Steward for that purpose. He protested against this irregularity; but his objections being over-ruled, the trial proceeded. However, he made so full and clear a defence, that the Peers appointed to try him unanimously acquitted him.

After this Lord Delamer lived in a retired manner in the country, much honoured and beloved, till measures were concerted for bringing about the Revolution, in which he very heartily concurred (*f*); and, on the Prince of Orange's landing in England, he, being solicitous to deliver his country from Popery and a despotic government, raised, in a very few days, a great force in Cheshire and Lancashire, and therewith marched to join that Prince; who, on notice thereof, wrote to him the following letter:

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" Hindon,

(*f*) A late author informs us, that at Whittington, a village on the edge of Scarfdale, in Derbyshire, the Earls of Devonshire and Danby, and the Lord Delamer, privately concerted the plan of the Revolution. The house in which

they met is at present a Farm-house: and the country people distinguish the room where they sat by the name of the Plotting Parlour. *Vid.* Dr. Akenfide's Ode, addressed to the Earl of Huntingdon.

"Hindon, the 2d of December, 1688.

"My Lord,

"I have heard so worthy a character of you, that I am heartily glad to find you so frankly embarked in the same design with me; and you may depend on me to shew you all the kindness in my power. If your occasions will allow of it, I shall be glad to see you at Hungerford next Friday night; but you must send me notice of your coming the night before your arrival, that I may direct quarters for you and your troops, and that my out-guards may let you pass to me.

"I am, Your most affectionate friend,
"PRINCE D' ORANGE." (z).

On the Prince of Orange's arrival at Windsor, in his approach towards London, Lord Delamer, together with the Marquis of Halifax, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, were on the 17th of December, 1688, sent by that Prince with a message to King James to remove from Whitehall. Lord Delamer, though no flatterer of the King in his prosperity, was too generous to insult him in this distress; and, therefore, at this time treated him with great respect. And James was so sensible of this Nobleman's civility to him on this occasion, that after his retirement into France, he said, "The Lord Delamer, whom he had used ill, had then treated him with much more regard than the other two Lords to whom he had been kind, and from whom he might better have expected it." Mr. Walpole says, that Lord Delamer, "who was thrice imprisoned for his noble love of liberty, and who narrowly escaped the fury of James and Jeffries, lived to be commissioned by the Prince of Orange, to order that King to remove from Whitehall; a message which he delivered with a generous decency (a)."

Out of the forces which were raised by Lord Delamer to join the Prince of Orange, a regiment of horse was afterwards formed, the command of which was for some time committed to him as colonel: and this regiment served in Ireland during the war in that kingdom. On the 14th of February, 1688 9, King William and Queen Mary being proclaimed the preceding day, Lord Delamer was sworn a Privy-Counsellor; and on the 9th of April following, he was made Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer. On the 12th of the same month, he was also made Lord-Lieutenant of the county and city of Chester. This last office, together with that of Privy Counsellor, he enjoyed for life; but as to the others, he continued in them for about one year only. Mr. Walpole says, "He was dismissed by King William to gratify the Tories." However, it was not thought advisable to displace a Nobleman, who had contributed so much towards

(z) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. P. 484. (a) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. II. P. 93. 2d Edit.

towards the Revolution, in a disabling manner; and therefore he was, by letters patent bearing date at Westminster, 17th of April, 1690, created Earl of Warrington, in the county of Lancaster, to hold to him, and the heirs male of his body, for his great services in raising and bringing great forces to his Majesty, to rescue his country and religion from tyranny and Popery, as the preamble of the patent expresses it: and had likewise, for the better support of that dignity, a pension of 2000*l.* per annum granted to him, which having been paid to him only for the first half year, was afterwards suffered to run in arrear, and now remains stated amongst the rest of King William's debts, in a list of them which was drawn up at the command of Queen Anne.

His Lordship was thus characterized in a poem written in the reign of King William:

- " A brave Assertor of his country's right :
- " A noble, but ungovernable fire,
- " (Such is the hero's) did his breast inspire,
- " Fit to assist to pull a tyrant down ;
- " But not to please a Prince that mounts the Throne.
- " Impatient of oppression, still he stood
- " His country's mounds against th' invading flood."

He died at London on the 2d day of January, 1693, in the forty-second year of his age, and was interred in the family-vault in Bowdon-church, in the county of Chester. He was a Nobleman always illustriously distinguished for his public spirit, and his noble ardour in defence of the liberties of his country; and he thought patriotism essential to the character of a virtuous man. In his "Advice to his Children." published in his Works, he says, "There never yet was any good man who had not an ardent zeal for his country." In his private life he appears to have been a man of piety, worth, humour, and humanity. He married Mary, sole daughter and heiress to Sir James Langham of Cottesbrooke in the county of Nottingham, Bart. By this Lady, who was of a very amiable character, he had four sons and two daughters. His eldest son died an infant, and he was therefore succeeded in his honours and estates by his second son George, Earl of Warrington.

His Works, which were published in one volume, 8vo. in 1694, contain his Advice to his Children, an Essay on Government, several of his speeches in Parliament, fifteen small political tracts or essays, and the case of William Earl of Devonshire. He also wrote Observations on the case of Lord Russell, for whom he had a great friendship, and who, on the morning of his execution, sent him a very kind message, expressive of his regard for him.

The Life of JOHN RAY.

JOHAN RAY was the son of Roger Ray, a blacksmith, at Black Notley, near Braintree, in Essex, where he was born on the 29th of November, 1628. He received his first education at a school in Braintree; from whence he was sent, in 1644, to Catherine Hall in Cambridge. Here he continued near two years, and then removed to Trinity-College. Mr. Derham informs us, that he was much pleased with this removal, because in Catherine Hall they chiefly addicted themselves to disputations, while in Trinity-College the politer arts and sciences were principally attended to and cultivated. He took the degrees in arts, and was chosen Fellow of his College; and the learned Duport, famous for his skill in Greek, who had been his tutor, used to say, that the chief of all his pupils, and to whom he esteemed none of the rest comparable, were Mr. Ray and Dr. Barrow, who were both of the same standing.

In 1651, he was chosen the Greek lecturer of the College; in 1653, the mathematical lecturer; and in 1655, humanity reader: which three appointments shew the reputation he had acquired in that early period of his life, for his skill in languages, polite literature, and the sciences. Indeed, he injured his health by too intense an application to his studies, being naturally consumptive and weakly; he was advised, and obliged, therefore, to exercise himself by riding or walking in the fields. But he made even the time employed in this manner turn to good account, by applying himself to the study of Botany, in which science he arrived at a great perfection. His first longest excursion in search of plants, was in the summer of the year 1658, when he rode from Cambridge to Chester; from whence he went into North Wales, visiting many places, and among the rest the famous hill of Snowdon, and returned by Shrewsbury and Gloucester (*b*).

On the 23d of December, 1660, he was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr. Robert Sanderfon, Bishop of Lincoln. The same year he published, "A Catalogue of the Cambridge Plants." And in 1661, he took a second journey, with Francis Willoughby, Esq; and others, in search of herbs, plants, &c. into the North of England; and from thence into Scotland, through Edinburgh, as far as Stirling; from whence returning through Glasgow, and

(*b*) *Ibid.* Biograp. Britan. and New and Gen. Dict. 8vo.

to into England by Carlisle, they arrived at Cambridge in September.

The year following, taking Chester and all Wales in their way, they travelled through Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, &c. and returned to London by Windfor. But after the passing of what was called the Bartholomew-act, in 1662, Mr Ray quitted his fellowship of Trinity-College, because he could not comply with all the Conditions required in that act. In the years 1663, 1664, and 1665, he accompanied Mr. Willoughby, Mr. Philip Skippon, and Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, in their travels through the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, France, &c. embarking at Dover the 18th of April, 1663, and returning thither on the 8th of April, 1666. He published afterwards the curious observations he had made in those travels under the following title: "*Observations topographical, moral, and physiological, made in a journey through part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and France, &c.*" Lond. 1673. 8vo.

After his return to England, Mr. Ray lived some time at his native place of Black Notley, but mostly at Middleton-hall in Warwickshire, the seat of his worthy and ingenious friend Francis Willoughby, Esq. In 1667, they visited together Worcestershire, and all the western counties. On the 7th of November, 1667, Mr. Ray was admitted Fellow of the Royal Society. The year following, he visited Kent, in pursuit of his favourite study of Botany; and, for the same purpose, took another journey into the northern parts of England.

In 1671, Mr. Ray was afflicted with a feverish disorder, which ended in the yellow jaundice: but he was soon cured of it, as he tells us himself, by an infusion of stone-horse dung with saffron in ale. The year after, his intimate and beloved friend Mr. Willoughby died in the 37th year of his age, at Middleton-hall, his seat in Yorkshire; "to the infinite and unspeakable loss and grief," says Mr. Ray, of myself, his friends, and all good men." There having been the closest and sincerest friendship between Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Ray, who were both attached to the same kind of studies, from the time of their being fellow collegians, Mr. Willoughby evidenced his kindness for Mr. Ray, and his confidence in him, even at his death: for he made him one of the executors of his will, and charged him with the education of his sons, Francis and Thomas, leaving him also for life 60l. per annum. The eldest of these young gentlemen not being four years of age, Mr. Ray, as a faithful trustee, betook himself to the instruction of them; and for their use composed his "*Nomenclator Classicus*" Francis, the eldest, dying before he was of age, the younger became Lord Middleton. Not many months after the death of Mr. Willoughby, Mr. Ray lost another of his best friends, Bishop Wilkins, whom he visited in London, but found near expiring.

In July, 1673, he married Margaret, daughter to Mr. John Oakley of Launton in Oxfordshire, by whom he had four daughters, three of whom survived him. Notwithstanding his marriage, he continued at Middleton the remainder of the year 1673, and all 1674; but he afterwards removed to Coleshill, and Sutton-Cofield, in Warwickshire, where he resided till about Michaelmas 1677. Then he returned into Essex, and having lived about a year and an half at Faulkborn-hall, the seat of Edward Bullock, Esq; he settled in a house of his own building at Black Notley, where he continued the remainder of his days.

In 1686, he published, in folio, the first volume of his "*Historia Plantarum*;" the second volume was published in 1687, and the third some years after. As his principal delight and employment was the general study of nature, he published, in 1693, a concise but very accurate account of quadrupeds and serpents, entitled, "*Synopsis methodica animalium quadrupedum et serpentini generis*," &c. 8vo. He drew up likewise, in the same method, and about the same time, a *Synopsis* of Birds and Fishes, which was published after his death. He also employed much time and pains in digesting and preparing for the press some observations and collections in natural history made by his deceased friend Mr. Willoughby. And he also continued to publish from time to time sundry botanical pieces of his own.

Mr. Ray having now published many books on subjects, which might be thought somewhat foreign to his profession, he at length resolved to entertain the world like a divine, as well as natural philosopher; and accordingly printed, in 1691, in 8vo. his "*Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation*." This work meeting with universal applause, encouraged him to publish another of a like nature; which was his "*Three physico-theological discourses concerning the chaos, deluge, and dissolution of the world*;" 1692. 8vo. Both these works have been often re-printed, with large additions. He also published a treatise in practical divinity, entitled, "*A persuasive to a holy Life*."

He likewise made a catalogue of Grecian, Syrian, Egyptian, and Cretan plants, which was printed with Rauwolf's travels in 1693; and the year after published his "*Sylloge Stirpium Europæarum extra Britannian*." He had afterwards some little contests with Rivinus and Tournefort, concerning the method of plants, which occasioned him to amend and review his own method.

Mr. Ray's health had long been impaired by years and study; and he began now to be grievously afflicted with a continual diarrhœa, and with very painful ulcers in his legs, which eat deep into the flesh, and kept him waking whole nights. By which means he was so disabled, that, as he tells Dr. Tancred Robinson, in a letter dated September the 30th, 1698, he could not so much as walk into the neighbouring fields. He lived, however,

however, some years with these infirmities; and at length died on the 17th of January, 1704-5, in his own house at Black Notley. He was buried, according to his own directions, in the church-yard there; and a monument was soon after erected over his grave, with a Latin inscription. But this monument beginning to grow ruinous, was removed from the church-yard into the church in 1737.

A few days before his death he wrote the following short letter to his friend Sir Hans Sloane, Bart.

“ Dear Sir,
“ The best of friends: these are to take a final leave of
“ you as to this world. I look upon myself as a dying man.
“ God requite your kindness expressed any ways towards me
“ an hundred fold: bless you with a confluence of all good
“ things in this world, and eternal life and happiness hereafter:
“ and grant us an happy meeting in heaven.

I am, Sir,

Black Notley,
Jan. 1, 1704.

Eternally Yours,
JOHN RAY.”

“ P. S. When you happen to write to my singular friend Dr.
“ Hotton, I pray tell him I received his most obliging and af-
“ fectionate letter, for which I return thanks; and acquaint
“ him, that I was not able to answer it, or ———.”

Dr. Robinson says, that Mr. RAY was “ the best Botanist,
“ and the most accomplished Naturalist of this, or perhaps any
“ age.” And he adds, that he was a man of “ a vast memory,
“ exact judgment, universal knowledge, and extraordinary ta-
“ lents.” He was distinguished for his worth and probity, as
well as for his extensive learning. He was modest, affable, and
communicative; of great candour and integrity; remarkably
sober and temperate; and charitable to the utmost of his power.
His collections of natural curiosities were considerable; and he
bestowed them, a few days before his decease, upon his ingenious
neighbour, Samuel Dale, apothecary in Braintree, who, with the
addition of many of his own, made a present of them afterwards
to the Royal Society.—In 1718, Mr. Derham published, in 8vo.
“ Philosophical letters between the late learned Mr. Ray and se-
“ veral of his ingenious correspondents, natives and foreigners.”



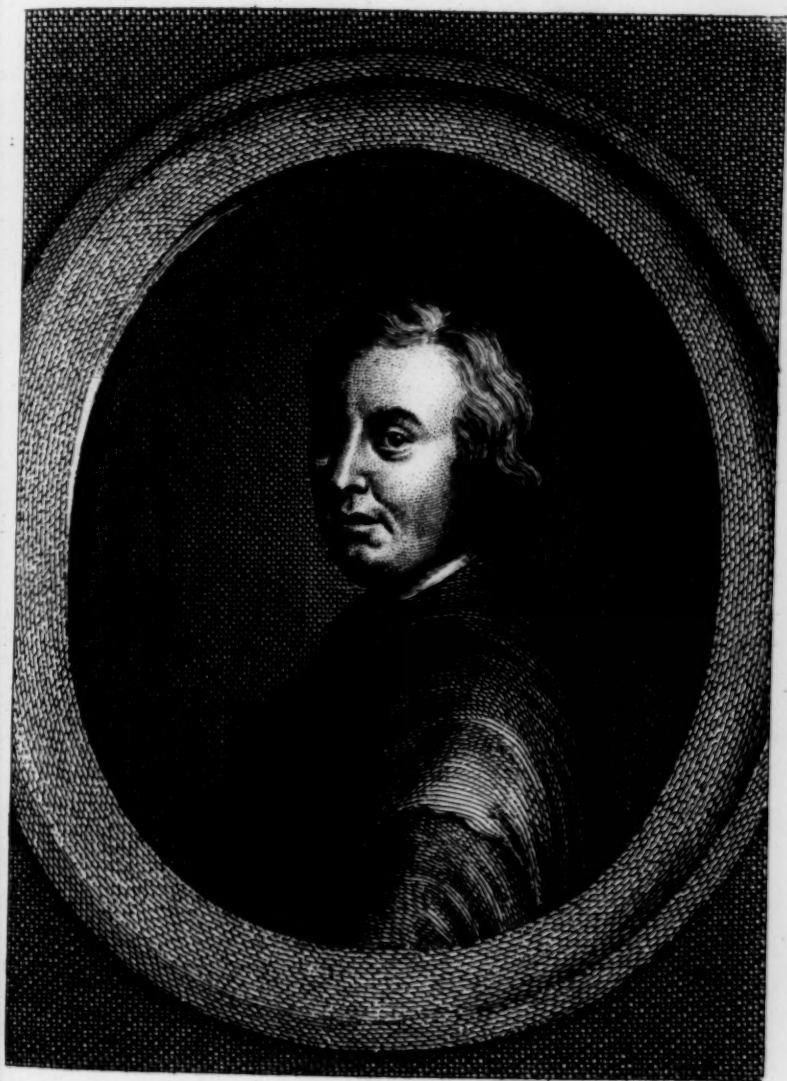
The Life of JOHN DRYDEN.

THIS celebrated Poet was son to Mr. Erasmus Dryden, of Tichmersh, and grandson of Sir Erasmus Dryden of Canons Ashby, both in Northamptonshire. He was born at Aldwinckle, near Oundle, in that county, on the 9th of August, 1631. He was educated in grammar-learning at Westminster-school, being King's scholar there under the famous Dr. Busby (c); and was from thence elected, in 1650, a scholar of Trinity College, in Cambridge; but what stay he made at the University we meet with no account. In 1658, he published "Heroic Stanzas on the late Lord Protector, written after his funeral:" in which he speaks of Cromwell in the following terms:

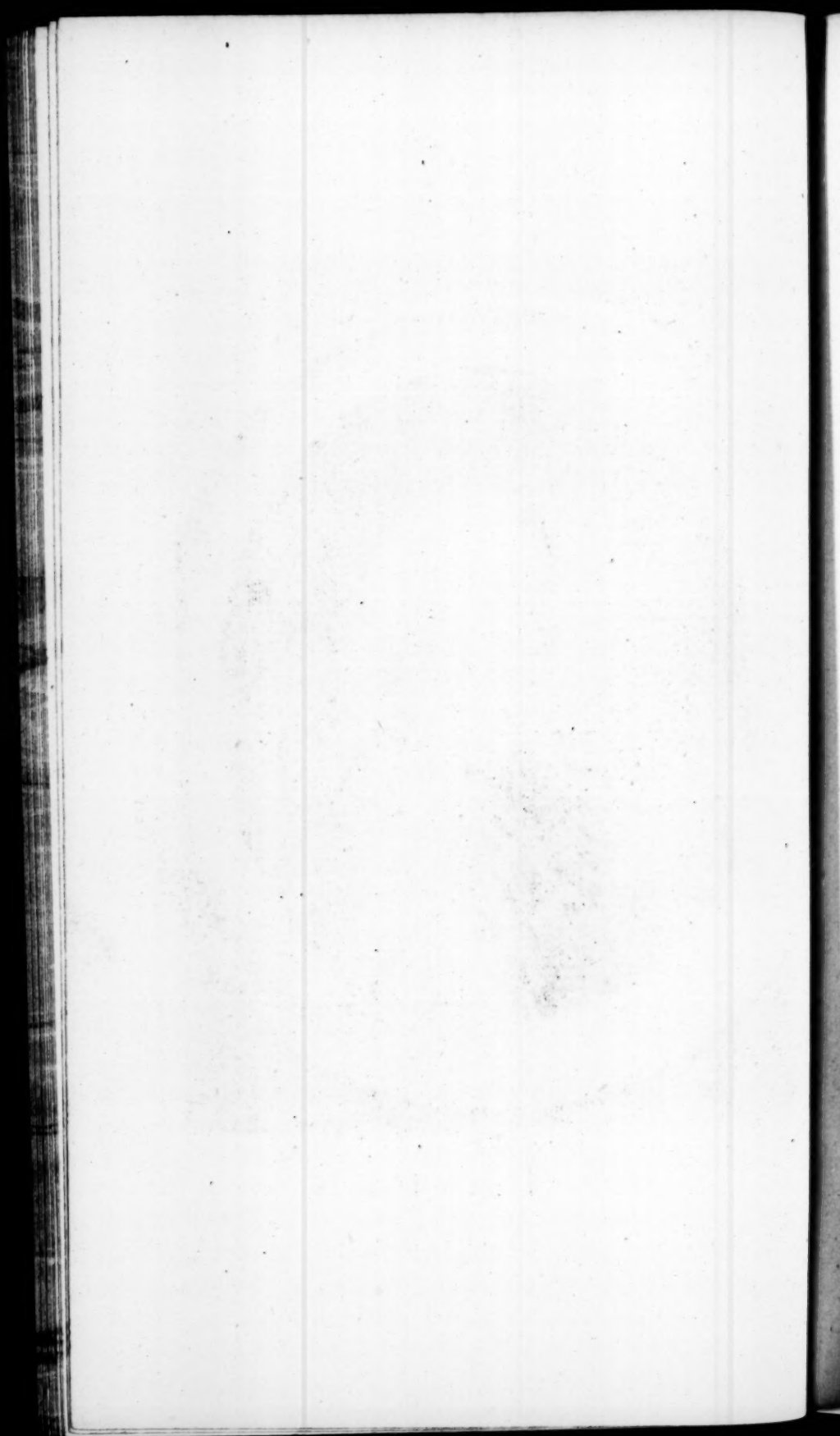
" His

(c) RICHARD BUSBY was born at Lutton in Lincolnshire in 1606. He received his education in Westminster-school, as a King's scholar; and in 1624, was elected student of Christ-church. In 1628, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of master in 1631, at which time he was esteemed a great master of the Greek and Latin tongues. In 1639, he was admitted to the Prebend and Rectory of Cudworth, with the chapel of Knowle annexed, in the church of Wells; of which he lost the profits during the civil war; but it is said that he had some other preferment, of which he was suffered to keep possession. He was appointed master of Westminster-school in 1640; in which laborious station he continued above fifty-five years, and bred up probably the greatest number of learned scholars that were ever educated by one man. After the restoration of King Charles II. Mr. Busby's merit and reputation being taken notice of, his Majesty conferred on him a Prebend of Westminster; and he was soon after made Treasurer and Canon-Residentary of the church of Wells. In 1660, he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity. At the coronation of K.

Charles II. on the 23d of April, 1661, he carried the *Ampulla*. In the convocation the same year, he was Proctor for the chapter of Bath and Wells; and was one of those who approved and subscribed the common prayer-book. After a long, healthy, and laborious life, he died on the 6th of April, 1695, aged eighty-nine, and was buried in Westminster-abbey, where a monument is erected to his memory. Dr. Busby was a man of great learning, and had great skill and diligence as a teacher. He was very sagacious in finding out the genius and disposition of his scholars, and no less industrious in employing them to advantage, and forwarding them successfully. He greatly liked, and even applauded and rewarded wit in any of his scholars, though it reflected on himself; but in his school he was extremely severe; and was supposed to have made a greater consumption of birch than any other man of his profession. He founded and endowed two lectures in Christ-church College, one of the oriental languages, and another for the mathematics. He composed a Greek Grammar, and several other books, for the use of Westminster-school.



JOHN DRYDEN.



- “ His grandeur he deriv’d from heaven alone ;
“ For he was great e’er fortune made him so,
“ And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,
“ Made him but greater seem, not greater grow.
- “ No borrow’d bays his temples did adorn,
“ But to our Crown he did fresh jewels bring :
“ Nor was his virtue poison’d soon as born,
“ With the too early thoughts of being King.
- “ He, private, mark’d the faults of others sway,
“ And set as sea-marks for himself to shun ;
“ Not like rash monarchs, who their youth betray,
“ By acts their age too late would wish undone.
- “ And yet dominion was not his design ;
“ We owe that blessing not to him, but heaven,
“ Which to fair acts unsought rewards did join ;
“ Rewards that less to him than us were given.
- “ Swift and resistless through the land he past,
“ Like that bold Greek who did the East subdue,
“ And made to battles such heroic haste,
“ As if on wings of victory he flew.
- “ He fought secure of fortune as of fame ;
“ Still by new maps the island might be shewn,
“ Of conquests which he strew’d where’er he came,
“ Thick as the Galaxy with stars is sown.
- “ Fame of th’ asserted sea, through Europe blown,
“ Made France and Spain ambitious of his love ;
“ Each knew that side must conquer he would own ;
“ And for him fiercely, as for empire, strove.
- “ By his command, we boldly cross’d the line,
“ And bravely fought where southern stars arise ;
“ We trac’d the far-fetch’d gold unto the mine,
“ And that which brib’d our fathers made our prize.
- “ Nor died he when his ebbing fame went less,
“ But when fresh laurels courted him to live ;
“ He seem’d but to prevent some new success,
“ As if above what triumphs earth can give.”

But notwithstanding this panegyric on Cromwell, it appears that Mr. Dryden’s muse was very ready to accommodate itself to the change of government, which soon after happened. For in

1660, having suddenly become a zealous Royalist, he published his "*Astræa Redux*, a Poem on the happy Restoration and Return of his sacred Majesty King Charles II." A remarkable distich in this piece exposed Dryden to the attacks of the wits. It was this:

" An horrid stillness first invades the ear,
" And in that silence we the tempest fear."

Among others, Captain Alexander Ratcliff ridicules in the following lines of his *News from Hell*:

" Laureat, who was both learn'd and florid,
" Was damn'd long since for *silence horrid*;
" Nor had there been such clutter made,
" But that his *silence* did *invade*;
" *Invade!* and so't might well, that's clear;
" But what did it *invade*? An Ear."

The same year Mr. Dryden published his panegyric to the King on his coronation; and in 1662, he addressed a poem to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, presented on New Year's Day; and the same year published a satire on the Dutch. His next piece was the "*Annus Mirabilis*; the year of wonders, 1666; an " historical poem."

In 1668, upon the death of Sir William Davenant, Mr. Dryden was made poet-laureat and historiographer to King Charles II. and the same year he published, " An Essay on Dramatic Poesy." This is drawn up in the form of a dialogue; and it is observed in the preface, that the drift of it was to vindicate the honour of our English writers from the censure of those who unjustly prefer the French before them.

In 1669, his first play, a comedy, called " *The Wild Gallant*," was acted at the Theatre-Royal; but with very little success. Mr. Dryden was, however, not discouraged; but soon after gave the public his "*Indian Emperor*," which finding a more favourable reception, encouraged him to proceed, and that with such rapidity, that in the *Key to the Duke of Buckingham's Rehearsal*, he is said to have engaged himself by contract for the writing of four plays per year; and, indeed, in the years 1679 and 1680, he appears to have fulfilled that contract. It has been justly observed, that to this unhappy necessity which our author lay under, are to be attributed all those irregularities, those bombastic flights, and sometimes even puerile exuberances, which he has been so severely criticised on for; and which, in the unavoidable hurry in which he wrote, it was impossible he should find time to revise, either for the lopping away or correcting. This also must be considered as an excuse for his borrowing many things both with regard to his general plots, and the particular

particular incidents of some of his plays, from other authors; and, indeed, it is much less to be wondered at, that under all these disadvantages he was obliged to apply to those resources which his enemies have affixed the charge of plagiarism on him for, than that he should produce so many excellent pieces, as in despite of them all he has done (*d*).

Mr. Dryden himself, as an apology for some of the defects in his dramatic performances, in the epistle dedicatory to the *Spanish Fryar*, intimates, that he sometimes wrote contrary to his own judgment, in order to comply with the vitiated taste of the age. 'I remember (says he) some passages of my own *Maximin* and *Almanzor*, which cry vengeance upon me for their extravagance. All I can say for those passages, which are, I hope, not many, is, that I knew they were bad enough to please, even when I writ them. But I repent of them among my sins; and if any of their fellows intrude by chance into my present writings, I draw a stroke over all those Dalilahs of the Theatre, and am resolved I will settle myself no reputation by the applause of fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to all ambition; but I scorn as much to take it from half-witted judges, as I should to raise an estate by cheating of bubbles; neither do I discommend the lofty style in tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnificent. But nothing is truly sublime, that is not just and proper.' He tells us also, in the Preface to his translation of *Fresnoy's Art of Painting*, that his *Spanish Fryar* was "given to the people," and that he never wrote any thing, in the dramatic way, to please himself, but his *All for Love*. And his compliance with the false taste of the age, is thus expressed by Lord Lansdowne:

" DRYDEN himself, to please a frantice age,
 " Was forc'd to let his judgment stoop to rage:
 " To a wild audience he conformed his voice,
 " Comply'd to custom, but not err'd thro' choice.
 " Deem then the people's, not the writer's sin,
 " Almanzor's rage, and rants of Maximin:
 " That fury spent, in each elaborate piece,
 " He vies for fame with antient Rome and Greece."

With respect to *Comedy*, Mr. Dryden declared himself that he was not qualified to excel in that species of the drama: 'I know (said he) I am not fitted by nature to write Comedy. I want that gaiety of humour, which is required in it. My conversation is slow and dull, my humour saturnine and reserved. In short, I am none of those who endeavour to break jests in company, or make repartees. So that those who decry my comedies, do me no injury, except it be in point of profit: reputation

(*d*) Vid. Companion to the Play-house.

‘putation in them is the last thing to which I shall pretend
‘(e).’

In 1671, Mr. Dryden was publicly ridiculed on the stage, under the character of *Bayes*, in the Duke of Buckingham’s comedy, called *The Rehearsal*. This was the severest attack he ever met with, as the wit of the performance caused it to be universally admired; however, he affected to despise it; for in the dedication of his translation of Juvenal and Persius, speaking of the many lampoons and libels which had been written against him, he says, ‘I answered not to the Rehearsal, because I knew the author sat to himself when he drew the picture, and was the very Bayes of his own farce; because also I knew my letters were more concerned than I was in that satire; and lastly, because Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnson, the main pillars of it, were too such languishing gentlemen in their conversation, that I could liken them to nothing but their own relations, those noble characters of men of wit and pleasure about town.’ But though he did not write any professed answer to the Rehearsal, he took some revenge on the Duke of Buckingham, by satirizing him under the character of *Zimri* (f), in his *Abfalom and Achitophel*.

In 1675, the Earl of Rochester, who was envious, we are told, of the reputation which Dryden had acquired, was determined, if possible, to shake his interest at Court, and succeeded so far as to recommend Mr. Crowne, (g), an author of much inferior merit, and at that time of an obscure reputation, to write a masque for the Court, which was considered as an invasion of Mr. Dryden’s province, as poet-laureat. It was probably out of resentment at this, that Mr. Dryden joined with the Earl of Mulgrave in writing “An Essay upon Satire,” which was published in 1679. This piece contained severe reflections on the Dukes of Portsmouth and the Earl of Rochester; and they suspecting Mr.

(e) *Vid.* his Defence of the Essay on Dramatic Poesy, prefixed to his Indian Emperor.

(f) *Vid.* P. 286. of this volume.

(g) JOHN CROWNE, though very far from being equal to Dryden, had a considerable degree of merit as a dramatic writer. He was the author of fifteen plays, of which his comedy of *Sir Courtly Nice* appears to have been the best. He was son of an Independent Minister settled at Nova Scotia, where he received his education. After he came to England, he appears chiefly to have supported himself by his dramatic writings. The author of the “Companion to the Playhouse” says, ‘As

‘a man he seems to have possessed many amiable and social virtues, mingled with great vivacity and easiness of disposition. As a writer his numerous works bear sufficient testimony of his merit. His chief excellence lay in comedy, yet his tragedies are far from contemptible. His plots are for the most part his own invention, his characters are in general strongly coloured and highly finished, and his dialogue lively and spirited, attentively diversified, and well adapted to the several speakers. So that on the whole he may assuredly be allowed to stand at least in the third rank of our dramatic writers.’

Mr. Dryden to be the author of it, are said to have hired three men to cudgel him, who, according to Anthony Wood, "effected their business in Will's Coffee-house in Covent-garden, at eight o'clock at night, on the 16th of December, 1679."

Whatever animosity there might be at this time between Rochester and Dryden, it appears that they had professed a great esteem and regard for each other; for in the *British Museum* an original letter of Dryden to the Earl is preserved, part of which is as follows:

"My Lord,

"I have accused myself this month together for not writing to you: I have called myself by the names I deserved of unmanly and ungrateful. I have been uneasy, and taken up the resolutions of a man who is betwixt sin and repentance; convinced of what he ought to do, and yet unable to do better. At the last, I deferred it so long, that I almost grew hardened in the neglect; and thought I had suffered so much in your good opinion, that it was in vain to hope I could redeem it. So dangerous a thing it is to be inclined to sloth, that I must confess once for all, I was ready to quit all manner of obligations; and to receive, as if it were my due, the most handsome compliment, couched in the best language I have read, and this too from my Lord of Rochester, without showing myself sensible of the favour. If your Lordship could descend so far to say all those things to me, which I ought to have said to you, it might reasonably be concluded, that you had enchanted me to believe those praises, and that I owed them in my silence. 'Twas this consideration that moved me at last to put off my idleness: and now the shame of seeing myself overpaid so much for an ill dedication, has made me almost repent of my address. I find it is not for me to contend any way with your Lordship, who can write better on the meanest subject than I can on the best. I have only engaged myself in a new debt, when I had hoped to cancel a part of the old one: and should either have chosen some other patron, whom it was in my power to have obliged, by speaking better of him than he deserved, or have made your Lordship only a hearty dedication of the respect and honour I had for you, without giving you the occasion to conquer me, as you have done, at my own weapon. My only relief is, that what I have written is public, and I am so much my own friend, as to conceal your Lordship's letter: for that which would have given vanity to any other Poet, has only given me confusion. You see, my Lord, how far you have pushed me: I dare not own the honour you have done me, for fear of shewing it to my own disadvantage. You are that *Rerum Natura* of your own Lucretius,

"*Ipse suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri.*

"You are above any incense I can give you; and have all the
"happiness

“happiness of an idle life, joined with the good nature of an active (*b*).”

In 1681, Mr. Dryden published his Medal, a satire against sedition.” This poem was occasioned by the striking of a medal, on account of the indictment against the Earl of Shaftesbury for high treason being found *ignoramus* by the Grand Jury at the Old Bailey in November that year (*i*); for which great rejoicings were made in all parts of London. The whole poem is a severe invective against the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Whigs. An answer was written to it, under the title of “the Medal reversed,” by Mr. Settle (*k*), who had also written a poem against our authors, Absalom and Achitophel, and criticised some of his plays. And it is observable that Settle, notwithstanding his great inferiority to Dryden, was for some time considered as a kind of rival to him.

In 1682, Mr. Dryden published his “Religio Laici, or a Layman’s faith.” This piece, which was written in verse, was intended as a defence of revealed religion, and the excellency and authority of the Scriptures; and our Poet acquaints us in the preface, that it was written for an ingenious young gentleman, his friend, upon his translation of Father Simon’s Critical History of the Old and New Testament. In 1684, he published a translation of “Maimbourgh’s history of the league;” in which he was employed by King Charles II. on account of the supposed resemblance between the troubles of France and those of Great Britain.

Upon the death of Charles II. he wrote his “*Threnodia Augustaulis*; a poem sacred to the happy memory of that Prince.” And soon after the accession of King James II. our author turned Roman Catholic; upon which occasion Mr. Thomas Brown (*l*) published “The reasons of Mr. Bays’s changing his religion considered.” In 1686, Mr. Dryden wrote “A Defence of the Papers written by the late King of blessed memory (Charles II.) and found in his strong box.” This was written in opposition to a piece of Dr. Stillingfleet’s who afterwards published a vindication of his own performance, in which he treated Dryden with some severity. “if I thought (says he) there were no such thing as true religion in the world, and that the priests of all religions are alike, I might have been as nimble a convert, and as early a defender of the royal papers, as any one of these

(*b*) Harleian MSS. No. 7003--178.

(*i*) Vid. P. 169. of this Volume.

(*k*) ELKANAH SETTLE was born at Dunstable in Bedfordshire, in 1648. and educated in Trinity college, Oxford. He was the author of fourteen dramatic pieces. He had a pension from the city of London, for an annual panegyric to celebrate the

festival of the Lord Mayor; in consequence of which he wrote various poems, called “Triumphs for the Inauguration of the Lord Mayor.” He also wrote several occasional poems, and some political tracts. He died in the Charter-house in 1724.

(*l*) THOMAS BROWN was the son of a considerable farmer in Shropshire,

"these champions. For why should not one, who believes no religion, declare for any?" Indeed it must be confessed, that Mr. Dryden's changing his religion, just after a Popish prince had ascended the throne, had a very unfavourable appearance; (m) and the more so, as he had always shewn a great readiness to pay court to those in power, and to vindicate their measures, however deserving of censure.

In 1687, he published his "Hind and Panther, a poem." It is divided into three parts, and is a direct defence of the Romish church, chiefly by way of dialogue between a Hind, who represents the church of Rome, and a Panther, who sustains the character of the church of England. And these two beasts very learnedly discuss the several points controverted between the

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3 A

two

shire, and was sent to Christ-church college, Oxford, where he distinguished himself by his progress in literature; but some irregularities in his life would not suffer him to continue long at the university. After his removal from thence, instead of returning home to his father, he formed a scheme of going to London, in hopes of pushing his fortune there. But meeting with no success at the capital, he made interest to be appointed schoolmaster of Kingston upon Thames, in which pursuit he succeeded. But this was a profession very unsuitable to the vivacity of Mr. Brown's temper; and therefore he soon quitted his school, and went again to London. But he found his companions there, though much delighted with his humour, not very ready to assist him, or to afford him any instances of real friendship; and therefore he endeavoured to procure a subsistence by his writings. Accordingly he published a variety of pieces under the names of Dialogues, Letters, Poems, &c. in all which he discovered no small erudition, and a great vein of humour: for he was in his writings, as well as in his conversation, always lively and facetious. It is said that the piece mentioned above, as written against Dryden, was the first that brought him into public notice. He had a particular genius for satire, and dealt it out liberally whenever he could find occasion.

Towards the latter end of our author's life, we are informed by Mr. Jacob, that he was in favour with the

Earl of Dorset, who once invited him to dinner on a Christmas day, with Mr. Dryden, and some other gentlemen celebrated for their abilities; when Mr. Brown, to his agreeable surprise, found a bank-note of 50l. under his plate; and Mr. Dryden at the same time was presented with another of 100l. It is said that such acts of generosity were very common with that munificent nobleman.

Mr. Brown appears to have been too much addicted both to wine and women; though he is said not to have been difficult in the choice either of his companions or mistresses. When he came upon his death-bed, he expressed great remorse for the sins of his past life. He died in 1704, and was interred in the cloyster of Westminster-abbey, near the remains of Mrs. Behn, with whom he was intimate in his life-time. His works have been several times printed in four volumes, 12mo. They contain much wit and humour; but too many of them are justly censurable for their licentious and immoral tendency.

(m) In James the Second's reign, the people of fashion embraced the Popish religion so very fast, in order to please the King, that a witty Knight, who then lived, and who was, by his education, and principles, a Papist, being asked by a nobleman, "What News?" he made answer, "I hear no news, my Lord, only, God's Papists can get no preferment, because the King's Papists swarm so thick." Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III. P. 347.

two churches, as transubstantiation, church-authority, infallibility, &c.

At the Revolution, being disqualified by having turned Papist, Mr. Dryden was dismissed from the office of Poet-Laureat: however, the Earl of Dorset, though obliged, as Lord-Chamberlain, to take the King's pension from him, was so generous a friend and patron to him, that he allowed him an equivalent out of his own estate. He was succeeded as poet-laureat by Thomas Shadwell, against whom he entertained an implacable resentment, as appears from his *Mac Flecknoe*, which is one of the severest satires in any language.

About this time he also published, "The Life of St. Francis Xavier," translated from the French of Father Bouhours. And in 1693, came out a translation of Juvenal and Persius; in which the first, third, sixth, tenth, and sixteenth satires of Juvenal, and the whole of Persius, were done by Mr. Dryden, who prefixed a long and excellent discourse, by way of dedication to the Earl of Dorset. He contributed likewise to the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was published after his death by Dr. Garth.

In 1695, he published a translation in prose of Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*, with a preface, containing a parallel between painting and poetry. And in 1697, the public was favoured with his translation of Virgil; which has been highly commended by the best judges. Mr. Pope, speaking of Dryden's translation of some parts of Homer says, 'Had he translated the whole work, I would no more have attempted Homer after him, than Virgil; his version of whom (notwithstanding some human errors) is the most noble and spirited translation I know in any language.'

One of the last works published by Mr. Dryden was his "Fables, antient and modern, translated into verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer;" to which were added, some original pieces, among which the *Ode on St. Cecilia's day* is justly esteemed one of the most perfect in any language, and has been set to music more than once; particularly, in the winter of the year 1735, by that great master, Mr. Handel; and publicly performed, with the utmost applause, on the Theatre in Covent-garden. And the ingenious Mr. Warton observes of this ode, that the variety and harmony of its numbers, and the beauty and force of its images, have conspired to place it at the head of modern lyric compositions.

Few particulars are related of Mr. Dryden's life. It is said, that he had once a design of taking holy orders, but was refused; and that he solicited for the Provostship of Eton-College, but failed also in this. He married the Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire. He lived many years in Gerrard-street, near Newport-market. It is said, that notwithstanding his abilities, he was weak enough to be fond of judicial astrology.

astrology, and used to calculate the nativity of his children: and a story relative to this is related concerning him, which we shall lay before our readers, who must give what degree of credit to it they think proper. We are told, that when his Lady was in labour with his son Charles, Mr. Dryden being informed it was decent to withdraw, laid his watch on the table, begging one of the ladies then present, in a most solemn manner, to take exact notice of the very minute the child was born, which she did, and acquainted him with it. About a week after, when his Lady was pretty well recovered, Mr. Dryden took occasion to tell her that he had been calculating the child's nativity, and observed with grief, that he was born in an evil hour, for Jupiter, Venus, and the Sun, were all under the earth, and the Lord of his Ascendant afflicted with an hateful square of Mars and Saturn.—

“ If he lives to arrive at his eighth year, (said he) he will go
“ near to die a violent death on his very birth-day; but if he
“ should escape, as I see but small hopes, he will in his 23d
“ year be under the very same evil direction. And if he should,
“ which seems almost impossible, escape that also, the 33d or
“ 34th year is, I fear ”——Here he was interrupted by the immoderate grief of his Lady, who could no longer bear to hear calamity prophesied to befall her son; and it was with much difficulty that her husband pacified her. The time at last came, and August was the inauspicious month in which young Dryden was to enter into the eighth year of his age. The court being in progress, and Mr. Dryden at leisure, he was invited by the Earl of Berkshire, his brother-in-law, to keep the long vacation with him at Charleton in Wilts; his Lady being invited at the same time to her uncle Mordaunt's, to pass the remainder of the summer. When they came to divide the children, Lady Elizabeth would have him take John, and suffer her to take Charles; but Mr. Dryden absolutely refused this, and they parted in anger. He took Charles with him, and she was obliged to be contented with John. When the fatal day came, the anxiety of the Lady's spirits occasioned such an effervescence of blood, as threw her into so violent a fever, that her life was despaired of, till a letter came from Mr. Dryden, reproving her for her womanish credulity, and assuring her that her child was well, which recovered her spirits, and in six weeks after she received a particular account of the whole affair. Mr. Dryden, probably through fear of being reckoned superstitious, was extremely cautious of letting any one know that he was a dealer in astrology; therefore could not excuse his absence, on his son's anniversary, from a general hunting-match Lord Berkshire had made, to which all the gentlemen in the neighbourhood were invited. But when he went out, he took care to set the boy a double exercise in the Latin tongue, which he taught his children himself, with a strict charge not to stir out of the room till his return; well knowing the task he had set him would take up longer time. Charles

was accordingly performing his duty, in obedience to his father, but unfortunately the stag made towards the house; and the noise alarming the servants, they hastened out to see the sport. One of them took young Dryden by the hand, and led him out to see it also, when just as they came to the gate, the stag being at bay with the dogs, made a bold push, and leaped over the court wall, which was very low, and very old; and the dogs following, threw down a part of the wall ten yards in length, under which Charles Dryden lay buried. He was immediately dug out, and after six weeks languishing in a dangerous way he recovered; so far Dryden's prediction was fulfilled. In the 23d year of his age, Charles fell from the top of an old Tower belonging to the Vatican at Rome, occasioned by a swimming in his head, with which he was seized, the heat of the day being excessive. He again recovered, but was ever after in a languishing sickly state. And in the thirty-third year of his age, being returned to England, he was unhappily drowned at Windsor. He had with another gentleman swam twice over the Thames; but returning a third time, it was supposed he was taken with the cramp, because he called out for help, though too late. Thus the father's calculation proved but too prophetic. This story is related at length in the Life of Mr. Congreve, by Charles Wilson, Esq; and most of the particulars are said to have been received from Lady Elizabeth Dryden's own mouth. (g.)

Mr. Dryden died on the first of May, 1701, and was interred in Westminster-abbey. On the 19th of April preceding, he had been very bad with the Gout and Erisipelas in one leg; but being somewhat recovered, he said he designed soon to go abroad. On the Friday following he eat a partridge for his supper; but going to take a turn in the little garden behind his house in Gerard-street, he was seized with a violent pain under the ball of the great toe of his right foot; so that being unable to stand, he cried out for help, and was carried in by his servants: and surgeons being sent for, they found a small black spot in the place affected. He submitted to their present applications, but when they were gone, he called his son Charles to him, to whom he addressed these words: "I know this black spot is a mortification: I know also, that it will seize my head, and that they will attempt to cut off my leg; but I command you, my son, by your filial duty, that you do not suffer me to be dismembered." As he foretold, the event proved, and his son was too dutiful to disobey his father's commands. And on the Wednesday morning following, he breathed his last, under the most excruciating pains, in the 69th year of his age.

The day after Mr. Dryden's death, the Dean of Westminster sent word to his widow, that he would make a present of the ground,

(g) Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Congreve, Esq. 8vo. 1730. P. 23--31.

ground, and all other abbey-fees for the funeral. The Lord Halifax likewise sent to the Lady Elizabeth, and to Mr. Charles Dryden, offering to defray the expences of our poet's funeral, and afterwards to bestow 500*l.* on a monument in the abbey : which generous offer was accepted. Accordingly, on Sunday following, the company being assembled, the corpse was put into a velvet hearse, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were just ready to move, Lord Jefferies, son of Lord-Chancellor Jefferies, of infamous memory, with some of his rakish companions riding by, asked whose funeral it was ; and being told it was Mr. Dryden's, he protested he should not be buried in that private manner, that he would himself with the Lady Elizabeth's leave have the honour of the interment, and would bestow a thousand pounds on a monument in the abbey for him. This put a stop to the procession ; and the Lord Jefferies, with several of the gentlemen, who had alighted from their coaches, went up stairs to the Lady, who was sick in bed. His Lordship repeated the purport of what he had said below ; but the Lady Elizabeth refusing her consent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to rise till his request was granted. The Lady, under a sudden surprize, fainted away, and Lord Jefferies pretending to have obtained her consent, ordered the body to be carried to the house of Mr. Russell, an undertaker in Cheapside, and to be left there till further orders. In the mean time, the abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the choir attending, and the Bishop waiting some hours to no purpose for the corpse. The next day Mr. Charles Dryden waited on Lord Halifax and the Bishop ; and endeavoured to excuse his mother, by relating the truth. Three days after, the undertaker having received no orders, waited on the Lord Jefferies ; who pretended that it was only a drunken frolic, that he remembered nothing of the matter, and that he might do what he pleased with the body. Upon this, the undertaker waited on the Lady Elizabeth, who desired a day's respite, which was granted. Mr. Charles Dryden immediately wrote to the Lord Jefferies, who returned for answer, that he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr. Dryden hereupon applied again to the Lord Halifax, and the Bishop of Rochester, who absolutely refused to do any thing in the affair.

In this distress, Dr. Garth, who had been Mr. Dryden's intimate friend, sent for the corpse to the College of Physicians, and proposed a subscription, which succeeding, about three weeks after Mr. Dryden's decease, Dr. Garth pronounced a fine Latin oration over the body, which was conveyed from the college, attended by a numerous train of coaches to Westminster-abbey but in very great disorder. At last the corpse arrived at the Abbey, which was all unlighted. No organ was played, nor any anthem sung ; only two of the singing boys preceded the corpse, who sung an ode of Horace, with each a small candle in their hand. When the funeral was over, Mr. Charles Dryden sent a challenge

to

to Lord Jefferies, who refusing to answer it, he sent several others, and went often himself; but could neither get a letter delivered, nor admittance to speak to him; which so incensed him, that finding his Lordship refused to answer him like a gentleman, he resolved to watch an opportunity, and brave him to fight; which his Lordship hearing, quitted the town, and Mr. Charles never had an opportunity to meet him, though he sought it to his death, with the utmost application (r).

Mr. Dryden's Lady survived him eight years, four of which she was a lunatic, being deprived of her senses by a nervous fever in 1704. He had three sons by her, John, Charles, and Harry.

The Character of DRYDEN has been drawn by the celebrated Congreve; but it has been thought somewhat partial in his favour. It is as follows. 'Mr. Dryden had personal qualities
 * to challenge both love and esteem from all who were truly acquainted with him. He was of a nature exceeding humane
 * and compassionate; easily forgiving injuries, and capable of a
 * prompt and sincere reconciliation with those who had offended him.—His friendship, where he professed it, went much beyond his professions; and I have been told of strong and generous instances of it, by the persons themselves who received
 * them: though his hereditary income was little more than a
 * bare competency.

'As his reading had been very extensive, so was he very happy in a memory tenacious of every thing that he had read. He was not more possessed of knowledge, than he was communicative of it. But then his communication of it was by no means pedantic, or imposed upon the conversation; but just such, and went so far, as by the natural turns of the discourse in which he was engaged, it was necessarily promoted or required. He was extreme ready and gentle in his correction of the errors of any writer, who thought fit to consult him; and full as ready and patient to admit of the reprehension of others, in respect of his own oversight or mistakes. He was of very easy, I may say, of very pleasing access. But something slow, and as it were diffident in his advances to others. He had something in his nature that abhorred intrusion into any society whatsoever. Indeed it is to be regretted, that he was rather blameable in the other extreme; for by that means, he was personally less known, and consequently his character might become liable both to misapprehensions and misrepresentations. To the best of my knowledge and observation, he was, of all the men that ever I knew, one of the most modest, and the most easily to be discountenanced in his approaches, either to his superiors, or his equals.

'As to his *Writings*, I may venture to say, in general terms,
 * that

(r) Wilson's Memoirs of Mr. Congreve, part. 2. P. 3.-8. and Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III. P. 82.—84.

‘ that no man hath written in our language so much, and so various matter, and in so various manners, so well. Another thing I may say was very peculiar to him; which is, that his parts did not decline with his years: but that he was an improving writer to the last, even to near seventy years of age; improving even in fire and imagination, as well as in judgment: witness his ode on St. Cecilia’s day, and his Fables, his latest performances.

‘ He was equally excellent in verse and in prose: his prose had all the clearness imaginable, together with all the nobleness of expression; all the graces and ornaments proper and peculiar to it, without deviating into the language or diction of poetry. I make this observation only to distinguish his style from that of many poetical writers, who meaning to write harmoniously in prose, do in truth often write mere blank verse.--- I have heard him frequently own with pleasure, that if he had any talent for English prose, it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop Tillotson.---His versification and his numbers he could learn of nobody: for he first possessed those talents in perfection in our tongue. And they who have best succeeded in them since his time, have been indebted to his example; and the more they have been able to imitate him, the better have they succeeded.

‘ As his style in prose is always specifically different from his style in poetry; so, on the other hand, in his poems, his diction is, wherever his subject requires it, so sublimely and so truly poetical, that its essence, like that of pure gold, cannot be destroyed. Take his verses, and divest them of their rhimes, disjoint them in their numbers, transpose their expressions, make what arrangement and disposition you please of his words, yet shall there eternally be poetry, and something which will be found incapable of being resolved into absolute prose: an incontestable characteristic of a truly poetical genius.

‘ I will say but one word more in general of his writings, which is, that what he has done in any one *species* or *distinct* kind, would have been sufficient to have acquired him a great name. If he had written nothing but his *Prefaces*, or nothing but his *Songs*, or his *Prologues*, each of them would have intitled him to the preference and distinction of excelling in his kind.’

The ingenious Mr. Granger says, ‘ Dryden was the father of true English poetry, and the most universal of all poets. This universality has been objected to him as a fault; but it was the unhappy effect of penury and dependence. He was not at liberty to pursue his own inclination; but was frequently obliged to prostitute his pen to such persons and things as a man of his talents must have despised. He was the great improver of our language and versification. The chains of our English bards were formerly heard to rattle only; in the age of Waller and Dryden, they became harmonious. He has failed in most
of

‘ of his dramatic writings, of which the prologues, epilogues, and prefaces, are generally more valuable than the pieces to which they are affixed. But even in this branch of poetry, he has written enough to perpetuate his fame ; as his “ All for Love,” his “ Spanish Friar,” his “ Amphitryon” and “ Don Sebastian,” can never be forgotten. There was a native fire in this great poet, which poverty could not damp, nor old age extinguish. On the contrary, he was still improving as a writer, while he was declining as a man ; and was far advanced in years, when he wrote his “ Alexander’s Feast,” which is confessedly at the head of modern lyrics, and in the true spirit of the ancient. Great injury has been done him, in taking an estimate of his character from the meanest of his productions. It would be just as uncandid, to determine the merit of Kneiler, from the vilest of his paintings.’

Pope had a very high opinion of Dryden, and was a great admirer of his writings. In one of his letters to Wycherley, he says, ‘ It was certainly a great satisfaction to me, to see and converse with a man, whom in his writings, I had so long known with pleasure. But it was a high addition to it, to hear you at our very first meeting doing justice to your dead friend Mr. Dryden. I was not so happy as to know him ; *Virgilium tantum vidi*. Had I been born early enough, I must have known and loved him. For I have been assured, not only by yourself, but by Sir William Trumbul, that his personal qualities were as amiable as his poetical, notwithstanding the many libellous misrepresentations of them.’ A monument was erected to Mr. Dryden’s memory in Westminster-abbey, by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

The Dramatic Works of Mr Dryden are as follows : 1. The Wild Gallant, a comedy. 2. The Indian Emperor, or Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards : a tragi-comedy. 3. An Evening’s Love ; or the Mock-Astrologer ; a comedy. 4. Marriage à-la-mode, a comedy. 5. Amboyna, a tragedy. 6. Aureng-zebe, or the Great Mogul, a tragedy. 7. The Tempest, or the enchanted island, a comedy. This is an alteration of Shakespear’s tempest, in which Dryden was assisted by Sir William Davenant. 8. Feigned Innocence, or Sir Martin Mar-all, a comedy. 9. The Assignment, or Love in a nunnery, a comedy. 10. The State of Innocence, or the fall of Man, an Opera. This is written in heroic verse ; the subject is taken from Milton’s Paradise Lost ; of which Mr. Dryden speaks in these terms in the Preface. It is (says he) “ undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime Poems, which either this age or nation has produced.” 11. The Conquest of Granada, a tragedy, in two parts. 12. All for Love, or the World well lost ; a tragedy. This is Dryden’s master-piece in the dramatic way. 13. Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr, a tragedy. 14. Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found too late ; a tragedy. This play

was originally Shakespeare's, and revised and altered by Mr. Dryden, who added several new scenes. 15. *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*, a tragi-comedy. 16. *The Rival Ladies*, a tragi-comedy. 17. *Mr. Limberham, or the Kind Keeper*; a comedy. 18. *The Spanish Friar, or the Double Discovery*; a tragi-comedy. 19. *The Duke of Guise*, a tragedy. This was written by Dryden and Lee in conjunction. 20. *Albion and Albanus*, an Opera. 21. *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal*, a tragedy. 22. *King Arthur, or the British worthy*, a tragedy. 23. *Amphytrion, or the two Socias*, a comedy. 24. *Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero*, a tragedy. 25. *Love triumphant, or Nature will prevail*, a tragi-comedy.



The Life of THOMAS FIRMIN.

THE person of whose life we are now going to give some account, was not distinguished by high rank, extensive learning, or splendor of genius. He is, however, entitled to the most honourable memorial, for what is more estimable than either of those distinctions, uncommon virtue, and the utmost activity of benevolence. And his not being elevated above the ordinary ranks of life, will not render so amiable an example the less useful or instructive.

THOMAS FIRMIN was born at Ipswich in Suffolk, in 1632. His parents were Puritans, and eminent for probity and piety. As soon as he was of a proper age, he was bound as an apprentice to a tradesman of London. His master was an Arminian, a hearer of Mr. John Goodwin (*s*); to whose sermons young Firmin resorting, he soon exchanged, the writer of his life says, "the harsh opinions of Calvin, in which he had been educated, for those more honourable to GOD, and more accountable to the human reason, of Arminius and the Remonstrants." (*t*)

As soon as his apprenticeship was expired, during which he had acquired the esteem of all who knew him by his fidelity industry, and amiable manners, he began to trade for himself. His first

(*s*) Of this eminent divine, the following character is given by Mr. Granger. "JOHN GOODWIN, minister of Coleman-street, was a man who made more noise in the world, than any other person of his age, rank, and profession. He had the hardiness to introduce Arminianism among the Calvinists, which he bravely and zealously defended, both in his sermons and his writings. It is hard to say, whether he displayed more courage in attacking or repelling the enemy. It is certain he had a very powerful body to deal with, as it was said, that "he was a man by himself; was against every man, and had every man almost against him." His genius seemed to be adapted to polemical divinity, and to an age of faction and tumult. He was appointed by the council of war

to attend upon Charles I. a little before his execution. This was deemed an insult upon fallen majesty; as no man more eagerly promoted, or more zealously defended the murder of the King. His discourses and his writings on this subject were well remembered at the restoration; but it was also remembered, that he had sown the seeds of division among the sectaries, which is supposed to have saved his life." Biographical Hist. of England, Vol. II. P. 25. He was educated at Queen's college in Cambridge, and his sermons were much admired for their elegance and erudition.

(*t*) Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, Citizen of London, written by one of his most intimate acquaintance, 8vo. 1698. P. 5, 6, 7.

first stock was, however only about one hundred pounds ; but his personal worth recommended him to so many persons, that he soon overcame the difficulties of so weak and incompetent a beginning ; and in the year 1660, he married a citizen's daughter with 500*l.* portion. And by his great industry, and skill in traffic, he soon became a considerable trader ; and at the same time that he extended his commercial reputation, he became still more eminent for goodness of heart, and his solicitude to promote the happiness of others, and to alleviate the distresses of the poor and indigent.

From his first engaging in business for himself, it was his custom to make himself acquainted with as many persons eminent for worth and integrity as he could, whether foreigners or English, and especially with the Clergy. He was seldom without some of these at his table, which though it was too expensive at first for his then slender fortune, was of great use to him afterwards, and particularly in his services to the poor. For out of his large acquaintance, and multitude of friends, he engaged the powerful interest of some, and the weighty purses of others, in some of those great designs of charity, for which he became afterwards so eminent.

Among others, Mr. Firmin became acquainted with Mr. John Biddle, who, we are told, " much confirmed him in his Arminian tenets, and carried him a great deal further. Mr. Biddle persuaded him that the unity of GOD, is a unity of person, as well as of nature ; that the Holy Spirit is indeed a person, but not God. He had a great and just esteem of Mr. Biddle's piety, exemplariness, and learning." He gave him his bed and board for a considerable time, and when he was sent to the isle of Scilly, obtained for him a yearly pension of one hundred crowns from the Protector.

During the imprisonment of Mr. Biddle at Scilly, Mr. Firmin was settled in Lombard-street, where first Mr. Jacomb, and then Dr. Outram, were ministers : With these two, being excellent preachers, and learned men, he maintained a close correspondence and friendship. Now also he grew into intimacy with Dr. Whichcote, Dr. Worthington, Dr. Tillotson, and Dr. Wilkins. And while Dr. Tillotson preached the Tuesday's lecture at St. Lawrence's church, which was much frequented by most of the Clergy in town, and by many persons of quality and distinction, when the Doctor was obliged to be at Canterbury, where he was Dean, or was out of town, either for diversion or health, he generally left it to Mr. Firmin to provide preachers for his lecture, who never failed to supply his place with some eminent preacher : So that there never was any complaint on account of Dr. Tillotson's absence. And Mr. Firmin could the more easily do this, because there was hardly any divine of note in London, or who frequently came there, with whom he was not now acquainted. And this enabled him very much to promote the

interests of many hopeful young preachers and scholars, candidates for lectures, schools, cures, or rectories ; for whom he would solicit with as much affection and diligence, as other men do for their sons, or near relations (*u*).

Mr. Firmin's first wife did not live many years, but after bringing him two children, died while he was managing some affairs of trade at Cambridge : and we are told, that " her death was " accompanied with this remarkable circumstance. Mr. Firmin " dreamt at Cambridge, that he saw his wife breathing her last : " whereupon early in the morning he took horse for London ; " on the way thither he met the messenger who was sent to give " him notice of her decease." In 1664, he married a second wife, who was daughter to a justice of peace in the county of Essex, with whom he had a considerable portion, and who bore him several children.

By the fire of London, in 1666, Mr. Firmin suffered the loss of his house in Lombard-street, upon which he took a house and warehouse in Leadenhall-street. But now his noble spirit, and generous way of trading, were so well known, that in a few years he so improved his stock, that he re-built his own house, and also built several other houses near the same spot. He went on with his trade in Lombard-street till the year 1676 ; at which time he was worth about nine thousand pounds, though he had disposed of great sums in charities. This year he erected his warehouse in Little Britain, for the employment of the poor in the linen manufacture : of which Dr. Tillotson has spoken in the following honourable manner in his funeral sermon on Mr. Gouge, in the year 1681. " Mr. Gouge, says he, set the poor of St. Sepulchre's " parish, where he was minister, to work at his own charge. He " bought flax and hemp for them to spin ; when spun, he paid " them for their work, and caused it to be wrought into cloth, " which he sold as he could, himself bearing the whole loss. This " was a very wise and well chosen way of charity ; and in the " good effect of it a much greater charity, than if he had given " to those very persons, freely and for nothing, so much as he " made them to earn by their work : because by this means he " rescued them from two most dangerous temptations, idleness and " poverty. This course, so happily devised and begun by Mr. " Gouge (*w*), gave, it may be, the first hint to that useful and " worthy

(*u*) Life, as before, P. 13, 14, 15.

(*w*) Of Mr. THOMAS GOUGE, the following character was given, whilst he was alive, by Mr. Baxter, in his Narrative of his own Life and Times. " He is the eldest son of old Dr. William Gouge, deceased. He was pastor to that great parish called Sepulchre's ; whence he was ejected, with the rest of his brethren, at the time when the restored Prelates acted like

themselves. I never heard any one person, of what rank, sort, or sect soever, speak one word to his dishonour, or name any fault that ever they charged on his life or doctrine, no not the Prelatists themselves, save only that he conformed not to their impositions, and that he did so much good with so great industry. GOD blessed him with a good estate, and he liberally used it in works of cha-

‘ worthy citizen, Mr. Thomas Firmin, of a much larger design :
 ‘ which has been managed by him some years in this city, with
 ‘ that vigour and good success that many hundreds of poor
 ‘ children, and others who lived idle before, unprofitable both
 ‘ to themselves and the public, now maintain themselves, and
 ‘ are also some advantage to the community. By the assistance
 ‘ and charity of many excellent and well-disposed persons, Mr.
 ‘ Firmin is enabled to bear the unavoidable loss and charge of
 ‘ so vast an undertaking ; and by his own forward inclination
 ‘ to charity, and unwearied diligence and activity, is fitted to
 ‘ sustain and go through the incredible pains of it.

Mr. Firmin himself, in a piece written by him, intitled,
 “ Proposals for the Employment of the Poor,” speaks of his
 establishment of this manufacture in the following terms. ‘ ’Tis
 ‘ now above four years since I set up my workhouse in Little Bri-
 ‘ tain, for the employment of the Poor, in the linen manufac-
 ‘ ture ; which hath afforded so great help and relief to many
 ‘ hundreds of poor families, that I never did, and I fear never
 ‘ shall do an action more to my own satisfaction, or to the good
 ‘ and benefit of the Poor.’ He employed in this manufacture
 sometimes 1600, sometimes 1700 spinners, besides dressers of
 flax, weavers, and others. He used frequently to distribute cha-
 rity among his poor manufacturers, when they were ill, or he
 thought their earnings insufficient for their support ; and especi-
 ally

‘ rity. When the fire consumed much
 ‘ of it, and when he had settled his
 ‘ children, and his wife was taken
 ‘ from him by death ; of an hundred
 ‘ and fifty pound a year that he had
 ‘ left, he gave an hundred of it to
 ‘ charitable uses. His daily work is
 ‘ to do all the good he can, with as
 ‘ great diligence and constancy as
 ‘ other men labour at their trades.
 ‘ He visiteth the poor, and seeketh af-
 ‘ ter them : He writeth books to stir
 ‘ up the rich, to devote (at least) the
 ‘ tenth part of their estates to works
 ‘ of charity. He goeth to the rich
 ‘ to persuade and urge them : he col-
 ‘ lecteth monies of all that he can pre-
 ‘ vail with, and travelleth himself
 ‘ (though betwixt sixty and seventy
 ‘ years old) into Wales, Winter, and
 ‘ Summer, and disperseth the money
 ‘ to the poor labouring persecuted
 ‘ ministers. He hath settled himself
 ‘ in the chief towns of Wales, a great
 ‘ number of schools, for women to
 ‘ teach children to read, having him-
 ‘ self undertaken to pay them for ma-
 ‘ ny hundred children. He printeth

‘ many thousands of his own practi-
 ‘ cal books, and giveth them freely
 ‘ throughout Wales, at his own charge.
 ‘ And when I do something of the
 ‘ like by mine, he undertaketh the
 ‘ distribution of them. He preacheth
 ‘ in Wales himself till they drive him
 ‘ from place to place by persecution :
 ‘ When he returneth home, he visiteth
 ‘ the prisoners, and helpeth them to
 ‘ books, and preacheth repentance to
 ‘ them. The poor and the ignorant
 ‘ are those he liveth for, doing good
 ‘ to soul and body daily, save that he
 ‘ soliciteth the rich to contribute to
 ‘ such uses.’

Mr. Baxter says in another place,
 speaking of Mr. Gouge’s death,
 ‘ He served GOD to an healthful
 ‘ age, seventy-four or seventy-six)
 ‘ I never saw him sad, but always
 ‘ chearful. About a fortnight before
 ‘ he died, he told me that sometime
 ‘ in the night some small trouble came
 ‘ to his heart he knew not what. And
 ‘ without sickness, or pain, or fear of
 ‘ death, they heard him in his sleep
 ‘ give a groan, and he was dead.’

ally at Christmas, and in hard weather. He also laid in vast quantities of coals which he gave amongst them. And by the presents which he procured from his friends for his Spinners, he was sometimes enabled to distribute amongst them fifteen hundred shirts and shifts in a year. He was several hundred pounds out of pocket by the establishment of this manufacture, besides considerable sums which he obtained for its support from his friends and acquaintance: however, he considered the whole as well laid out; for he thought, that "Twopence given to the Poor by loss in their work, was twice so much saved to the public as it took them off from beggary or worse courses." And he used to say, that "to pay the Spinners, to relieve them with money begged for them, with coals and shirting, was to him such a pleasure, as magnificent buildings, pleasant walks, well cultivated orchards and gardens, the jollity of musick and wine, or the charms of love or study, are to others."

He was so solicitous to employ his time in doing good, that his physician sometimes blamed him for not allowing himself competent time for his dinner. He would hastily rise from table, to go to Garraway's coffee-house about his affairs. But those affairs were seldom his own: He went thither much more frequently to solicit for the Poor, or in the business of some friend who wanted his interest, or to promote some design for the public good. And we are told, that "in these matters, his friends, who were not quick in their dispatches, had reason oftentimes to complain of him, as not giving them sufficient time to dispatch business with him: For he was nimble above most men, in apprehension, in speech, judgment, resolution, and action (x)."

He was persuaded by some to make trial of the Woollen Manufacture, because at this the Poor might make better wages, than at linen-work. Accordingly he took a house for this purpose in Artillery-lane: But the price of wool advancing very much, and the London Spinners being almost wholly unskilful at drawing a woollen thread, after a considerable loss by them, and upwards of two years trial, he gave up the project.

He laboured with a particular zeal and activity, in redeeming poor debtors out of prison; not only as it was charity to the persons themselves, but out of regard to their distressed families. He would say, the release of one man out of prison, is a relief bestowed on his whole family. And as he discharged great numbers of Prisoners, so he took care for the better and easier subsistence of others while in prison: for he would examine the prisoners concerning their usage by their keepers; and sometimes prosecuted jailors, for extorting unlawful fees, and other unjust practices. One of the jailors prosecuted by Mr. Firmin, hanged himself before the matter was determined; which was considered

(x) Life of Mr. Firmin, as before, P. 39.

considered as a strong presumption of his consciousness of his own guilt.

He was sensible that many persons who suffered imprisonment for debt, had brought it on themselves by their own follies or vices ; but he could not agree in opinion with those, who thought them on that account not entitled to the assistance of their fellow creatures. He used to say that " it would be a " miserable world indeed, if the Divine Providence should act " by that rule : If GOD should shew no favour, nor grant any " help or deliverance to us, in those traits or calamities that are " the effects of our sins." The number of persons imprisoned for small debts whose discharge he procured, was very great ; but he was often grieved, that he could do nothing for debtors imprisoned for large sums ; on behalf of such, therefore, he always vigorously promoted Acts of Grace, whereby insolvent debtors were discharged. The uncommon excellency of his character procured him a great interest in both Houses of Parliament : And this was generally known ; inasmuch that once, when an Act of Grace had passed, of which an ill use had been made by some knavish people, he was upbraided with it by some of the creditors, and told that " it was his Act." (y)

Mr. Firmin exerted all his influence among such of his acquaintance as were rich and opulent, to procure from them sums of money to distribute among the Poor, as all that he could give out of his own private fortune, was extremely inadequate to the purposes of such extensive benevolence as that by which he was actuated. And when he procured any donations for the Poor, he used to send to the persons from whom he received them, exact accounts of the manner in which their money was distributed. It was also his custom, in order to render his charitable distributions as useful as possible, to enquire of such persons in the several parishes, as were eminent for worth and charity, who were the most necessitous and best deserving Poor in their neighbourhood. He then went to their houses, that he might judge further by their looks, the number of their children, their furniture, and other circumstances, what their real situation was, and he relieved them accordingly. He did not confine his benevolence to those who were avowedly numbered among the Poor, but was generous to many who were straitened in their circumstances, though they had too much delicacy to solicit the assistance of others. He has been known to send ten pounds at a time to Clergymen in debt, or oppressed with many children ; and indeed his acts of generosity to worthy persons in distress were without number.

In the years 1681 and 1682, the French Protestants came over into England, which furnished new work for Mr. Firmin's zeal and charity ; and as he considered them as sufferers for conscience sake,

fake, he exerted himself very much in their behalf. The wants of such a numerous body of religious refugees, required not only a great, but an immediate succour. The first and one of the most difficult cares for them, was, the providing lodgings for such a multitude of strangers; but this with much pains he at length effected. He also procured large subscriptions for them; and in 1681 and 1682, between two and three thousand pounds collected for their use passed through his hands. About the same time he also established a Linen-manufactory for them at Ipswich, to which he subscribed liberally himself (z).

Besides the many other excellent qualities by which Mr. Firmin was distinguished, it deserves also to be remembered, that he was always animated by a generous ardour in defence of the civil and religious liberties of his country. If any man was unjustly or illegally oppressed, he was ready to defend him as far as he was able; and those who suffered for standing up for the rights of Englishmen, were sure of his friendship and assistance. He was at the expence of printing and distributing many publications written in defence of public freedom; and particularly some calculated to arouse the people to a just opposition to the arbitrary measures of King James the Second. And as far as his situation would permit, he was a zealous promoter of the Revolution.

When great numbers of the Irish nation, of all ranks, fled into England from the persecutions and proscriptions of King James, then in Ireland, briefs and other means were set on foot for their relief, in all which Mr. Firmin was extremely active. The money collected on this occasion which passed through Mr. Firmin's hands, amounted to upwards of fifty-six thousand pounds; and he was so assiduous in this charitable work, that he sometimes attended the distribution of the money among the sufferers from morning to night, without any intermission for food. His great services to these Irish refugees occasioned the Archbishop of Tuam, and seven other Irish Bishops, to send him a letter of thanks, signed by them all, expressing their grateful sense of his kindness and diligence in behalf of their countrymen.

The excellency of Mr. Firmin's character was so generally known, that it attracted the notice of Queen Mary, who testified some concern at hearing that he was not orthodox in his opinions. She therefore spoke to Archbishop Tillotson upon the subject, and earnestly recommended it to him to set Mr. Firmin right in his notions respecting the Divinity of our Saviour, and the doctrine of the satisfaction. The Archbishop replied, that he had often attempted this, but Mr. Firmin having so early and long imbibed the Socinian tenets, was not now capable of a contrary impression. However, when the Archbishop afterwards published some sermons upon these subjects, he sent Mr. Firmin one of the

the first copies from the press. He happened soon after to go to Lambeth, when the Archbishop said to him, That the calumnies of people had obliged him to publish his sermons, sometime since preached at St. Lawrence's church, against the tenets of Socinus; that he had sincerely preached, as he then thought, and continued still to think of those points; that, however, no body's false imputations should provoke him to give ill language to persons who dissented conscientiously, and for weighty reasons. That he knew well this was the case of the Socinians, for whose learning and dexterity he should always have a respect, as well as for their sincerity and exemplariness. Mr. Firmin afterwards caused a piece to be drawn up and published, chiefly in answer to the Archbishop's Sermons, intitled, "Considerations on the Explications and defences of the doctrine of the Trinity." A copy of this was given, by Mr. Firmin himself, to the Archbishop; who, after he had read it, only answered, "My Lord of Sarum," meaning Dr. Burnet, "shall humble your writers;" still retaining, however, his usual kindness for Mr. Firmin (*a*).

He was one of the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark, and was extremely active in his endeavours to render that charitable institution as beneficial as possible. During the last twenty years of his Life, he was also one of the Governors of Christ-church Hospital in London, to which he was a great benefactor, and over which he was a constant superintendant. The writer of his Life tells us, that 'he was wont every Lord's day, at five in the evening, to see the orphans of the Hospital at their evening service; at which time they prayed, and sung an anthem by select voices, the chorus by all the boys. After this they sat down to supper at the several tables, under the care of their matrons: Here Mr. Firmin viewed them in their provisions, and in the behaviour both of them and their officers and attendants, commending or admonishing as there was occasion. To this sight he invited, one time or other, all his friends, whether in the town or country; and at last led them to the orphan box, into which they would put somewhat, more or less, as they were charitably disposed.' Among Mr. Firmin's other charities, he was particularly careful and active in assisting those who had suffered by fire. He bound out a great number of boys to different trades, at his own expence, and contributed afterwards towards setting them up, if they had served out their apprenticeships with fidelity and diligence. But it would be endless to enter into a particular enumeration of the variety of methods in which Mr. Firmin exerted his generosity and beneficence.

This excellent man died on the 20th of December, 1697. He was in his person of a low stature, and well proportioned; of a fair complexion, and a brisk and lively countenance; his aspect manly; and his whole appearance that of a man of good sense,

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worth, and dignity. Walking or sitting, we are told he appeared more comely than standing still ; for his mien and action gave a gracefulness to his person. He was very quick of apprehension, extremely active in business, and indefatigably industrious. He was inquisitive and ingenious, and had a great thirst of knowledge, though his numerous avocations would not permit him to apply himself to study. His piety was rational and fervent, and his life was a continued display of the virtues inculcated in the Christian revelation. He was naturally of a warm temper, and incapable of dissembling his sentiments ; but his consciousness of his own integrity occasioned him to be very little disturbed if envious or ill-designing men threw out any reflections to his disadvantage ; for even virtue such as his could not wholly escape the attacks of calumny.

He was buried, agreeable to his own desire, in the cloisters of Christ-church Hospital ; and there was placed on the wall, near his grave, the following inscription : ‘ Near this place lieth the body of THOMAS FIRMIN, late citizen of London, a governor of this and St. Thomas’s Hospital ; who by the grace of God, was created by Christ Jesus unto good works, wherein he was indefatigably industrious, and successfully provoked many others thereto ; becoming also their almoner, visiting and relieving the poor at their houses ; and in prisons, whence also he redeemed many. He set many hundreds of them at work, to the expending of great stocks : He rebuilt, repaired, and added conveniences to hospitals, weekly overseeing the orphans. The Refugees from France, and from Ireland, have partaken largely the effects of his charity, pains, and earnest solicitations for them. He was wonderfully zealous in every good work, beyond the example of any in our age. Thus shewed he his faith by his works, and cannot reasonably be reproached for that which brought forth such plenty of good fruits.’

Sir Robert Clayton and his Lady had also so great a respect for Mr. Firmin’s memory, that they caused a marble pillar, about eight feet high, to be erected to his memory in their garden at Marden in Surry, and on which was placed the following inscription :

‘ To perpetuate (as far as marble and love can do it) the memory of THOMAS FIRMIN, citizen of London.

‘ None ever passed the several periods of human life more irreproachably, or performed the common duties of society with more sincerity and approbation. Though it appears by his public spirit, that he thought himself born rather for the benefit of others, than his own private advantage ; yet the satisfaction of doing good, and the universal esteem of honest men, made him the happiest person in the world. But his charity (which was not confined to any nation, sect, or party,) is most worthy

‘ worthy thy imitation, at least in some degree, O reader ! He
‘ was as liberal of his own, as faithful in distributing the pious
‘ donations of others, whom he successfully persuaded to relieve
‘ the distressed, particularly the laborious poor ; for of vagrant,
‘ idle, and insolent beggars, he was no advocate nor encourager.
‘ His agreeable temper rendering him an extraordinary lover of
‘ gardens, (*b*) he contrived this walk, which bears his name,
‘ and where his improving conversation and example are still re-
‘ membered. But since Heaven has better disposed of him, this
‘ pillar is erected to charity and friendship by Sir Robert Clayton,
‘ and Martha his Lady, who first builded and planted in Marden.’

(*b*) The writer of Mr. Firmin’s
life says, ‘ His diversion was Garden-
‘ ing ; for which purpose he cultivat-
‘ ed a piece of ground at Hoxton,
‘ not a mile from London ; where he
‘ raised flowers, and (in time) attained
‘ no small skill in the art of garden-
‘ ing, in the culture of flowers, herbs,
‘ greens and fruit-trees of all sorts.
‘ I have often borne him company to
‘ his garden ; but either going, or
‘ coming back, he used often to visit
‘ the Poor and Sick ; This was one of
‘ Mr. Biddle’s lessons, that ’tis a du-

‘ ty not only to relieve, but to visit
‘ the Sick and Poor ; because they
‘ are hereby encouraged and comfort-
‘ ed, and we come to know of what
‘ nature and degree their straits are ;
‘ and that some are more worthy of
‘ assistance than others : and their
‘ condition being known, sometimes
‘ we are able to assist them by our
‘ counsel, or our interest, much more
‘ effectually than by the charity we do
‘ or can bestow upon them.’ Life,
P. 10.



The Life of JOHN TILLOTSON, ARCHBISHOP of *Canterbury*.

THIS excellent Prelate was born at Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax; in Yorkshire, in the year 1630. His father, Mr. Robert Tillotson, was a considerable clothier there, a man of good understanding, and great knowledge of the Scriptures; but so warmly attached to the system of Calvin, that his zeal for it could scarcely be moderated by the reasonings of his son, whom he lived to see Dean of Canterbury.

Out of a small estate, our Prelate's father gave him so liberal an education, as became the foundation of that eminence of character and station, which he afterwards attained. After he had, with a quick proficiency, passed through the grammar schools, and attained a skill in the learned languages superior to his years, he was sent to Cambridge, in the year 1647, at the age of seventeen, and admitted pensioner of Clare-hall, on the 23d of April, that year, and into the matricula of that University on the first of July following, where he commenced Bachelor of Arts at Midsummer 1650, and Master of Arts in 1654, having been chosen Fellow of his College in 1651. His tutor, in whose Fellowship he succeeded, was Mr. David Clarkson, B. D. eminent for his writings, particularly one, intitled, "No evidence of Diocesan episcopacy in the primitive times," printed in 1681 in 4to. in answer to Dr. Stillingfleet, and another on the same subject, printed two years after his death, which happened in 1686, under the title of "Primitive Episcopacy." Mr. Clarkson was, as Mr. Baxter informs us, "a Divine of extraordinary worth for solid judgment, healing moderate principles, acquaintance with the Fathers, great ministerial abilities, and a godly upright life." But his attachment to the principles of the Nonconformists deprived him of the Living of Mortlake in Surrey, in August, 1682. However, his excellent pupil always preserved that singular respect for him, which he had contracted while he was under his tuition; as he did his early friendship for two other eminent nonconformist ministers, Mr. Francis Holdcraft, who had been his chamber-fellow at Clare-Hall, and Mr. Thomas Sharp, cousin of the Archbishop of that name, who had been his pupil, and was nephew of Mr. Clarkson, his own tutor (c).

Thus it appears that his first education and impressions were
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among the Puritans ; and many of the books which were at first put into his hands, being somewhat heavy, were not agreeable to his taste, and gave him disgust even in his youth. But he soon met with the celebrated work of Mr. Chillingworth, "The religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation ;" and this admirable book gave his mind the ply that it held ever after, and put him upon a true scent. It was also a considerable advantage to him, that there were at this time in the university of Cambridge, a set of men of uncommon abilities and learning, with whom he entered into friendships ; particularly Dr. Ralf Cudworth, Master of Christ's College ; Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, Provost of King's College ; Dr. Henry Moor, and Dr. George Rust, Fellows of Christ's, and the latter afterwards Bishop of Dromore in Ireland ; Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jesus-College ; and Mr. John Smith, Fellow of Queen's College, author of the "Select Discourses," which have been highly esteemed by the best judges. These eminent men were equally admirable for the clearness and comprehension of their thoughts, the extent of their knowledge, and the excellence of their tempers. There was also a long and close friendship between him and Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester. And his intimacy with these great men contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind.

Mr. Tillotson left his college about the beginning of the year 1657, being invited by Edmund Prideaux, Esq ; of Ford Abbey, in Devonshire, to instruct his son. This gentleman had been commissioner of the great seal under the Long Parliament, and was then attorney-general to Oliver Cromwell, the Protector. Tillotson is said to have performed the office of Chaplain also in this gentleman's family ; but how long he continued with him does not appear.

He was in London at the death of the Protector Oliver, on the 3d of September, 1658, and about a week after was present at a very remarkable scene at the palace of Whitehall. For happening to be there on a fast-day of the household, he went out of curiosity into the presence chamber, where the solemnity was kept, and saw there, on the one side of a table, the new Protector placed with the rest of his family, and on the other six preachers, among whom were Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ-church in Oxford, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, president of Magdalen-college, Mr. John Caryl, author of the voluminous commentary on Job, and rector of St. Magnus in London, and Mr. Peter Sterry. The bold sallies of enthusiasm, which Mr. Tillotson heard upon this occasion were sufficient to disgust a man less disposed to it than he was both by temper and principles. God was in a manner reproached with the deceased Protector's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Dr. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them in a prayer, a very few minutes before he expired, that he was not to die, had now the assurance to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." And Mr. Sterry.

Sterry, praying for Richard, used these indecent words: "Make
 " him the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image
 " of his person (*d*)."

The first sermon of Mr. Tillotson, which appeared in print, was preached at the morning exercise at Cripplegate, on *Matt.* ch. vii. 12. The subject was, "Wherein lies that exact righteousness, " which is required between man and man." At the time of preaching this sermon he was still among the Presbyterians, whose commissioners he attended, though as an auditor only, at the conference held at the Savoy for the review of the liturgy, in July 1661. But he immediately submitted to the act of uniformity, which commenced on St. Bartholomew's day the year following.

Upon his dedicating himself to the service of the church, being sensible of the importance of a plain and edifying manner of preaching, he was very little disposed to follow the patterns then set him, or indeed those of former times. He formed therefore one to himself, which has always been esteemed an excellent model. When he first entered on a course of divinity, he had begun with the true foundation of it, an exact study of the Scriptures, upon which he spent four or five years. He then applied himself to the reading of all the ancient philosophers and writers upon ethics, and, among the Fathers, chiefly to St. Basil and St. Chrysostom. With these preparations he set himself to compose a very great variety of sermons, the subject of which were very judiciously chosen. His joining with Dr. Wilkins in perfecting the scheme of a real character and philosophical language, the Essay towards which was published in 1668, led him to consider exactly the truth of language and style, in which few excelled him, or knew better the art of uniting dignity with simplicity, and tempering these so equally together, that neither his thoughts sunk, nor stile swelled, keeping a due mean between flatness and false rhetoric. Together with the pomp of words, he cut off likewise all superfluities and needless enlargements. He said what was just necessary to give clear ideas of things, and no more. He laid aside all long and affected periods. His sentences were short and clear; and the whole thread was of a piece, plain and distinct. No affectation of learning, no torturing of texts, no superficial strains, no false thoughts, nor bold flights. All was solid and yet lively, and grave as well as elegant: so that few ever heard him, but they found some new thought occurred; something, which either they had not considered before, or at least not so distinctly, and with so clear a view, as he gave them. Whether he explained points of divinity, matters of controversy, or the rules of morality, on which he dwelt most copiously, there was something peculiar in him on all these topics, which conquer-

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d) The life of Tillotson as before, P. 16. This story is given by Dr. Birch, on the authority of Bishop Burnet.

ed the mind, as well as commanded the attention of his hearers, who felt all the while, that they were learning somewhat, and were never tired by him ; for he retrenched both the luxuriances of stile, and the length of sermons ; and he concluded them with some thoughts of such gravity and use, that he generally dismissed his hearers with such reflections, as made a lasting impression upon them. He was, however, never capable of committing his sermons to memory, or preaching extempore. He once happened to be with a friend in the country, who was importunate with him to preach, though he was not furnished with a sermon ; and upon this occasion he ventured into the pulpit, where he took for his text, one of the plainest and fullest of matter which he could recollect, *For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ* ; upon which he has no less than five discourses in his works : And yet he soon found himself so much at a loss, that after about ten minutes spent with great pain to himself, and no great satisfaction to his audience, he came down with a resolution never to make the like attempt for the future. But though Tillotson could only read his sermons, yet we are informed that he did this in a very serious and solemn manner, and with great justness of pronunciation.

The first office in the church in which he appears to have been employed after the Restoration, was that of Curate at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, in the years 1661 and 1662, to Dr. Thomas Hacket. The short distance of Cheshunt from London allowing him frequent opportunities of visiting his friends in that city, he was often invited into the pulpits there. And in December, 1662, he was elected minister of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, by the parishioners, in whom the right of choice is invested, upon the deprivation of Mr. Edmund Calamy by the act of uniformity. But Mr. Tillotson declined the acceptance of that Living. However, he did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being presented in June, 1663, to the rectory of Ketton, or Keddington, in the county of Suffolk, worth 200*l.* a year, vacant by the ejection of Mr. Samuel Fairclough for nonconformity.

His residence at Keddington was but of short duration, he being called to London by the Society of Lincoln's Inn to be their preacher ; and the choice of him is said to have taken its rise from the following incident. Mr. Atkyns, one of the benchers of that inn, and afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, being present at the Tuesday lecture at St. Laurence Jury, on a day when Mr. Tillotson happened to supply the place of stated lecturer, was so pleased with his sermon, that he went to him in the Vestry, and offered him his interest for the place of preacher of Lincoln's Inn, which would soon be vacant. Mr. Tillotson was accordingly elected to that office on the 26th of November, 1663. His appointment of preacher to this learned society was so agreeable to him, that he determined to settle himself intirely among

among them ; and though in the intervals of the terms he could have given a large part of the year to his parish in Suffolk ; yet so strict was he to the pastoral care in point of residence, that he resigned that Living, even when his income in London could scarcely support him. He was the more disposed to this from the strong attachment of the people there to the Calvinistic system ; which causing his preaching to be little relished there, he communicated to his patron, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, his intention of quitting the Living upon that account. Sir Thomas with great civility endeavoured to persuade him, that he was mistaken in his suspicions ; but his Lady, more sincere, being desired to speak her mind, acknowledged, that neither herself, nor even Sir Thomas, however he might affect to disguise his sentiments, were at all of a different opinion from the rest of the parish, who universally complained, that JESUS CHRIST had not been preached among them, since Mr. Tillotson had been settled in the parish. To this incident, which is very well attested, he seems to allude in his sermon against evil speaking, preached near thirty years after, towards the close of which he has this passage : “ I foresee what will be said, because I have heard it so often said in the like case, that there is not one word of Jesus Christ in all this. No more is there in the text, [Titus ch. iii. 2.] and yet I hope, that JESUS CHRIST is truly preached, whenever his will and laws, and the duties enjoined by the Christian religion, are inculcated upon us. (a).”

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(a) A very ingenious and much celebrated Nonconformist Divine, Dr. James Foster, has some observations to the same purpose, in a sermon on Acts ch. xxiv. 25. ‘ It is (says he) a very natural inference from the text, that inculcating the great duties of morality, and enforcing the practice of them from a regard to the future judgment, is true GOSPEL-PREACHING ; and answers, in the most effectual manner, the excellent design of Christianity. Indeed the reason of the thing itself demonstrates, that to promote universal purity, and strengthen the obligations of virtue, which are eternal and immutable, a conformity to the moral perfections of God, and the supreme rectitude and happiness of human nature, must be the ultimate view of every divine revelation.’

‘ TO PREACH CHRIST is universally allowed to be the duty of every Christian minister. But what does it mean ?—’Tis not to use his name as a charm, to work up our hearers to a warm pitch of ENTHU-

‘ SIASM, without any foundation of reason to support it.—’Tis not to make his person and his offices incomprehensible.—’Tis not to exalt his glory, as a kind condescending Saviour, to the dishonour of the supreme and unlimited goodness of the Creator, and Father of the Universe ; who is represented as stern and inexorable, expressing no indulgence to his guilty creatures, but demanding full and rigorous satisfaction for their offences.—’Tis not to encourage undue and presumptuous reliances on his merits and intercession, to the contempt of virtue and good works. No : But to represent him as a Lawgiver as well as Saviour, as a preacher of righteousness, as one who hath given us a most noble and complete system of morals, enforced by the most substantial and worthy motives ; and to shew, that the whole scheme of our redemption is a doctrine according to godliness.’ Sermons, Vol. I. P. 12.

—14. Edit. 1732. 8vo,

The reputation which his preaching soon obtained him in so conspicuous a station as that of Lincoln's Inn, recommended him the year following to the trustees of the Tuesday lecture at St. Lawrence Jewry, founded by Elizabeth Viscountess Camden. And there he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remotest parts of the metropolis, and by a great concourse of the clergy.

In 1664, one John Serjeant, alias Smith, who had deserted from the church of England to that of Rome, published a book called, "Sure footing in Christianity; or rational discourses on the rule of faith." This being cried up as an extraordinary production by the abettors of Popery, Tillotson answered it, in a piece, intitled, "The rule of faith," which was printed in 1666, in 8vo. and inscribed to Dr. Stillingfleet, with whom he was intimately acquainted. Serjeant replied to this, and also in another piece attacked a passage in an excellent sermon which had been published by Tillotson, "on the wisdom of being religious;" which Sermon, as well as his "Rule of Faith," Tillotson defended in the Preface to the first volume of his sermons, printed in 1671, in 8vo.

Tillotson's love of learning, and zeal for the promotion of the study of the Scriptures, made him one of the earliest encouragers of that useful and elaborate work, the "Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum," undertaken and executed by Mr. Matthew Poole (b). The Author had first given the

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(b) MATTHEW POOLE was son of Francis Poole, Esq; of York, where he was born in 1624. He was educated at Emanuel College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts; and falling in with the Presbyterian opinions concerning ecclesiastical polity, he entered into the ministry, and about 1648 was made rector of St. Michael le Quern in London. In 1658, he published, "A Model for the maintaining of students of choice abilities at the University, and principally in order to the ministry;" it was accompanied with a recommendation from the university, signed by several heads of houses in Cambridge, among whom were Cudworth, Whichcote, Worthington, Dillingham &c. In 1662, he was ejected from his living, for refusing to comply with the act of uniformity: upon which occasion he printed a piece in Latin, intitled, "Vox CLAMANTIS in deserto." As he was thus prevented from exercising his abilities in the public service of the ministry,

and being unmarried, and enjoying a paternal estate of 100l. per annum, he resolved to apply himself closely to his studies, and to employ his pen in the service of religion in general, without regard to particular disputes among Protestants. It was with these sentiments he entered upon that great work, his SYNOPSIS, which employed him ten years.

He published a treatise in 8vo. against Popery, intitled, "The nullity of the Romish faith, concerning the church's infallibility:" And when Oates's depositions concerning the Popish plot were printed in 1679, Mr. Poole found his name in the list of those that were to be cut off; and an incident befel him soon after, which gave him, we are told, the greatest apprehensions of his danger; though whether this was a sufficient foundation for his fears, may perhaps be doubted. Having passed an evening at Alderman Ashurst's, he took one Mr. Chorley to bear him company home. When they came to the nar-

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world a Specimen of his design, with a recommendation of it by many of the greatest names in the church at that time, and among them that of Tillotson; and he, together with Dr. Patrick, Dr. Stillingfleet, and some others, had the trust and management of the monies subscribed for the publication of the *Synopsis*. His Majesty having granted a Patent to Mr. Pool on the 4th of October, 1667, for the privilege of printing his work, the two first volumes were published at London in folio, in 1669, and three more afterwards.

In 1666, Tillotson took the egree of Doctor in Divinity; and in 1668, preached the sermon at the consecration of Dr. Wilkins to the Bishopric of Chester. He was related to Wilkins, by having married his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth French, who was niece to Oliver Cromwell, for she was the daughter of Dr. Peter French, canon of Christ-church in Oxford, by Robina, sister to Cromwell; which Robina was re-married, about 1656, to Dr. Wilkins, then warden of Wadham-college.

In 1670, he was made a Prebendary of Canterbury; and in 1672, advanced to the Deanery of that church. In 1675 he was presented to the Prebend of Ealdland, in the cathedral of St. Paul, London, which he resigned for that of Osgate, and a Residentiaryship in the same church, in 1678. This last preferment was obtained for him by the interest of his friend Dr. John Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York (a).

Dr.

row passage, which leads from Clerkewell to St. John's court, there were two men standing at the entrance: one of whom, as Mr. Pool came along, cried out to the other, "Here he is;" upon which the other replied, "Let him alone, for there is somebody with him." As soon as they were passed, Mr. Poole asked his friend, if he heard what those men said; and upon his answering that he had, "Well," replied Mr. Pool, "I had been murdered to night if you had not been with me." It is said, that, before this incident, he gave not the least credit to what was said in Oates's deposition; but then he thought proper to retire to Holland, where he died soon after, not without some suspicion of being poisoned, as Dr. Calamy relates. - Mr. Pool published several small pieces, besides those which have been mentioned; and he also wrote a volume of "English Annotations upon the Holy Scriptures;" but was prevented by death from going farther than the 58th chapter of Isaiah. That work was completed

by others, and published in 1688, in two volumes, folio. Mr Wood observes that he "was very facetious in conversation, very true to his friend, very strict in his piety, and universal in his charity."

(a) JOHN SHARP was son of Thomas Sharp, an oil man at Bradford, in Yorkshire, where he was born in 1644. In 1660, he was admitted of Christ's college in Cambridge under the tuition of Mr. Brooksbank. But he attended for some time lectures in natural philosophy, according to the Cartesian method, which were read by Mr. Thomas Burnet, then fellow of Christ's college, afterwards doctor in divinity, and master of the Charter-house. However, Mr. Sharp did not apply himself so much to the Mathematics, as he did to Botany and Chemistry, which were his favourite studies in his younger years. In 1663, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and the following year made interest for a fellowship of his College; but, his country being full, he was expressly excluded by the Statutes. Dr. Cudworth

Dr. Tillotson being more solicitous for the substance of religion, than for the forms of it, was remarkable for the moderation of his temper and principles with respect to the lesser differences among protestants, and especially those of our own country.

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Hence

worth, the master, offered to bring him in afterwards, in 1669; but he had then other views. In July, 1667, he commenced Master of Arts; and on the 12th of the following month, he was ordained deacon and priest, both in one day, by Dr. Fuller, then bishop of Limerick, afterwards of Lincoln. The same year, in the month of October, he became domestic chaplain, and tutor to four sons of Sir Heneage Finch, then attorney-general, afterwards lord-chancellor, by the recommendation of his fellow collegian, the celebrated Dr. Henry More.

In 1669, he was incorporated master of arts at Oxford, in company with several other gentlemen from Cambridge, who went to Oxford, at the opening of the Sheldonian theatre. And when he had continued five years in the family of his patron Sir Heneage Finch, he was by him recommended to King Charles II. for the archdeaconry of Berkshire, to which he was collated in 1672. Sir Heneage was advanced the same year to the office of lord-keeper of the great seal; and being sensible, that the several duties of his great post would not allow him time to make the necessary inquiries, with respect to the characters of such as applied to him for the crown preferments in his disposal; he, therefore, devolved this particular province upon his chaplain, Mr. Sharp, having an high opinion of his learning, integrity, and judgment.

On the 26th of March, 1676, he was installed prebendary of the cathedral of Norwich; and on the 22d of April following, instituted to the rectory of St. Bartholomew, near the Royal Exchange, London. In May, the same year, he was married by Dr. Tillotson, at Clerkenwell church to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of William Palmer, Esq; at Winthorpe in the county of Lincoln. And on the 2d of January, 1676-7, he was

instituted to the rectory of St. Giles in the fields, London. He now left the Lord-Chancellor Finch, and kept house, and his time was taken up for the ten following years, in close attention to his cure at St. Giles's. During that time, he maintained a friendly correspondence with the following eminent divines, then in London: Stillingfleet, Cradock, Whichcote, Calamy, Clagett, Tennison, Beveridge, Scott, Sherlock, Wake, and Cave. He was also upon very friendly terms with Mr. Richard Baxter, who for some time resided in his parish, where he preached to a dissenting congregation on Sundays in the afternoon, but was a constant hearer of, and communicant with, Dr. Sharp, at his own church in the morning.

But his most intimate friend was Dr. Clagett, between whom and Sharp there was an equality of age, and great similitude of temper and manners, and conformity of inclination and studies. They lived in a manner together. Clagett, who was not well furnished with books of his own, made use of Dr. Sharp's library, came into it at pleasure, and prosecuted his inquiries in it as he pleased, without the least ceremony used, or interruption given on either side. Dr. Clagett dying in 1688, Dr. Sharp preached his funeral sermon, and published a volume of his sermons. And he took Mrs. Clagett, immediately upon her husband's decease, to his own house; but she did not long survive.

In 1679, he accepted of the lecture at St. Lawrence Jewry, London, upon the earnest desire of Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, then vicar of that parish and held it, according to his promise, as long as the doctor lived, and no longer. It was in the same year that he commenced doctor of divinity at Cambridge. In 1681, he was made dean of Norwich. He was also chaplain both to Charles II. and James II.

But

Hence followed a constant desire in him of a more intire union of them, not only on account of the general advantage of it; but likewise of the particular one of forming a stronger barrier against the perpetual encroachments of the see of Rome. He joined, therefore, with Dr. Stillingfleet, and Mr. Hezekiah Burton, in the treaty proposed by Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord-keeper of the great-seal, and countenanced by the lord-chief baron Hale, about the beginning of the year 1668, for a comprehension of such of the Dissenters, as could be brought into the communion of the church, and a toleration of the rest. But this scheme was unsuccessful. However, a second attempt was made to the same purpose in 1674, when Dean Tillotson, in conjunction with Dr. Stillingfleet, desired a meeting with the principal of the Conformist, Dr. William Bates, Dr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Matthew Pool, and Mr. Baxter, in order to an accommodation; for which these two Divines declared they had the encouragement of several lords, both spiritual and temporal. They were at first met by Mr. Baxter alone; with whom having considered and canvassed various draughts, they at length fixed on one, in which they agreed. This being communicated to the Nonconformists, proved satisfactory to them; but the Bishops refusing to assent to many Particulars in them, the treaty was soon at an end (*b*).

Charles Earl of Shrewsbury, afterwards created a Duke by King William, who had been bred in the Romish religion, was at length convinced of its errors and corruptions, and chiefly by the arguments of Tillotson. But after that Nobleman's conversion

But a sermon which he preached against Popery in his own church, gave so much offence to the latter, that he ordered Dr. Henry Compton, then Bishop of London, to suspend Dr. Sharp from farther preaching in any parish church or chapel in his diocese until he had given his majesty satisfaction. But this command being manifestly illegal, the Bishop refused to comply with it. However, Dr. Sharp discontinued his preaching till he received the King's permission to proceed as usual. He was one of those who refused to appear in the illegal court of ecclesiastical commission set up by King James. On the 27th of January, 1688-9, he preached before the Prince of Orange, as he did also on the 30th of January before the convention parliament. In September, 1689 he was appointed Dean of Canterbury. And in 1691, he was raised to the archbishopric of York, in which high station he behaved in a very laudable and exemplary man-

ner. In 1702 he preached the sermon at the coronation of queen Anne, was sworn of the privy council, and made lord-almoner to her Majesty. He died at Bath on the 2d of February, 1713-14, in the 69th year of his age, after having enjoyed the archbishopric of York above two and twenty years, with great honour and reputation. He was interred in the cathedral of York.

Archbishop Sharp was a man of considerable learning and abilities. He thought, and wrote, and spoke, with great clearness, and was an excellent preacher. He was generous, charitable, and public-spirited; and courteous and easy of access to persons of all ranks. His Sermons were collected after his death, and have been several times printed, in seven volumes, 8vo. They have been much read and commended for their good sense and forcible manner.

(*b*) Birch, P. 42, 43.

version to the Protestant religion, Dr. Tillotson being informed that his lordship was entered into a correspondence, which might prove dangerous to his virtue as well as his character, took the liberty of writing to him the following excellent letter :

“ My Lord,

“ It was a great satisfaction to me to be
“ any ways instrumental in the gaining your Lordship to our
“ religion, which I am really persuaded to be the truth. But
“ I am, and always was more concerned, that your Lordship
“ would continue a virtuous and good man, than become a
“ Protestant, being assured, that the ignorance and errors of
“ men’s understanding will find a much easier forgiveness with
“ God, than the faults of the will. I remember, that your
“ Lordship once told me, that you would endeavour to justify
“ the sincerity of your change by a conscientious regard to
“ all other parts and actions of your life. I am sure you can-
“ not more effectually condemn your own act, than by being
“ a worse man after your profession to have embraced a better
“ religion. I will certainly be one of the last to believe any
“ thing of your Lordship, that is not good; but I always
“ feared, I should be one of the first that should hear it. The
“ time I last waited upon your Lordship, I had heard some-
“ thing that afflicted me very sensibly; but I hoped it was not
“ true, and was therefore loth to trouble your Lordship about
“ it. But having heard the same from those, who, I believe,
“ bear no ill-will to your Lordship, I now think it my duty
“ to acquaint you with it. To speak plainly, I have been
“ told, that your Lordship is of late fallen into a conversa-
“ tion dangerous both to your reputation and virtue, two
“ of the tenderest and dearest things in the world. I believe
“ your Lordship to have a great command and conduct of
“ yourself; but I am very sensible of human frailty, and of
“ the dangerous temptations, to which youth is exposed in
“ this dissolute age. Therefore I earnestly beseech your Lord-
“ ship to consider, besides the high provocation of Almighty
“ God, and the hazard of your soul, whenever you engage
“ in a bad course, what a blemish you will bring upon a fair
“ and unspotted reputation, what uneasiness and trouble you
“ will create to yourself from the severe reflections of a guilty
“ conscience; and how great a violence you will offer to your
“ good principles, your nature and your education, and to a
“ mind the best made for virtuous and worthy things. And
“ do not imagine you can stop when you please. Experience
“ shews us the contrary, and that nothing is more vain, than
“ for men to think they can set bounds to themselves in any
“ thing that is bad, I hope in God, no temptation has yet pre-
“ vailed on your Lordship so far as to be guilty of any loose act.
“ If it has, as you love your soul, let it not proceed to an habit.

“ The

“ The retreat is yet easy and open, but will every day become
 “ more difficult and obstructed. God is so merciful, that up-
 “ on your repentance and resolution of amendment, he is not
 “ only ready to forgive what is past, but to assist us by his
 “ grace to do better for the future. But I need not enforce
 “ these considerations upon a mind so capable of, and easy to
 “ receive good counsel. I shall only desire your Lordship
 “ to think again and again, how great a point of wisdom it
 “ is, in all our actions, to consult the peace of our minds,
 “ and to have no quarrel with the constant and inteparable com-
 “ panion of our lives. If others displease us, we may quit
 “ their company; but he that is displeased with himself, is
 “ unavoidably unhappy, because he has no way to get rid
 “ of himself.

“ My LORD, for GOD’s sake, and your own, think of be-
 “ ing happy, and resolve by all means to save yourself from
 “ this untoward generation. Determine rather upon a speedy
 “ change of your condition, than to gratify the inclinations
 “ of your youth in any thing but what is lawful and honou-
 “ rable; and let me have the satisfaction to be assured from
 “ your Lordship, either that there has been no ground for
 “ this report; or that there shall be none for the future;
 “ which will be the welcomest news to me in the world. I
 “ have only to beg of your Lordship to believe, that I have
 “ not done this to satisfy the formality of my profession; but
 “ that it proceeds from the truest affection and good-will, that
 “ one man can possibly bear to another. I pray God every
 “ day for your Lordship with the same constancy and fervour
 “ as for myself, and do most earnestly beg, that this counsel
 “ may be acceptable and effectual.

I am, &c. (c)

Dr Gilbert Burnet, who had contracted an intimate friendship with Dean Tillotson, having finished his *History of the Reformation*, the first volume of which was published in 1679, as the second was in 1681, he submitted the manuscript of the whole work to his perusal and correction, as well as to that of Dr. William Lloyd, then Dean of Bangor, and Dr. Stillingfleet. Dr. Wilkins also, Bishop of Chester, by his last will committed his papers to Dean Tillotson’s care, who afterwards published that Prelate’s excellent treatise on “ the principles and duties of Natural Religion;” and likewise a volume of his sermons. Tillotson also revised and prepared for the press Dr. Barrow’s Sermons, and his “ *Treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy*,” that learned divine having at his death left his manuscripts to his care.

In 1683, Dean Tillotson appeared at Lord Russell’s Trial at the Old Bailey, as a witness in favour of his lordship’s character.

And

And after his condemnation, the Dean and Dr. Burnet were sent for by his Lordship, and they both continued their attendance upon him till his death; the day before which, the Dean delivered him a letter, in which he endeavoured to persuade him to what he had some days before in vain attempted, a declaration in favour of the doctrine of non-resistance. Tillotson has been very much censured for this, and indeed not without reason. All that can be said in his vindication is, that he appears not at this time to have formed the same just notions in politics, as he had in theology; but he afterwards adopted more rational and liberal sentiments. And the tyranny of James the Second convinced him of the necessity of the Revolution, in which he very readily concurred.

The persecution of the Protestants in France, begun some years before, but now carried to its height by the repeal of the edict of Nantes in October 1685, was not only a fresh proof to the Dean of the genuine spirit of unrestrained Popery, but an occasion of exerting his own pity and humanity towards those distressed persons, who escaped thence to England, and had the peculiar recommendation of suffering for religion. King Charles II. had as early as the year 1682 granted briefs for collecting money for the relief of these Refugees; and his example was afterwards followed by his successor, from motives of policy. The granting of these briefs gave Dean Tillotson an opportunity of shewing his regard for the persecuted French Protestants, by promoting the contributions in their favour. And the warmth of his zeal upon this occasion is evident from an answer, which he returned to Dr. Beveridge (*d*), one of the prebendaries of his cathedral

(*d*) WILLIAM BEVERIDGE was born at Barrow in Leicestershire, in the year 1638. He was educated at St. John's college in Cambridge, where he applied with great assiduity, to the study of the oriental languages, and made such proficiency in this part of learning, that at eighteen years of age, he wrote a treatise of the excellency and use of the oriental tongues, especially the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan, with a Syriac grammar. In 1661 he entered into holy orders, and the same year was presented to the vicarage of Yealing in Middlesex, which he resigned about a year after, upon his being chosen rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, by the lord mayor and aldermen of London. In 1674, he was collated to a prebend in the cathedral of St. Paul, and in 1681 he was made archdeacon of Colchester. In 1684, he was installed

prebendary of Canterbury, and about the same time was appointed chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. In 1691, he was offered, but refused to accept of, the see of Bath and Wells, vacant by the deprivation of Dr. Kenn, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary. But sometime after he accepted of that of St. Asaph, and was consecrated on the 16th of July, 1704. He did not long enjoy his episcopal dignity, for he died on the 5th of March, 1707, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. Bishop Beveridge was a very pious and learned man, and author of several considerable works; particularly the following: 1. *Theaurus Theologicus*; or a complete system of divinity, 4 vols. 8vo. 2. *Exposition of the 39 articles*, folio. 3. *One hundred and fifty Sermons and Discourses*, Lond. 1708. in twelve volumes, 8vo

cathedral, who from a coolness towards foreign Protestants, or an unnecessary scruple with respect to forms even in affairs of weight and substance, had objected to the reading of one of these briefs there, as contrary to the rubric. Tillotson's reply was short and significant, " Doctor, doctor, charity is above rubrics. (e)"

On the 6th of January, 1688-9, Dean Tillotson was appointed to preach before the Prince of Orange at St. James's and the convention, which met on the 22d of that month, having appointed Thursday the 31st for a day of publick Thanksgiving to Almighty GOD, in the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles distant, " for having made his Highness the Prince of Orange the glorious instrument of the great deliverance of this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power ;" Tillotson preached a sermon upon that occasion at Lincoln's Inn chapel, which he published soon after, with a dedication to the society there.

After the government was settled upon King William and Queen Mary, Dean Tillotson was admitted into an high degree of favour and confidence with them ; and on the 27th of April, 1689, he was appointed Clerk of the Closet to the King. In September the same year, he exchanged his Deanery of Canterbury for that of St. Paul, which was vacant by the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet to the Bishopric of Worcester. Dr. Tillotson was one of the Divines who were employed in reviewing the Liturgy, being a member of the ecclesiastical commission, appointed in order to prepare matters to be considered by the convocation, previous to an intended law " for uniting their Majesty's Protestant Subjects." A bill for this purpose was brought into Parliament, which was passed by the house of Peers, but could not be carried in the House of Commons, being violently opposed by Bigots and High Churchmen, though it was much approved by the King, and in general by men of judgment, candour, and moderation. Another attempt was also made in favour of the moderate Dissenters, by causing a clause to be inserted in the bill relative to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, " to prevent the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper upon any other account, than in obedience to the holy institution thereof," and to provide, that any man should be sufficiently qualified for any office, employment, or place of trust, who within a year before or after his admission or entrance thereinto, did receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, either according to the usage of the church of England, or in any other Protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister

8vo. reprinted at London in 1719. in two volumes, folio. 4 Synodicon, five pandectæ canonum S. S. apostolorum et conciliorum, &c. Oxon, 2 vol folio. 1672. 5. Private thoughts upon Religion and a Christian Life, in two

parts. This has been printed at least seventeen times. It is a very pious performance, but contains some strange reasonings and extraordinary assertions.

(e) Birch, P. 130, 131.

ter, or two other credible witnesses, members of such a Protestant congregation. It was urged in support of this, that an hearty union among Protestants was a greater security to the church and state, than any test that could be invented: That the obligation to receive the sacrament, according to the rites of the church of England was a test on the Protestants, rather than on the Papists: That as long as it continued, there could not be that hearty and thorough union among Protestants, as was always to be wished. And that a greater security ought not to be required from such as were admitted into offices, than from the Members of the two Houses of Parliament, who were not obliged to receive the sacrament, to enable them to sit in either house.

In August, 1689, Dr. Tillotson was appointed, by the Chapter of his Cathedral, to exercise the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of the Province of Canterbury, devolved to himself and that body, on the 1st of that month, by the suspension of Archbishop Sancroft (f), for refusing to take the oaths to King William

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(f) WILLIAM SANCROFT was born at Fressingfield in Suffolk, on the 30th of January, 1617; and educated in grammar-learning at St. Edmund's Bury. He was sent to Emanuel College in Cambridge, in 1634, and having taken the degrees in Arts, was in 1642 chosen Fellow of his College. His refusal to take the Engagement in 1649, occasioned his being deprived of his Fellowship; upon which he travelled into France and Italy. He published at London in 1652, in 8vo. a small piece, intitled, "Modern Politics, taken from Machiavel, Borghia, and other modern authors, by an eye-witness;" and he joined with Mr. George Davenport and another of his friends, in composing that severe satire upon Calvinism, intitled, "Fur prædestinatus," printed at London in 1651; and he published Bishop Andrews's defence of the vulgar translation of the Bible, with a preface of his own. In the beginning of the year 1660 he was at Rome, but returned to England soon after the restoration of King Charles II. and on the 8th of May that year was chosen one of the University Preachers, being then Bachelor of Divinity. He was soon after appointed Chaplain to Dr. John Cosin, Bishop of Durham; and in 1662, he was created Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge, in virtue of the King's letters patent. About the same time he was made a

Prebendary of Durham, having a short time before been presented to the rectory of Houghton in the Spring, in the county palatine of Durham; and on the 14th of August, 1662, he was elected Master of Emanuel College. He was advanced to the Deanery of York in January, 1664, which he held but ten months, and in that time expended in buildings, &c. 200 l. more than he received. At the close of this year he was made Dean of St. Paul's, and after the fire of London in 1666, he spent 1000 l. in rebuilding the deanery house. In 1668, he was admitted Archdeacon of Canterbury on the King's presentation, which he held till 1670, and then resigned it. He was advanced to the Archbishopric in 1678. His firmness in refusing with six other Bishops to order the reading King James II's declaration of indulgence, did him great honour; and in November, 1688, he excused himself from publishing an abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's invasion, and concurred with other Lords spiritual and temporal at the meeting at Guildhall, on the 11th of December, in a declaration to that Prince for a free Parliament and due indulgence to Protestant dissenters. But he would not submit to the new settlement of the crown. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Isaac Newton happened to be at Lambeth, when the news was brought,

and Queen Mary; and the King soon fixed upon Tillotson to succeed him. His Majesty was induced to nominate Tillotson to this high dignity, by the great opinion he had of his merit, as well as by the strong recommendations of Bishop Burnet. It appears, however, that Tillotson himself was really much averse to this promotion: and indeed a man of his disposition and temper, which was mild, gentle, and humane, had certainly great reason to dread the Archbishopric, since whoever should succeed Sancroft, was sure to be the butt of all the virulence and malice of the nonjurors, who would of course, deter and abhor him. Accordingly he endeavoured very much to avoid this preferment, and at last accepted it with great reluctance. Of this we have the following account, in a letter to Lady Russel, dated October the 25th, 1690; for there was ever a strict intimacy and correspondence between this Lady and Dr. Tillotson, after the death of Lord Russel, and there passed several letters between them upon this occasion. "The King (says he) took me into his closet, where I told him, that I could not but have a deep sense of his Majesty's great grace and favour to me, not only to offer me the best thing he had to give, but to

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brought, that the House of Commons had declared the throne vacant. Upon which the Archbishop appeared concerned, expressing his wishes, that they had proceeded in a more regular method, and examined into the birth of the young child, since there was reason to believe, that he was not the same with the first, which might be easily known, as he had a mole on his neck. And after he had refused the oaths, when Mr. John Dubourdieu, minister of the French church in the Savoy, went to take his leave of him, upon going Chaplain to Duke Schomberg in Piedmont, his Grace told him, that he did not doubt, that the foreign Protestants would blame his conduct; but he declared, that before he took that step, he had foreseen every thing that could be said, and even the injury, which it might do to the Protestant cause; and that he was greatly concerned, and had sinned and prayed, but that at last his conscience would not suffer him to act any otherwise than he had done. Bishop Burnet represents him, as a man considerably learned, and of solemn deportment, with a fullen gravity in his looks, and a monastic strictness, and abstraction from company; dry, cold, reserved, and pec-

vish, so that none loved him, and few esteemed him. And indeed, says Dr. Birch, upon an impartial examination of his conduct and character, he will appear to have been slow, timorous, and narrow-spirited, but at the same time a good, honest, and well meaning man. He was very laborious in his studies, and had amassed a vast collection of papers, having written perhaps more with his own hand, than any person of his time. But the three sermons which he published, give us a very low idea of his taste and judgment, and are more suitable to a disciple of Bishop Andrews, than a cotemporary of Dr. Tillotson [Vid. Birch's Life of Tillotson, P. 160—164.] Archbishop Sancroft was deprived on the first of February, 1690; but he continued at Lambeth till the 23d of June following, being determined not to remove till he was ejected by law: and a few weeks after he retired to Fressingfield, his native place, where he spent the remainder of his life. He died in 1693, and was buried in a private manner, agreeable to his own directions, in Fressingfield Church-yard. Nineteen of his familiar letters to Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) North, were published in 1757, in 8vo.

“ preſs it ſo earneſtly upon me. I ſaid, I would not preſume to
 “ argue the matter any farther, but I hoped he would give me
 “ leave to be ſtill his humble and earneſt petitioner to ſpare me
 “ in that thing. He answered, he would do ſo, if he could, but
 “ he knew not what to do, if I reſuſed it. Upon that I told
 “ him, that I tendered my life to him, and did humbly devote
 “ it to be diſpoſed of as he thought fit. He was graciouſly
 “ pleaſed to ſay, it was the beſt news had come to him this
 “ great while. I did not kneel down to kiſs his hand, for with-
 “ out that I doubt I am too ſure of it ; but requested of him,
 “ that he would defer the declaration of it, and let it be a ſecret
 “ for ſome time. He ſaid he thought it might not be amiſs to
 “ defer it till the Parliament was up. I begged further of him,
 “ that he would not make me a wedge to drive out the preſent
 “ Archbiſhop : That ſome time before I was nominated, his
 “ Maſteſty would be pleaſed to declare in council, that ſince his
 “ lenity had not had any better effect, he would wait no more,
 “ but would diſpoſe of their places. This I told him I humbly
 “ deſired, that I might not be thought to do any thing harſh,
 “ or which might reflect upon me ; for now that his Maſteſty had
 “ thought fit to advance me to this ſtation, my reputation was
 “ become his intereſt. He ſaid, he was ſenſible of it, and thought
 “ it reaſonable to do as I deſired.

“ I craved leave of him to mention one thing more, which in
 “ juſtice to my family ; eſpecially my wife, I ought to do, that
 “ I ſhould be more than undone by the great and neceſſary
 “ charge of coming into this place, and muſt therefore be an
 “ humble petitioner to his Maſteſty, that if it ſhould pleaſe God
 “ to take me out of the world, that I muſt unavoidably leave
 “ my wife a beggar, he would not ſuffer her to be ſo ; and that
 “ he would graciouſly be pleaſed to conſider, that the widow of
 “ an Archbiſhop of Canterbury (which would now be an odd
 “ figure in England) could not decently be ſupported by ſo lit-
 “ tle, as would have contented her very well, if I had died a
 “ Dean. To this he gave a very gracious answer, *I promiſe you to*
 “ *take care of her.*” His remark to the King, that “ the widow
 “ of an Archbiſhop would now be an odd figure in England,”
 was founded upon this fact, that only two, who had filled the
 ſee of Canterbury, had been married, namely, Cranmer and
 Parker.

Dr. Tillotſon was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury on
 the 31ſt of May, 1691, at Bow Church, by Mew, Biſhop of Win-
 cheſter, Lloyd, Biſhop of St. Aſaph, Burnet, Biſhop of Saluſbury,
 Stillingleet, Biſhop of Worceſter, Irenſide, Biſhop of Briſtol,
 and Hough, Biſhop of Oxford, in the preſence of the Duke of
 Norfolk, the Marquis of Carmarthen, the Earl of Devonſhire,
 the Earl of Dorſet, the Earl of Maccleſfield, the Earl of Falcon-
 berg, and other perſons of rank, who attended the ſolemnity, to

express the great esteem and respect which they had for his grace, and the satisfaction which they had in his promotion.

His new accession of dignity was attended with the usual compliments of congratulation; which, however, were soon followed by a very opposite treatment from the nonjuring party; the greatest part of whom, from the moment of his acceptance of the Archbishopric, pursued him with an unrelenting rage, which lasted during his life, and was by no means appeased after his death. Before he was consecrated to the see, Mr. Dodwell, who was deprived of the Camdenian lecture of history in Oxford, in November, 1691, wrote to him a letter, dated the 12th of May, to dissuade him from being "the aggressor, (as he expresses it) in the new designed schism, in erecting another altar against the hitherto acknowledged altar of your deprived fathers and brethren. If their places be not vacant, the new consecration must, by the nature of the spiritual monarchy, be null, and invalid, and schismatical." But this letter of Mr. Dodwell was written with much greater mildness and moderation, than another, which was sent to the Archbishop's Lady for him, and a copy of it to the Countess of Derby for the Queen, and which was printed soon after. It called upon him to reconcile his actions since the Revolution with the principles either of natural or revealed religion, or those of a letter written by himself to Lord Russell, which was re-printed upon this occasion. The writer of it is said by Dr. Hickes, to be "a person of great candour and judgment, and once a great admirer of the Archbishop;" tho' he was afterwards so much prejudiced against him, that after his grace's death he declared to Dr. Hickes, that he thought him "an atheist, as much as a man could be, though the gravest certainly," said he, "that ever was." (g) But the many libels against Tillotson were so far from exasperating him to revenge against the persons concerned in writing and dispersing them, that when some of them were seized on that account, he used all his interest with the government to shelter them from the penalties of the law.

After he had been settled about a year in his see, he found himself confirmed in the notions he had always entertained, that the circumstances attending grandeur make it not near so eligible, with regard to the possessor's own ease and happiness, as persons at a distance from it are apt to imagine. To this purpose he entered his own reflections in short-hand in his commonplace book, under the title of "Some scattered thoughts of my own upon several subjects and occasions, begun this 13th of March, 1691--2, to be transcribed." His remarks concerning "a public and splendid way of living compared with a private and retired life," deserve to be inserted, as they were the result of the real experience of a very able observer of human life,

at

at that time in a post of great dignity. * One would be apt to wonder (says he) that Nehemiah (Chap. v. ver. 16, 17, 18.) should reckon a huge bill of fare, and vast number of promiscuous guests amongst his virtues and good deeds, for which he desires God to remember him. But upon better consideration, besides the bounty, and some times charity, of a great table, (provided there be nothing of vanity or ostentation in it) there may be exercised two very considerable virtues; one is, *temperance*, and the other *self-denial*, in a man's being contented for the sake of the public, to deny himself so much, as to sit down every day to a feast, and to eat continually in a croud, and almost never to be alone, especially when, as it often happens, a great part of the company that a man must have, is the company that a man would not have. I doubt it will prove but a melancholy business, when a man comes to die, to have made a great noise and bustle in the world, and to have been known far and near; but all this while to have been hid and concealed from himself. It is a very odd and fantastical sort of life for a man to be continually from home, and most of all a stranger at his own house.

* It is surely an uneasy thing to sit always in a frame, and to be perpetually upon a man's guard; not to be able to speak a careless word, or to use a negligent posture, without observation and censure.

* Men are apt to think, that they, who are in highest places, and have the most power, have most liberty to say and do what they please. But it is quite otherwise, for they have the least liberty, because they are most observed. It is not mine own observation; a much wiser man (I mean Tully) says, *In maxima quaque fortuna minimum licere*. They, that are in the highest and greatest condition, have of all others the least liberty.

* In a moderate station it is sufficient for a man to be indifferently wise. Such a man has the privilege to commit little follies and mistakes, without having any great notice taken of them. But he that lives in the light, that is, in the view of all men, his actions are exposed to every body's observation and censure.

As soon as Tillotson was settled in the archiepiscopal see, he began to form several designs for the advantage of the church and religion in general. In these he was encouraged by the readiness of their Majesties to promote them by their authority, and especially of the Queen, who was incessantly employed in possessing her mind with the best schemes, that were either laid before her by others, or suggested by her own thoughts, for correcting and improving the constitution of the church. With this view, the Archbishop joined with her Majesty in engaging Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, to draw up his excellent *discourse of the Pastoral care*, which was that Prelate's favourite tract, as

an attempt to prepare the scene for many noble designs for the perfecting of the ecclesiastical constitution. Indeed, the good of the church, and the reformation of abuses among the clergy, were the constant objects of the Archbishop's thoughts; and among other resolutions and projects for those purposes, one was, for obliging the Clergy to a more strict observance of residence on their cures. But Tillotson was prevented by death from effectuating his designs, and while he did live met with much obstruction from the bigotry of many of the Clergy, and their averfeness to any alterations in the church, however salutary, or however necessary to the advancement of real piety and virtue.

The moderation of Tillotson's sentiments, and the mildness of his behaviour towards Dissenters, gave great offence to intemperate zealots, who considered his conduct as a desertion from the interests of the church; and their animosity frequently broke out into all the forms of open insult. One day, while a gentleman was with him, who came to pay his compliments, a packet was brought to him, sealed and directed to him, upon opening which there appeared a mask, but nothing written. The Archbishop, without any signs of emotion, threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; but, on the gentleman's expressing great surprize at the affront, he only smiled, and said, that "this was "a gentle rebuke, compared with some others, that lay there in "black and white," pointing to the papers upon the table.

The variety of ill treatment which Archbishop Tillotson received from his bigotted adversaries, could never provoke him to a temper of revenge; being far from indulging himself in any of those liberties in speaking of others, which were to so immeasurable a degree made use of against himself. And upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this, "These are libels. I pray God "forgive them; I do." The calumnies spread against him, though the falsest, which malice could invent, being advanced with the utmost confidence, and joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had indeed a greater operation than could have been imagined, considering how long he had lived on so public a scene, and how well he was known. It seemed a new and unusual thing, that a man, who in the course of above thirty years had done so much good, and so many services to so many persons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing to any one, and who had a sweetness and gentleness in him, that seemed rather to lean to an excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But he bore all this with a submission to the will of God; nor had it any such effect on him, as to change either his temper or maxims, though perhaps it might sink too much into him with relation to his health. He was so exactly true in all the representations of things or persons, which he laid before their Majesties, that he neither raised the character of his friends, nor sunk that of his enemies, but offered every thing

thing to them with that sincerity, which so well became him. His truth and candour were perceptible in almost every thing which he said or did; his looks and whole manner seeming to take away all suspicion concerning him. For he thought nothing in this world was worth much art, or great management (*b*).

He concurred with the Queen in engaging Bishop Burnet to undertake his exposition of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England; which that indefatigable prelate performed in less than the compass of a year, and then sent the manuscript of his work, which was not published till 1699, to the Archbishop, who having revised and altered it in several places, returned it with his judgment upon it in the following letter:

Lambeth House, Oct. 23, 1694.

‘ My Lord,

‘ I have with great pleasure and satisfaction read over the great volume you sent me, and am astonished to see so vast a work begun and finished in so short a time. In the article of the Trinity you have said all, that I think can be said upon so obscure and difficult an argument. The Socinians have just now published an answer to us all; but I have not had a sight of it. The negative articles against the church of Rome you have very fully explained, and with great learning and judgment. Concerning these you will meet with no opposition among ourselves. The greatest danger was to be apprehended from the points in difference between the Calvinists and Remonstrants, in which you have shewn not only great skill and moderation, but great prudence in contenting yourself to represent both sides impartially, without any positive declaration of your own judgment. The account given of Athanasius’s creed seems to me no-wise satisfactory. I wish we were well rid of it. I pray God long to preserve your Lordship to do more such services to the church.

‘ I am, my Lord,

‘ Yours most affectionately,

‘ JO. CANT.’

He did not long survive the writing of this letter, for on Sunday the 18th of November, 1694, he was seized with a sudden illness, while he was at the chapel at Whitehall. But though his countenance shewed, that he was indisposed, he thought it not decent to interrupt the service. The fit came indeed slowly on, but it seemed to be fatal, and soon turned to a dead palsy. The oppression of his distemper was so great, that it became very uneasy for him to speak; but it appeared, that his understanding was still clear, though others could not have the advantage of it. He

He continued serene and calm, and in broken words said, that he thanked God he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do, but to wait the will of Heaven. He was attended the two last nights of his illness by his friend Mr. Nelson (*i*), in whose arms

(*i*) ROBERT NELSON was born in London on the 22d of June, 1636. He was son of Mr. John Nelson, a considerable Turkey merchant of that city, by Delicia his wife, sister of Sir Gabriel Roberts, who was likewise a Turkey merchant, and a particular friend of Dr. Tillotson. His father dying when he was but two years old, he was committed to the care of his mother and her brother Sir Gabriel, who was appointed his guardian, and by whom he was extremely beloved, not only on account of his near relation, but also of his person, and temper, and the strength and vivacity of his understanding, even in his earliest years. His first education was at St. Paul's school, London; but after he had been some time there, his mother took him home to her house at Dryfield, near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, having procured the learned Dr. George Bull, then rector of St. Mary Siddington in that neighbourhood, to be his tutor. He was afterwards sent to Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was admitted a gentleman-commoner. When he had quitted the university, in 1680, he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society; and the same year he set out on his travels abroad, in company with Dr. Edmund Halley, who had been his school-fellow, and for whom he had a particular regard. In the road to Paris, they saw the remarkable comet which gave rise to HALLEY'S SYNOPSIS COMETARUM; and Mr. Nelson sent Dr. Tillotson a description of it.

When he had pursued his journey with his fellow traveller as far as Rome, he fell into the acquaintance of Lady Theophila Lucy, widow of Sir Kingmill Lucy, of Broxburne in Hertfordshire, Bart. and second daughter of George Earl of Berkeley, who soon discovered a strong passion for him. This concluded in a marriage after their arrival in England; but it was some time before she confessed

to Mr. Nelson the change of her religion, which was owing to her consultations at Rome with Cardinal Philip Howard, who was grandson of Thomas Earl of Arundel, the collector of the antiquities, and had been raised to the purple by Pope Clement X. in May, 1675. Nor was this important alteration of her religious sentiments confined to her own mind, but involved in it her daughter by her first husband, whom she drew over to her new religion; and her zeal for it prompted her even to engage in the lists of the public controversy then depending; for she is the supposed author of a piece printed in 1686, in 4to. under the title of "A discourse concerning a Judge of Controversy in matters of religion, shewing the necessity of such a judge." However, her difference of religion occasioned no diminution in Mr. Nelson's affections for her; and when she relapsed into so bad a state of health as required her to go to drink the waters of Aix, he attended her thither in 1688; and not liking the prospect of public affairs at home, which threatened the removal of James II. from the throne, he proceeded to make a second trip to Italy, taking his lady, together with her son and daughter by her former husband, along with him. He returned through Germany to the Hague, where he staid some time with Lord Dursley, who was married to his wife's sister.

From the Hague he arrived in England in the latter end of the year 1691. He had shewn his attachment to King James, by holding a correspondence with that Prince's ambassador to the Pope after the Revolution, having determined not to transfer his allegiance from him; and accordingly he declared himself a nonjuror, and left the communion of the church of England. The difference of opinion in this respect between him and Tillotson did not disturb the friendship between them, which subsisted without

arms he expired on the fifth day of it, Thursday, Nov. 22, at five in the afternoon, in the sixty fifth year of his age. The sorrow for his death is said to have been more universal than was ever known for a subject; and when his funeral was appointed, there was a numerous train of coaches filled with persons of rank and condition, who came voluntarily to assist at that solemnity, from Lambeth to the church of St. Laurence Jewry, where his body was interred on the 30th of that month, and a monument afterwards erected to his memory. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.

Of Archbishop Tillotson's person we have the following description, by a person who was well acquainted with him. 'His countenance was fair and very amiable; his face round, his eyes vivid, and his air and aspect quick and ingenuous; all which were the index of his excellent soul and spirit. His hair brown and bushy; he was moderately tall; very slender and sparing in his youth; his constitution but tender and frail to outward appearance. He became corpulent and fat, when grown in age, which increased more and more as long as he lived; but yet was neither a burden to himself, nor in the least unseemly to others.' (b).

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without interruption till the death of the Archbishop; and after that event, Mr. Nelson continued his kindness to his Grace's widow, and was very instrumental in procuring her pension from the crown to be augmented, from 400l. to 600l. per annum. And it is remarkable, that the great regard which Mr. Nelson had always shewn to Dr. Tillotson, induced Dr. Barker, who published the Archbishop's posthumous sermons, to consult him upon that occasion, notwithstanding the difference of their sentiments in some points. Among the manuscripts, there was found one discourse, wherein the Archbishop took an occasion to complain of the usage which he had received from the nonjuring party; and to expose, in return, the inconsistency of their conduct; remarking particularly, that, upon a just comparison of their principle of non-resistance with their actual non-assistance to King James II. they had little reason to boast of their loyalty to him; and yet, severe as this discourse was upon that party, Mr. Nelson, notwithstanding his attachment to them, was very zealous to have it printed; alleging, that they deserved such a rebuke, for

their unjust treatment of so good a man. However, the sermon was then suppressed, and is now probably lost.

Mr. Nelson engaged zealously in every public scheme for promoting the interest of the church of England; and in particular patronized several proposals for building, repairing, and endowing churches and charity-schools. For upon the death of Dr. Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich, at the end of the year 1709, Mr. Nelson had returned to the communion of the church of England. Dr. Lloyd was the last surviving of the deprived Bishops by the Revolution, except Dr. Kenn, by whose advice Mr. Nelson was determined in this point.

Mr. Nelson died in 1715, at the age of 59 years, and was interred in the cemetery of St. George's chapel, in Lamb's conduit fields. He left his whole estate to pious and charitable uses, particularly to charity-schools. He published several pieces, particularly the Life of his tutor Bishop Bull, and a Companion for the festivals and fasts of the church, which hath passed through upwards of twenty editions.

(b) Memorials of the Most Reverend

It has been justly observed of Tillotson, that he had a great compass in learning. And what he knew, he had so perfectly digested, that he was truly master of it. Whilst he was at the University, he was a very able and diligent tutor. Mr. Beardmore, whom we just quoted, and who was under his care, when Tillotson was only a junior bachelor, and probationer for a Fellowship, says, 'He was at those years a very good scholar, an acute logician and philosopher, a quick disputant, of a solid judgment, and no way unqualified for the trust and charge incumbent upon him. He spoke Latin exceedingly well, read lectures to us that were admitted under him, out of Burgersdicius's logic, with great smartness and judgment; and when we went to take a new lecture, he examined us about the former, according to the author, and his own explanations. When we went to prayers in his chamber a-nights, he put us for some time at first upon construing or rendering into Latin a chapter in the Greek Testament, in which he was a very great Critic; and afterwards, in process of time, he used to put some or other upon giving account of the day's reading; after which account given, he would put them upon defending their author, and his sense or tenets. This was ever done in Latin; for I know not, that ever he spoke a word of English to us, whilst we were together, or permitted any of us to do so. He sometimes had us to declaim or dispute before him in his chamber also; but this was done in the afternoon, upon such days as he appointed. We also went to him to prayers, for the most part duly on Lord's day nights, when he examined some or other of the sermon or sermons heard that day; and this was done in English; for that was the only day, when he spake to us, or we gave him our accounts, in English.'

'His prayers were (according to the use of those times) of that sort, which we call *conceived prayers*, in which he had a very great faculty; but always performed them with gravity and fervour; as he did also, when it was his course to perform prayer in the chapel.---In the week-days, when he had his prayer, as we were going forth out of his chamber, he usually recalled some one of us, and then would use those he called with a fair freedom; discourse them kindly, encourage to studiousness, seriousness, and diligence, or tell them of any fault he either observed or heard of in them; and those that deserved it, he would reprove very sharply. Thus he was a very good tutor, and careful of his pupils' behaviours and manners; had

' a true

rend Dr. John Tillotson, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, written by John Beardmore, M. A. who had been his pupil at Cambridge,

published in the Appendix to Birch's Life of the Archbishop, P. 431.

‘ a true love for those of us that he saw deport themselves well,
‘ and was respectful to them; but very severe upon those that
‘ did otherwise (i).’

The same writer observes, that ‘ he was a person of unblemished conversation, not to be charged with any either intemperance or covetousness, or any other vice whatsoever; which, as they are spots even in a layman’s life, so they appear much more foul in a Clergyman. He lived well upon the incomes of his preferments, kept a good table, and was hospitable and charitable; did not enrich himself, nor lay up much money: and ’tis said, that his advancement to the metropolitical see, as he managed matters, did not increase, but much diminish his estate. For he enjoyed it not full four years, and besides the first-fruits, which are high, and other public payments, he built an apartment for his lady, paid a considerable debt of Archbishop Sancroft’s, kept a very splendid and plentiful table, was bountiful and charitable in relieving the poor, besides other ways of draining his purse. He was not a man that valued the world, or laboured to be rich, or studied his temporal interest; but, as he taught others, so he lived above the world, and the advantages of it; and knew how to use it, so as not to abuse it.

‘ He was one of a very sweet nature, friendly and obliging, and ready to serve his friends any way that he could by his interest and authority, when they applied to him; and this he did freely and generously, without any oblique designs to serve himself. He was very affable and conversible, not sour or sulky, not proud or haughty, nor addicted to any thing of moroseness, affected gravity, or to keep at a great distance from those, that were much his inferiors; but open and free, gentle and easy, pleasant and amiable, to those especially that he was acquainted with, or that he looked upon as honest and good.

‘ He was wise and prudent in his whole deportment, speaking and acting all things with great evenness and steadiness, not with blustering or temerity, or so as to give just offence to any. He understood human nature well, and how ill any take it to be slighted or disrespected; and therefore he was obliging to all, disobliging to none, so far as it was possible. And yet this his wisdom was so tempered with uprightness and sincerity, that he appeared not in the least to be crafty or designing. He was greatly esteemed for his integrity, and therefore intrusted by divers great persons in the management of their affairs and concerns; made their executor or trustee for the governing of their estates, preserving them to their children, or other

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‘ wise

‘ wise to such purposes, as they had appointed by their wills.
 ‘ As he was eminent in these and the like homilitical virtues,
 ‘ so he was very much esteemed for them by persons of all ranks,
 ‘ especially by those of higher rank and quality. He had a
 ‘ mighty respect paid him in London, and his company and con-
 ‘ versation were very much desired and valued.

‘ He was deservedly esteemed one of the best, if not rather
 ‘ absolutely the very best Preacher of his age ; especially confi-
 ‘ dering how frequent and constant his employment was that
 ‘ way ; his sermons being full of good sense, judicious, solid,
 ‘ close, and very intelligible ; his language masculine, but not
 ‘ bombast ; his notions for the most part very clear, lying even to
 ‘ the understandings of attentive hearers. Those, that were
 ‘ duly qualified, heard him with delight ; for they thought they
 ‘ knew the things before ; and yet they were not obvious to com-
 ‘ mon invention. Some have called him a rational Preacher, as
 ‘ indeed he was in the best sense : he understood human nature,
 ‘ and natural divinity, and true morality very well ; and there-
 ‘ fore there was something in the hearts and consciences of men
 ‘ not debauched, that moved them to give assent and consent to
 ‘ what he spoke, as being agreeable, and con-natural, as I may
 ‘ say, to the common reason and faculties of mankind, to that
 ‘ law of God written and engraven upon man’s heart : and there
 ‘ is no teaching like that of enabling them to teach them-
 ‘ selves.’——‘ How generally and universally his preaching
 ‘ was esteemed, appeared by those crowds of auditors that at-
 ‘ tended it, and especially of the Clergy at his lectures at St.
 ‘ Laurence ; and many, that heard him on Sunday at Lincoln’s
 ‘ Inn, went joyfully to St. Laurence on Tuesday, hoping they
 ‘ might hear the same sermon again. The audience generally
 ‘ stood, or sat, with the greatest attention, and even waited upon
 ‘ his discourses, hanging upon his lips. One should hardly see
 ‘ a wandering eye among them ; and when his sermons were
 ‘ ended, they went away with satisfied minds, and glad hearts,
 ‘ and chearful countenances (*k*).’

Dr. Birch observes, that “ the vivacity of his wit is evident
 under the restraints, which his discourses from the pulpit exacted
 from him, and those, which he imposed upon himself in his
 few controversial writings ; and Sir Richard Steele, an indispu-
 table judge in that kind, used to say, that he had a much greater
 share of it, than most of those whose character was denominated
 from it. But his temper and principles would not suffer him to
 exercise it in satire, or even in self-defence ; so that few repa-
 rees of his are delivered down. Among these was one in return

to

(*k*) Beardmore, in Birch’s Appendix, as before, P. 397, 413, 424,
 and 427.

to Sir John Trevor, who was made Master of the Rolls by King James, with whom he was in high favour, and expelled for bribery by the House of Commons, while he was speaker of it. This gentleman, who, with a very obnoxious character, affected very high principles in church and state, passing by the Archbishop in the House of Lords soon after his promotion, said in a tone loud enough to be heard by his grace, " I hate a Fanatic ' in lawn sleeves ;" to which the Archbishop answered in a lower voice, " And I hate a knave in any sleeves (l)."

The late very learned and excellent Dr. Jortin observes, that " amongst many things, which may be mentioned in favour of Tillotson, this should not be forgotten, that of those, who have passed their judgments upon him, there never was a *son of absurdity*, who did not *dislike*, or a *sensible reader*, who did not *approve* his writings. If a person were to offer himself a candidate for honest reputation, what could he wish and hope more, than to share Tillotson's fate, and to find the same censures and the same defenders ? Yet it hath been said of this great and good man, that his spirits were in some degree broken, and his health impaired, by the insults and calumnies of petulant adversaries. If it be true, it is a melancholy instance of human infirmity, and a proof, that a little *Stoicism* and *Socratism* is a desirable possession. To forgive enemies, though difficult to many, was easy to him, assisted as he was by good nature and by religion : but to despise their attacks, was a task rather too hard for his gentle temper and sensibility ; so that, in this respect, and under these disadvantages, he was not a match for men, who could neither *blush* nor *feel*."

Dr. Birch observes, that Archbishop Tillotson's charity and generosity, with the expence of coming into the see, and the repairs and improvements of his palace, had so exhausted his fortune, that if his first fruits had not been forgiven him by the King, his debts could not have been paid : and he left nothing to his family but the copy of his post-humous sermons, which was afterwards sold for 2500 guineas. His Majesty therefore granted Mrs. Tillotson on the 2d of May, 1695, an annuity of 400l. during her natural life, and an addition to it on the 18th of August, 1698, of 200l. a year more ; both which were continued till her death on the 20th of January, 1702. And King William was so solicitous for the regular payment of her pension without any deduction, that he always called for the money quarterly, and sent it to her himself." (m). The Archbishop had two daughters by Mrs. Tillotson, Mary and Elizabeth, who both died before him ;
but

but the former, who was married to Mr. Chadwick, left two sons and a daughter.

His sermons and other works have been many times printed, in different sizes, in three volumes, folio, in 1720, in 1728, and in 1735; and also in 12 volumes, 8vo. and in 18mo. And many of his sermons have been translated into foreign languages.



The Life of JOHN WILMOT, Earl of ROCHESTER.

THIS celebrated Nobleman was son of Henry Lord Wilmot, and Earl of Rochester, who engaged in the royal cause with great zeal and courage during the civil wars, and had the principal share in the preservation of King Charles II. after the battle of Worcester. He was born in the year 1648, at Ditchley near Woodstock in Oxfordshire; and was educated in the free-school at Burford in that county. Dr. Burnet informs us, that "when he was at school, " he was an extraordinary proficient at his book; and those " shining parts which have since appeared with so much lustre, " began then to shew themselves. He acquired the Latin to such " perfection, that to his dying day he retained a great relish of " the fineness and beauty of that tongue: and was exactly " versed in the incomparable authors that writ about Augustus's " time, whom he read often with that peculiar delight which " the greatest wits have ever found in those studies (*n*)."

At twelve years of age, his father being now dead, he was sent to Wadham College, in the University of Oxford, and committed to the care of Dr. Blandford, afterwards Bishop of Worcester; and about two years after, as Anthony Wood informs us, he was " created Master of Arts in convocation, with several other noble persons, anno. 1661; at which time, he, and " none else, was admitted very affectionately into the fraternity " by a kiss on the left cheek from the Chancellor of the " University, Clarendon, who then sat in the supreme chair to " honour that Assembly (*o*)."

Soon after this our young Earl of Rochester travelled into France and Italy, under the care of Dr. Balfour, a learned and worthy man, a native of Scotland, and afterwards an eminent Physician. And Burnet says, that Dr. Balfour " drew him to " read such books as were most likely to bring him back to love " learning

(*n*) Some Passages in the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John Earl of Rochester; written by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. 8vo. 1680. P. 3.

(*o*) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. II. col. 488, 489. edit. 1692.

‘ learning and study : and he often acknowledged to me, in particular three days before his death, how much he was obliged to love and honour this his governor, to whom he thought he owed more than to all the world, next after his parents, for his great fidelity and care of him, while he was under his trust. But no part of it affected him more sensibly, than that he engaged him by many tricks (so he expressed it) to delight in books and reading ; so that ever after he took occasion, in the intervals of those woeful extravagancies that consumed much of his time, to read much ; and though the time was generally but indifferently employed, for the choice of the subjects of his studies was not always good, yet the habitual love of knowledge, together with these fits of study, had much awakened his understanding, and prepared him for better things, when his mind should be so far changed as to relish them.’

The Earl returned from his travels in the 18th year of his age, and appeared at Court with great advantage. His person was graceful, tall, and well shaped ; he was exactly well bred ; of an affable deportment, and engaging behaviour. His conversation was easy and obliging, attended with such an uncommon vivacity of thought, and sweetness of expression, as scarcely ever failed to captivate his hearers. In the intervals of pleasure, he employed himself in reading the classic authors, and the most celebrated French and Italian writers, as well as the English. Of the moderns, Boileau among the French, and Cowley among the English, were the authors he took most delight in.

It appears that the dissolute manners of King Charles the Second’s court, contributed greatly towards corrupting the Earl of Rochester’s morals. Anothony Wood says, “ he frequented the Court, which not only debauched him, but made him a perfect Hebbist.” However, in the winter of the year 1665, he went to sea with the Earl of Sandwich, when he was sent out against the Dutch East India fleet, and was in the ship called the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Thomas Tiddeman, when the attack was made on the coast of Bergen in Norway, the Dutch ships having got into that port. ‘ It was (says Burnet) as desperate an attempt as ever was made : during the whole action the Earl of Rochester shewed as brave and as resolute a courage as was possible : a person of honour told me he heard the Lord Clifford, who was in the same ship, often magnify his courage at that time very highly. Nor did the rigours of the season, the hardness of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like on the very next occasion : for the summer following he went to sea again, without communicating his design to his nearest relations. He went aboard the ship commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great sea fight of that year. Almost all the volunteers that were in the same ship were killed. Mr. Middle-

' ton (brother to Sir Hugh Middleton (p) was shot in his arms.
' During the action, Sir Edward Spragge not being satisfied
' with the behaviour of one of the Captains, could not easily
' find a person that would cheerfully venture through so much
' danger, to carry his commands to that Captain. This Lord
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(p) It may be doubted, whether the Sir Hugh Middleton here mentioned, was the same person who brought the New River water to London. If the gentleman, who was in the action here spoken of by Burnet, was really the brother of the famous Sir Hugh Middleton, he must either have been much younger, or have been at this time of a very advanced age. However that be, as so public-spirited a man as Sir HUGH MIDDLETON deserves some memorial in a work of this kind, we shall here give some account of him. He was a native of Denbigh in North-wales, and a citizen and goldsmith of London. This city not being sufficiently supplied with water, three Acts of Parliament were obtained for that purpose, one in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and two in that of James the First, granting the Citizens of London full power to bring a river from any part of Middlesex and Hertfordshire. But this design, after much calculation, was laid aside as impracticable, on account of the extreme difficulty and great expence which must necessarily attend it, till Mr. Hugh Middleton undertook it: in consideration of which, the City conferred on him and his heirs on the 1st of April, 1606, the full right and power of the Act of Parliament, granted unto them in that behalf. Having, therefore, taken an exact survey of all springs and rivers in Middlesex and Hertfordshire, he made choice of two springs, one in the parish of Amwell near Hertford, the other at Ware, both about twenty miles distant from London; and having united their streams, conveyed them to the city at very great labour and expence. The work was begun on the 20th of February, 1608, and carried on through various soils, some oozy and muddy, others extremely hard and rocky. Many

bridges in the mean time were built over his New River; and many drains were made to carry off land springs and common sewers, sometimes over and sometimes under it. Besides these necessary difficulties, he had many others to struggle with; such as the spite and derision of the vulgar and envious, the many causeless hindrances and complaints of persons through whose grounds the channel was to be cut, &c. When he had brought the water into the neighbourhood of Enfield, almost his whole fortune was spent; upon which he applied to the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of London; but they refusing to interest themselves in the affair, he applied next to King James. And that Prince, willing to encourage this great and noble work, did, by indenture under the great seal, dated the 2d of May, 1612, between him and Mr. Middleton, covenant to pay half the expence of the whole work, past and to come; in consideration of which his Majesty was to have one moiety of the profits; and thus the design was happily effected, and the water brought into the cistern at Islington on Michaelmas day, 1613. King James also created Mr. Middleton a Knight, and afterwards a Baronet, for his public services. However, like most other projectors, Sir Hugh greatly impaired his fortune by this great work: for though King James had borne much of the expence, and did afterwards, in 1619, grant his letters patent to Sir Hugh Middleton, and others, incorporating them by the name of "The governors and company of the New River, brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London;" and empowering them to chuse a Governor, Deputy Governor, and Treasurer, to grant leases, &c. yet the profit it brought in at first was very inconsiderable. There was no dividend made among

‘ offered himself to the service ; and went in a little boat, through
 ‘ all the shot, and delivered his message, and returned back to
 ‘ Sir Edward : which was much commended by all that saw it.
 ‘ He thought it necessary to begin his life with these demonstra-
 ‘ tions of his courage in an element and way of fighting, which
 ‘ is acknowledged to be the greatest trial of clear and undaunted
 ‘ valour (*q*).’ But notwithstanding the bravery which he now
 discovered, his courage was afterwards disputed ; and it is said
 that in several private quarrels he behaved in a very cowardly
 manner (*r*). The change in him in this respect has been attri-
 buted to that consciousness of guilt, which proceeded from the
 vices and irregularities of his life.

After his travels, and naval expeditions, he seemed to have con-
 tracted a habit of temperance, in which it would have been hap-
 py if he had persevered ; but the licentious manners of the Court
 soon corrupted him again, and he launched out into the greatest
 excesses. Burnet says, “ the natural heat of his fancy, being in-
 “ flamed by wine, made him so extravagantly pleasant, that
 “ many to be more diverted by that humour, studied to engage
 “ him deeper and deeper in intemperance : which at length did
 “ so entirely subdue him ; that, as he told me, for five years to-
 “ gether he was continually drunk : not all the while under the
 “ visible effect of it, but his blood was so enflamed, that he was not
 “ in all that time cool enough to be perfectly master of himself.
 “ This led him to say and do many wild and unaccountable
 “ things.” However, the uncommon charms of Rochester’s con-
 versation, induced almost all men to court him as a companion,
 though

among the proprietors till the year
 1633, when 111. 19s. 1d. was divid-
 ed upon each share ; it being at this
 time supposed to have been divided
 into thirty-six shares. The second
 dividend amounted only to 31. 4s. 2d.
 and instead of a third dividend, a
 call being expected, King Charles I.
 who was in possession of the royal
 moiety aforesaid, re-conveyed it again
 to Sir Hugh, by a deed under the
 great Seal, of the eighteenth of No-
 vember, 1636, in consideration of
 Sir Hugh’s securing his Majesty and
 his successors, a fee-farm rent of
 500l. per annum, out of the profits of
 the company, clear of all reprises.
 Sir Hugh charged that sum upon the
 holders of the King’s shares. How-
 ever, for many years the New River
 hath yielded a large revenue, and is
 so valuable, that the shares in it sell
 for thirty years purchase. When and
 where Sir Hugh Middleton died,

we meet with no account : but it ap-
 pears that at his death he bequeathed
 a share in his New River water to the
 company of Goldsmiths in London,
 for the benefit of the poor members
 of it. It has been justly observed of
 this public-spirited man, that his
 name deserves to be transmitted with
 honour and gratitude to posterity, as
 much as those of the builders of the
 famous aquæducts in antient Rome.
 Vid. Biograph. Britan. and New and
 Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo.

(*q*) Burnet, P. 9, 10, 11.

(*r*) In particular we are told, that
 the Earl of Mulgrave once called him
 to an account for some words which
 he had spoken too freely of him.
 Rochester accepted the challenge ;
 but when he came to the place ap-
 pointed, he declined coming to ac-
 tion, urging that he was so weak with
 a certain distemper that he found
 himself unable to fight.

though they often paid too dear for their curiosity, by being made the subject of his lampoons, if they happened to have any oddities in their characters. His pleasant extravagancies soon became the subject of general conversation, by which his vanity was at once flattered, and his turn of satire rendered more keen, by the success it met with (s).

Rochester having a great talent for satire, spared neither friends nor foes, but let it loose on all without distinction. He frequently lampooned even the King himself; and though no man loved a jest better than Charles II. yet Rochester satirized his Majesty with so much severity, that he was more than once forbidden to appear at Court on that account. One of the satires for which Rochester was banished the Court, was entitled "The Restoration, or the History of Insipids;" from which we shall select the following stanzas:

" Chaste, pious, prudent, Charles the Second,
 " The Miracle of thy Restoration,
 " May like to that of *Quails* be reckon'd,
 " Rain'd on the Israelitish nation;
 " The wish'd for blessing from Heav'n sent,
 " Became their curse and punishment.

" In all affairs of church or state
 " Charles very zealous is, and able,
 " Devout at pray'rs, and sits up late
 " At the Cabal and Council-table.
 " His very dog, at Council-board,
 " Sits grave and wise as any Lord.

" Let Charles's policy no man flout,
 " The wisest Kings have all some folly;
 " Nor let his piety any doubt;
 " Charles like a Sovereign wise and holy,
 " Makes young men Judges of the Bench,
 " And Bishops those that love a wench.

" His father's foes he doth reward,
 " Preserving those that cut off's head;
 " Old cavaliers, the Crown's best guard,
 " He lets them starve for want of bread.
 " Never was any King endued
 " With so much grace and gratitude.

" Blood that wears treason in his face,
 " Villain compleat in parson's gown,
 " How much is he at Court in grace,
 " For stealing Ormond and the Crown!

" Since

“ Since loyalty does no man good,

“ Let's steal the King, and out-do Blood.”

At the time that Lord Rochester was out of favour at Court for writing this satire, the Duke of Buckingham was also under disgrace for things of a different kind, and being disengaged from any particular attachment in town, he and Lord Rochester resolved to set out in quest of adventures. And when they arrived near Newmarket, being informed that there was an inn on that road to be lett, they disguised themselves in proper habits for the persons they were to assume, and jointly took this inn, in which each in his turn officiated as master. In this situation they endeavoured to render themselves as agreeable as possible to the people in that part of the country; they made frequent feasts, to which they invited such of their neighbours as had handsome wives or daughters; and they employed every art and stratagem to debauch as many women as they could. Among others, they seduced the young wife of an old avaritious man in the neighbourhood, to effectuate which they practised a variety of artifices; and when they had succeeded, the husband was so much affected by the infidelity of his wife, that he soon after hanged himself. It is said that this transaction is one of those which affected Rochester with the greatest remorse when he lay on his death bed.

Soon after this affair, King Charles coming that way, found Rochester and Buckingham both in their posts at the inn, whereupon he took them again into favour, and suffered them to go with him to Newmarket. And after their return to town, Rochester's amours at Court made a great noise in the world of gallantry, especially that which he had with the celebrated Mrs. Roberts, mistress to the King, whom she abandoned for the possession of Rochester's heart; but which she found by experience it was not in her power long to retain. For the Earl, who was soon cloyed with the possession of any one woman, though the fairest in the world, soon forsook her.

When on another occasion Rochester was banished from Court, he set up for an Italian Mountebank on Tower-hill; and the speech which he made in this character is printed in his works. And when he was again restored to royal favour, he continued the same extravagant pursuits of pleasure, and took his usual freedoms with the King, who was too fond of his company to be long without him. Mr. Granger says, that, “ the King, who admired his sallies of wit and humour, was more delighted with his company when he was drunk, than with any other man's when he was sober.” The same writer observes, that Rochester was “ ever engaged in some amour or other, and frequently with women of the lowest order, and the vilest prostitutes of the town. He would sometimes, upon these occasions, appear as a beggar,

or

or a porter; and he as well knew how to assume the character as the dress of either (1)."

Rochester is said to have contrived with one of Charles's mistresses the following stratagem to cure that Monarch of the nocturnal rambles to which he addicted himself. He agreed to go out one night with him to visit a celebrated house of intrigue, where he told his Majesty the finest women in England were to be found. The King made no scruple to assume his usual disguise and accompany him, and while he was engaged with one of the ladies of pleasure, who had been before instructed by Rochester how to behave, she picked his pocket of his watch and all his money, which the King did not immediately miss. Neither the people of the house, nor the girl herself, were made acquainted with the quality of their visitor, nor had the least suspicion who he was. When the intrigue was ended, the King enquired for Rochester, but was told he had quitted the house, without taking leave: but he was thrown into still greater embarrassment, when upon searching his pockets, in order to discharge the reckoning, he found his money gone. He was then reduced to the necessity of asking the bawd who kept the house to give him credit till To-morrow, as the gentleman who came in with him was not returned, who was to have paid for both. The consequence of this request was, he was abused and laughed at; and the old woman told him, that she had often been served such dirty tricks, and would not permit him to stir till the reckoning was paid, and then called one of her bullies to take care of him. In this ridiculous distress, the prisoner of a bawd, stood the sovereign of three kingdoms! After much altercation, the King at last proposed, that she should accept a ring, which he then took off his finger, in pledge for her money, which she likewise refused, and told him, that as she was no judge of the value of the ring, she did not chuse to accept such pledges. The King then desired, that a jeweller might be called to give his opinion of the value of it; but he was answered, that the expedient was impracticable, as no jeweller could then be supposed to be out of bed. After much intreaty, his Majesty at last prevailed upon the bawd, to let her bully knock up a jeweller, and shew him the ring; which, as soon as he had inspected, he stood amazed, and enquired, with his eyes fixed upon the fellow, who he had got in his house? To which he answered, "A black-looking ugly son of a whore, who had no money in his pocket, and was obliged to pawn his ring." The ring, says the jeweller, is so immensely rich, that but one man in the nation could afford to wear it, and that one is the King. The jeweller being astonished at this accident, went out with the bully, in order to be fully satisfied of so extraordinary an affair; and as soon as he entered the room, he knew the King's features,

tures, notwithstanding his disguise; upon which he kneeled down, and with the utmost respect presented the ring to his Majesty. The bawd and her bully finding the extraordinary quality of their guest, were terrified and confounded; and asked pardon most submissively on their knees. The King, in the best-natured manner, forgave them, and laughing, asked them, whether the "ring would not bear another bottle?" (u). In what manner Charles expressed his resentment against Rochester, for leaving him in this disagreeable situation, we are not informed.

As the Earl of Rochester's estate was not very considerable, it was by no means sufficient to support the various expences of a life so extravagant as his. There are several original letters of his Lordship to his Lady, to his mother, and other persons, preserved in the *British Museum*, Harleian MSS. No. 7003. from which, as they have never before printed, we have selected the following, written to his Lady. From the first, which was written when he was very ill, it is evident that his follies and vices sometimes reduced him to great difficulties.

* Dear Wife,

* I recover so slowly, and relapse so continually, that I am almost weary of myself. If I had the least strength I would come to Adderbury, but in the condition I am, Kensington and back is a voyage I can hardly support. I hope you excuse my sending you no money, for till I am well enough to fetch it myself, they will not give me a farthing: and, if I had not pawned my plate, I believe I must have starved in my sickness.

* Well, God bless you and the children, whatever becomes of

* Your humble servant,

* ROCHESTER.

There are no dates to these letters, but the next appears to have been written when he was in better health and spirits.

* Dear Wife,

* I received your three pictures, and am in a great fright lest they should be like you. By the bigness of the head I should apprehend you to be far gone in the rickets; by the severity of the countenance somewhat inclined to prayer and prophecy; yet there is an alacrity in the plump cheek, that seems to signify sack and sugar; and the sharp-sighted nose has borrowed quickness from the sweet-smelling eye. I never saw a chin smile before, a mouth frown, and a forehead mump: truly the artist has done his part, (God keep him humble) and a fine man he is, if his excellencies do not puff him up, like his pictures. The next impertinence I have to tell you, is, that I am coming down to you: I have got horses, but want a coach; when that defect is supplied, you shall quickly have the trouble of

Your humble servant.

* Present

‘ Present my duty to my Lady, and my humble service to my
‘ sister, my brother, and all the Bettyes, not forgetting Madam
‘ Jane.’

‘ It is now some weeks since I writ you word, that there was
‘ money returned out of Somersethire for your use, which I de-
‘ sired you to send for by what sums yourself pleased. By this
‘ time I believe I have spent it half: however, you must be sup-
‘ plied, if you think fit to order it. Shortly I intend to give
‘ you the trouble of a visit. ’Tis all I have to beg your par-
‘ don for at present, unless you take it for a fault that I still pre-
‘ tend to be
Your humble Servant

‘ ROCHESTER.’

‘ I do not know if my mother be at
‘ if at home, present my duty to her. or Adderbury;

‘ Dear Wife.

‘ I have no news for you, but that London grows very tiresome,
‘ and I long to see you, but things are now reduced to that ex-
‘ tremity on all sides, that a man dares not turn his back for
‘ fear of being hanged, an ill accident to be avoided by all pru-
‘ dent persons, and therefore by

‘ Your humble Servant,

‘ ROCHESTER.’

The next letter which we shall insert, contains an account of the tragical death of the Duchesse of Orleans, sister to King Charles II. and who about a year before had been to pay a visit to her brother in England. And as Lord Rochester was at this time in waiting at Court, he must be supposed to have had the best information.

‘ Pray do not take it ill that I have writ to you so seldom
‘ since my coming to town; my being in waiting upon the sad
‘ accident of *Madame’s* death (for which the King endures the
‘ highest affliction imaginable) would not allow me time or pow-
‘ er to write letters. You have heard the thing, but the barba-
‘ rousness of the manner you may guess at by my relation.
‘ Monsieur, since the banishment of the Chevalier de Lorraine,
‘ (of which he suspected Madame to have been the author,) has
‘ ever behaved himself very ill to her in all things, threatening
‘ her upon all occasions, that if she did not get Lorraine recalled,
‘ she might expect from him the worst that could befall her. It
‘ was not now in her power to perform what he expected: so
‘ that she returning to Paris, he immediately carried her away to
‘ St. Cloud, where having remained fifteen days in good health,
‘ she having been bathing one morning, and finding herself very
‘ dry, called for some succory water (a cordial julap she usually
‘ took upon these occasions) and being then very merry, dis-
‘ couring

* courting with some of the ladies that were with her, she had
 * no sooner swallowed this succory water, but immediately fall-
 * ing into Madam de Chattillon's arms, she cried she was dead,
 * and sending for her confessor, after eight hours infinite torment
 * in her stomach and bowels, she died the most lamented (both
 * in France and England) since dying has been in fashion. But
 * I will not keep you too long upon this doleful relation: it is
 * enough to make most wives in the world very melancholy: but
 * I thank you for my cheeses, my sugar of roses, and all my
 * good things. Pray let it not be necessary for me to put you
 * too often in mind of what you ought not to be lets forward in
 * doing than in advising. I hope you will give me no occasion
 * to explain myself: for if I am put upon that, you will find me
 * very troublesome. I received no letter from you with one en-
 * closed to your mother, nor do I believe you writ any. Be-
 * sides, I find by another circumstance, that the returns of let-
 * ters betwixt London and Adderbury are very tedious. If you
 * writ to me, you must direct to Lincoln's Inn Fields, the house
 * next to the Duke's Playhouse, in Portugal Row, there lives

* Your humble Servant,

* ROCHESTER.

The inconveniences which Lord Rochester's vices and follies
 upon brought upon him, could not prevent his continuing in
 them; and Dr. Burnet relates the following incident, which, he
 says, confirmed him in the pursuit of vicious courses. ' When
 * he went to sea in the year 1665, there happened to be in the
 * same ship with him Mr. Montague and another gentleman of
 * quality; these two, the former especially, seemed persuaded
 * that they should never return into England. Mr. Montague
 * said he was sure of it: the other was not so positive. The Earl
 * of Rochester, and the last of these, entered into a formal en-
 * gagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that if either
 * of them died, he should appear, and give the other notice of
 * the future state, if there was any. But Mr. Montague would
 * not enter into the bond. When the day came that they thought
 * to have taken the Dutch fleet in the port of Bergen, Mr. Mon-
 * tague, though he had such a strong presage in his mind of his
 * approaching death, yet he generously staid all the while in the
 * place of greatest danger. The other gentleman signalized his
 * courage in a most undaunted manner, till near the end of the
 * action; when he fell on a sudden into such a trembling that
 * he could scarce stand: and Mr. Montague going to him to
 * hold him up, as they were in each other's arms, a cannon ball
 * killed him outright, and carried away Mr. Montague's belly,
 * so that he died within an hour after. The Earl of Rochester
 * told me, that these presages they had in their minds made some
 * impression on him, that there were separated beings: and that
 * the soul, either by a natural sagacity, or some secret notice
 communicated

communicated to it, had a sort of divination : but that gentleman never appearing, was a great snare to him during the rest of his life. Though when he told me this, he could not but acknowledge, it was an unreasonable thing for him, to think that beings in another state were not under such laws and limits, that they could not command their own motions, but as the Supreme Power should order them : and that one who had so corrupted the natural principles of truth, as he had, had no reason to expect that such an extraordinary thing should be done for his conviction (*w*).”,

Lord Rochester continued the same licentious course of life, till a dangerous illness, which at length proved fatal to him, brought him to some sense of his guilt, and of the danger of his situation. He then conversed seriously with several divines who visited him ; but he was chiefly attended by Dr. Burnet, with whom he had many conversations on the principle topics of natural and revealed religion. And he was at length brought to the deepest contrition for the wickedness of his past life, and to a firm belief of the great truths of Christianity. He avowed in the strongest manner, his firm resolves to live a devout and virtuous life, if he recovered from his illness ; and he now became as remarkable for his penitence, as he had before been for vice and impiety.

The following paper which is preserved in the *British Museum*, may be considered as an additional evidence of Lord Rochester's repentance.

When Wilmot Lord Rochester lay on his death-bed, Mr. Fanshaw came to visit him, with an intention to stay about a week with him. Mr. Fanshaw sitting by the bed-side, perceived his Lordship praying to GOD through JESUS CHRIST ; and acquainted Dr. Radcliffe (who attended my Lord Rochester in this illness, and was then in the house) with what he had heard ; and told him, that my Lord was certainly delirious ; for to his knowledge (he said) he believed neither in GOD nor JESUS CHRIST. The Doctor, (who had often heard him pray in the same manner) proposed to Mr. Fanshaw to go up to his Lordship, to be further satisfied touching this affair. When they came to his room, the Doctor told my Lord what Mr. Fanshaw said. Upon which his Lordship addressed himself to Mr. Fanshaw to this effect : “ Sir, it is true you and I have been very lewd and profane together, and then I was of the opinion you mention ; but now I am quite of another mind, and happy am I that I am so : I am very sensible how miserable I was whilst of another opinion. Sir, you may assure yourself that there is a Judge and a future state :” And so entered into a very handsome discourse concerning the last judgment, future state, &c. and concluded with a serious and pathetic

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' tic exhortation to Mr. Fanshaw, to enter into another course
 ' of life ; adding that he (Mr. Fanshaw) knew him to be his
 ' friend ; that he never was more so than at this time ; " and,
 " Sir, (said he) to use a scripture expression, I am not mad, but
 " speak the words of truth and soberness." Upon this Mr.
 ' Fanshaw trembled, and went immediately afoot to Woodstock,
 ' and there hired a horse to Oxford, and thence took coach to
 ' London. At the same time Dr. Shorter (who also attended my
 ' Lord in this illness) and Dr. Radcliffe walking together in the
 ' Park, and discoursing touching his Lordship's condition, which
 ' they agreed to be past remedy, Dr. Shorter fetching a very
 ' deep sigh, said, " Well, I can do him no good, but he has
 " done me a great deal." When Dr. Radcliffe came to reside in
 ' London, he made enquiry about Dr. Shorter, and understood
 ' he was before that time a Libertine in principle, but after
 ' that professed the Roman Catholic religion.

' I heard Dr. Radcliffe give this account at my Lord Oxford's
 ' table (then Speaker of the House of Commons) June 16, 1702.
 ' Present (besides Mr. Speaker) Lord Weymouth, Mr. Bromley
 ' of Warwickshire, Mr. William Harvey, Mr. Pendarvis, Mr.
 ' Henry St. John ; and I wrote it down immediately.'

WILLIAM THOMAS. (x)

During the time of Lord Rochester's illness, which continued
 about nine weeks, his mental faculties appeared to be in their
 full vigour, and in no respect enfeebled by his disorder. And
 when he received the sacrament, says Burnet, " it was with
 " great satisfaction, and that was increased by the pleasure he
 " had in his lady's receiving it with him : who had been for some
 " years missed in the communion of the church of Rome, and
 " he himself had been not a little instrumental in procuring it,
 " as he freely acknowledged. So that it was one of the joyful-
 " lest things that befel him in his sickness, that he had seen that
 " mischief removed, in which he had so great a hand : And du-
 " ring his whole sickness, he expressed so much tenderness and
 " true kindness to his Lady, that as it easily defaced the remem-
 " brance of every thing wherein he had been in fault formerly,
 " so it drew from her the most passionate care and concern for
 " him that was possible (y)."

The Earl of Rochester died at Woodstock Park, on the 26th
 of July, 1680, in the 33d year of his age, and was buried at
 Spilsbury in Oxfordshire. He left behind him one son, and three
 daughters ; but his son dying soon after, the title of Earl of Ro-
 chester became extinct, and was afterwards conferred on Lau-
 rence Hyde, younger son of the Earl of Clarendon.

The writings of Lord Rochester, are in general, extremely
 immoral and indecent. And in his last moments, he would glad-
 ly have consigned the greatest part of them to oblivion. Mr.
 Granger

Granger observes, that though the Earl of Rochester was in the highest repute as a satirist, he was but ill intitled to that distinction : His satires are not only unpolite, but grossly indecent. His Poem " On Nothing," and his " Satire against Man," are a sufficient proof of his abilities : But it must be acknowledged, that the greatest part of his works are trivial or detestable. He has had a multitude of readers : so have all other writers, who have foothed, or fallen in with, the prevailing passions and corruptions of mankind (z)."

Mr. Horace Walpole says, the Earl of Rochester was " a man whom the muses were fond to inspire, and ashamed to avow, and who practised without the least reserve that secret, which can make verses more read for their defects than for their merits : the art is neither commendable nor difficult. Moralists proclaim loudly that there is no wit in indecency : it is very true : indecency is far from conferring wit ; but it does not destroy it neither. Lord Rochester's poems have much more indecency than wit, more wit than poetry, more poetry than politeness (a)." The same ingenious writer informs us, that Lord Rochester left behind him " a History of the intrigues of Charles the Second, in a series of letters to his friend Henry Savile ; but upon the Earl's death, his mother, a very devout Lady of the family of St. John, ordered all his papers to be burned. (b)."

(z) Biograph. Hist. of Eng. Vol. II. P. 339. (a) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. II. P. 43. 2d Edit. (b) P. 48.



The Life of Sir GEORGE ETHEREGE.

GEORGE ETHEREGE was born about the year 1636. He is supposed to have received part of his education at the university of Cambridge, though it does not appear that he made any long residence there, an inclination for seeing the world having led him to travel into France when he was very young. On his return to England, he some time studied the law in one of the inns of court : but finding that kind of study too heavy for his volatile and airy disposition, and consequently making but little progress in it, he soon quitted it for the pursuit of pleasure, and the acquisition of gayer accomplishments.

In 1664, he published his first dramatic performance, intitled, "The Comical Revenge; or Love in a Tub." This play was dedicated to Charles, afterwards Earl of Dorset ; and the success it met with not only introduced him to that nobleman, but also to the leading wits among the quality and gentry of those times, who made their pleasures the chief business of their lives ; particularly Villiers Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Rochester, and Sir Charles Sedley ; with whom his easy unreserved conversation and happy address rendered him a great favourite.

In 1668, he produced another comedy, called, "She would if she could ;" which likewise procured him great applause, though it has been very justly censured in the Spectator for its immoral tendency. Eight years after, in 1676, he published, "The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter, a comedy," Langbaine says of this play, that "it is written with great art and judgment ; and is acknowledged by all to be as true comedy, and the characters as well drawn to the life, as any play that has been acted since the restoration of the English stage." But, on the other hand, it is observed in the Spectator, No. 66, that though the scenes in this play are copied from nature, yet "it is nature in "its utmost corruption and degeneracy." And farther, that "this whole celebrated piece is a perfect contradiction to good "manners, good sense, and common honesty ;" and that there "is nothing in it but what is built upon the ruin of virtue and "innocence."

The applause which Mr. Etherege obtained by his comedies, gave his friends some ground to expect, that by the continuance of his studies, he would polish and enliven the theatrical taste.

and be no less constant in such entertainments, than the most assiduous of his contemporaries ; but being too much addicted to pleasure, he neglected the stage, and wrote no more dramatic performances besides those we have already mentioned.

It appears that Etherege followed a very licentious course of life, and not only indulged himself very freely with wine and women, but was also much addicted to gaming ; so that his extravagancies at length so embarrassed his affairs, that he courted a rich widow in order to retrieve them ; but she being an ambitious woman, refused to marry him, unless he could make her a lady, which he was obliged to do by the purchase of a knighthood. We have no account of any issue he had by this lady ; but it appears that he cohabited, for some time, with the celebrated Mrs. Barry, the actress, and had one daughter by her, upon whom he settled five or six thousand pounds ; but she died young.

At the time when Etherege wrote his " *Man of Mode*," he was in the service of the Dutchess of York, to whom he dedicated that comedy. In what capacity he served her, does not appear ; but she had so much regard for him, that when, on the accession of King James II. she came to be queen, she procured his being sent ambassador first to Hamburgh, and afterwards to Ratibon, where he continued, till that Prince quitted the kingdom.

In a letter from Ratibon to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, dated Nov. 12, 1686, Sir George Etherege expresses himself thus : ' Ten years ago, I as little thought that my stars
' designed to make a politician of me, and that it would come to
' my share to debate in public assemblies, and regulate the affairs
' of Christendom, as the Grand Signor dreamed of his losing Hungary : But my royal Master having the charity to believe me
' master of some qualities, of which I never suspected myself, I
' find that the zeal and alacrity I discover in myself, to support a
' dignity which he has thought fit to confer upon me, has supplied all other defects, and given me a talent, for which, till
' now, I justly fancied myself incapable.

' I live in one of the finest and best mannered cities in Germany, where 'tis true we have not pleasure in that perfection as
' we see it in London and Paris, yet to make us amends, we enjoy a noble serene air, that makes us hungry as hawks ; and
' though business, and even the worst sort of business, wicked politics, is the distinguishing commodity of the place, yet I
' will say that for the Germans, they manage it the best of any
' people in the world ; they cut off and retrench, all those idle
' preliminaries and useless ceremonies that clog the wheels of it
' every where else : and I find, that to this day, they make good
' the observation that Tacitus made of their ancestors ; I mean,
' that their affairs, let them be ever so serious and pressing, never

* ver put a stop to good eating and drinking, and that they de-
 * bate their weightiest negotiations over their cups.'

* 'Tis true, they carry this humour by much too far for one
 * of my complexion ; for which reason I decline appearing among
 * them, but when my master's concerns make it necessary for me
 * to come to their assemblies. They are indeed a free-hearted,
 * open sort of gentlemen that compose the Diet ; without reserve,
 * affectation, and artifice ; but they are such unmerciful plyers
 * of the bottle, so wholly given up to what our fops call good
 * fellowship, that 'tis as great a constraint upon my nature, to
 * sit out a night's entertainment with them, as it would be to
 * hear half a score long-winded Presbyterian divines cant suc-
 * cessively one after another.'

In another letter of Sir George's from Ratibon to the same No-
 bleman, written some time after, are the following passages :

* You may guess by my last, whether I don't pass my time very
 * comfortably here ; forced as I am by my character, to spend
 * the best part of my time in squabbling and deliberating with
 * persons of beard and gravity, how to preserve the balance of
 * Christendom ; which would go well enough of itself, if the
 * Divines and Ministers of Princes would let it alone : And when
 * I come home spent and weary from the Diet, I have no Lord
 * Dorsets, or Sir Charles Sedley's, to sport away the evening with ;
 * no madam I——, or Lady A——'s ; in short, none of
 * those kind charming creatures London affords, in whose em-
 * braces I might make myself amends for so many hours murder-
 * ed in impertinent debates ; so that not to magnify my sufferings
 * to your grace, they really want a greater stock of Christian
 * patience to support them, than I can pretend to be master of.'

* I have been long enough in this town, one would think, to
 * have made acquaintance enough with persons of both sexes, so
 * as never to be at a loss how to pass the few vacant hours
 * I can allow myself : But the terrible drinking that accompa-
 * nies all our visits hinders me from conversing with the men so
 * often as I would wish otherwise to do ; and the German ladies
 * are so intolerably reserved and virtuous, with tears in my eyes
 * I speak it to your grace, that it is next to an impossibility to
 * carry on an intrigue with them. A man has so many scruples
 * to conquer, and so many difficulties to surmount, before he can
 * promise himself the least success, that for my part I have given
 * over all pursuits of this nature. Besides, there is so universal
 * a spirit of censoriousness reigns in this town, that a man or
 * woman cannot be seen at *Ombre* or *Picquet* together, but 'tis
 * immediately concluded, some other game has been played be-
 * tween them ; and as this renders all manner of access to the
 * ladies almost impracticable, for fear of exposing their reputa-
 * tion to the mercy of their ill-natured neighbours, so it makes
 * an innocent piece of gallantry often pass for a criminal corre-
 * pondence.'

* They

‘ They tell me my old acquaintance Mr. Dryden has left off the theatre, and wholly applies himself to the study of the controversies between the two churches. Pray Heaven ! this strange alteration in him portends nothing disastrous to the state ; but I have all along observed, that Poets do religion as little service by drawing their pens for it, as the Divines do poetry, by pretending to verification.’

The time of Sir George Etherege’s death cannot be certainly determined. Gildon says, that after the Revolution, he went to his master in France, and died there, or very soon after his arrival in England from thence. But by another account, he is related to have come to an untimely death, by an unlucky accident at Ratisbon. It was in the following manner : he had treated some company at his house there very liberally, and had taken, as is supposed, his glass too freely : So that, when through his great complaisance he was forward in waiting upon his guests at their departure, he fell, in liquor as he was, down the stairs, and, breaking his neck, died upon the spot. But of the truth of this we have no certain evidence.

Besides his dramatic performances, of which we have already spoken, Sir George Etherege also wrote some other poetical pieces. They are chiefly little airy sonnets, smart lampoons, and smooth panegyrics.

He was in his person a fair, slender, genteel man, but spoiled his countenance by drinking and debauchery. He appears to have been a libertine in principle, as well as practice. However, in his deportment he was very affable and courteous, and of a generous disposition ; which, with his free, lively, and natural vein of writing, acquired him the character and appellation of “ Gentle George,” and “ Easy Etherege.”



The Life of Sir CHARLES SEDLEY, BARONIGHT.

CHARLES SEDLEY was son of Sir John Sedley, of Aylesford in Kent. He was educated at Wadham-college in Oxford, of which he became fellow in 1656. When he quitted the university, he retired into the country; but as soon as the Restoration was effected, he came to London, where he commenced wit, poet, and courtier. And he soon acquired so much reputation, and was so greatly applauded in all conversations, that he began to be the oracle of the poets; and it was by his judgment that almost every performance was approved or condemned; which made the King jest with him, and tell him, that "Nature had given him a patent to be Apollo's viceroy." Lord Rochester pays a compliment to the judgment of Sedley in the following lines, in which he puts him foremost among the judges of poetry.

"I loath the rabble, 'tis enough for me,
"If Sedley, Shadwell, Shepherd, Wycherly,
"Godolphin, Butler, Buckhurst, Buckingham,
"And some few more, whom I omit to name,
"Approve my sense, I count their censure fame.

Sedley was fond of being much at court, though it was prejudicial to him; for his expensive manner of living lessened his estate, and the corrupt manners of Charles the Second's court injured his morals. The writer of his life prefixed to his works, observes, that "the King delighted in him to an excess, and he pleased his majesty in one thing, in which he eminently differed from all the rest of the wits of the court, viz. That he never asked the King for any thing, and they were always begging of him. It's true, he by this means impaired his fortune; and the generosity of that court had this misfortune attending it, that though it liked the virtue of not asking, yet it did not reward the modesty of it."

That Sir Charles Sedley was no inconsiderable proficient in the debauchery of the age in which he lived, the following transaction is a sufficient proof. In June, 1663, he was in company with

with Lord Buckhurst and Sir Thomas Ogle at a public house in Bow-street, Covent-garden; and being all enflamed with strong liquors, they went up into the balcony belonging to that house, and there shewed indecent postures, and gave great offence to the passengers in the street, by very unmannerly discharges upon them. After which, Sedley stripped himself naked, and preached to the people in a very profane and scandalous manner: Whereupon a riot being raised, the mob became clamorous, and would have forced the door next the street; but being opposed, Sedley and his company were driven from the balcony, and the windows of a room into which they retired were broken by the mob. This frolic made a great noise, and as persons of fashion were concerned in it, it was so much the more aggravated. And accordingly the parties were cited to appear in Westminster-hall, where being indicted for a riot before Sir Robert Hyde, and found guilty, they were all fined, and Sedley in particular was sentenced to pay 500*l.* upon which occasion expressing himself in an indecent manner, the Judge asked him, whether he had ever read the book called "The Compleat Gentleman?" to which Sir Charles replied, "that he had read more books than his lordship." The day for payment of this fine being appointed, Sir Charles desired Mr. Henry Killigrew and another gentleman, to apply to the King to get it off; which they undertook to do; but instead of getting it off, we are told, they begged it for themselves, and had it paid to a farthing.

After this affair, Sir Charles Sedley is said to have taken a more serious turn, and to have applied himself to public business. He was chosen a member of the house of Commons for New Romney in Kent, and sat in several parliaments. However, he still continued to cultivate his talents for polite literature. In 1668, he produced his comedy of "the Mulberry-garden;" which was acted with applause at the theatre-royal. In 1677, his tragedy of "Anthony and Cleopatra" was acted at the Duke of York's theatre. And in 1687, he produced his comedy, intitled, "Bellamira; or the Mistress." The plot of this is taken from the Eunuch of Terence. While this comedy was acting, the roof of the play-house fell down, but very few were hurt except the author: Upon which occasion his facetious friend Sir Fleetwood Shepherd told him, that "there was so much fire in the play, that it blew up the poet, house, and all." But Sir Charles replied, "No, the play was so heavy it brought down the house, and buried the Poet in his own rubbish." (f)

Sir Charles Sedley had a daughter, with whom King James II. had an amour, though she was not very handsome (g); and in

Vol. VII. 10.

2 1

consequence

(f) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III. P. 98, 99.

(g) James II. was somewhat remarkable for having homely mistresses. It is said, that when he was

Duke of York, his brother King Charles said of him, "That he believed his brother James had his mistresses imposed on him by his confessor, by way of penance."

consequence of this intrigue she was created Countess of Dorchester. But the acquisition of a title in such a dishonourable manner was far from being agreeable to her father; who, though he was licentious in his own conduct, was much hurt by his daughter's disgrace. It is intimated, that he conceived a hatred against King James on that account; and it is generally said, that he was very active in bringing about the Revolution; but this does not very well agree with the piece printed in his works, under the title of "Reflections upon our late and present proceedings in England," and which is said to have been addressed by him to the Lords and Commons of the Convention Parliament; in which, though he admits the propriety of the Prince of Orange's coming over, in order to put some stop to the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of King James; he nevertheless argues against any design of deposing the King, or raising the Prince of Orange to the Throne (*b*). However, it appears that he did at length concur in the Revolution; and just after he came out of the House of Commons, after having voted for the elevation of King William and Queen Mary to the Throne, he said to a friend, "Well, I am even with King James, in point of civility: for as he made my daughter a Countess, so I have helped to make his daughter a Queen."

After the Revolution, he continued to be a member of the House of Commons, and was a frequent speaker there, and generally against the court. He lived till the reign of Queen Anne, when he died about the year 1722, at a very advanced age, retaining his wit and humour to the last.

The writings of Sir Charles Sedley are somewhat licentious in their tendency. It has been observed of our Author, by an ingenious modern writer, Dr. Langhorne, that "he studied human nature, and was distinguished for the art of making himself agreeable, particularly to the ladies; for the verses of Lord Rochester, beginning with *Sedley has that prevailing gentle art*, &c. so often quoted, allude not to his writings, but to his *personal* address." But this ingenious writer is evidently mistaken: for the lines he refers to, when taken in connection with the three that immediately precede them, plainly allude to his writings, and not to his personal address. They are as follows:

"For *songs* and *verses* mannerly obscene,
 "That can stir nature up by springs unseen,
 "And, without forcing blushes, warm the queen;
 "Sedley has that prevailing gentle art,
 "That can with a resistless power impart
 "The loosest wishes to the chastest heart;
 "Raise such a conflict, kindle such a fire,
 "Betwixt declining virtue, and desire;
 "'Till the poor vanquish'd maid dissolves away,
 "In dreams all night, in sighs and tears all day."

Sir

(*b*) See Sedley's Works, Vol. I. P. 175---224.

Sir Charles Sedley's works were published together in two volumes, 12mo. in 1722, consisting of plays, translations, songs, prologues, epilogues, and little occasional poems, chiefly of the amorous kind; from which we shall select two small pieces, as a specimen of his manner.

TO CHLORIS.

“ Chloris, I cannot say your eyes,
“ Did my unwary heart surprize;
“ Nor will I swear it was your face,
“ Your shape, or any nameless grace:
“ For you are so intirely fair,
“ To love a part injustice were;
“ No drowning man can know which drop
“ Of water his last breath did stop;
“ So when the stars in Heaven appear,
“ And join to make the night look clear;
“ The light we no one's bounty call,
“ But the obliging God of all.
“ He that does lips or hands adore,
“ Deserves them only, and no more:
“ But I love all and every part,
“ And nothing less can ease my heart.
“ Cupid, that lover, weakly strikes,
“ Who can express what 'tis he likes.”

INDIFFERENCE EXCUSED.

“ LOVE, when 'tis true, needs not the aid
“ Of sighs nor oaths to make it known.
“ And, to convince the cruell'st maid,
“ Lovers should use their love alone.
“ Into their very looks 'twill steal;
“ And he that most would hide his flame,
“ Does in that case his pain reveal,
“ Silence itself can love proclaim.
“ This, my Aurelia, made me shun
“ The paths that common lovers tread;
“ Whose guilty passions are begun
“ Not in their heart, but in their head.
“ I could not sigh, and with cross'd arms,
“ Accuse your rigour and my fate,
“ Nor tax your beauty with such charms
“ As men adore, and women hate.
“ But careless liv'd, and without art,
“ Knowing my love you must have spy'd;
“ And thinking it a foolish part,
“ To set to shew, what none can hide.”

In Sir Charles Sedley's Works, there are two dramatic pieces, which have not yet been mentioned ; namely, " the Grumbler, " a comedy ;" and " the Tyrant King of Crete, a tragedy ;" but it does not appear that either of them were ever exhibited. He was also the author of " Beauty the Conqueror, or the Death of Mark Anthony, a tragedy : " but this play was never acted, nor is it printed with the rest of his works.

Of Sir Charles Sedley's daughter, of whom we have already spoken, the following account is given by the ingenious Mr. Granger. " Catharine Sedley was a woman of sprightly and agreeable wit, which could charm without the aid of beauty, and longer maintain its power. She, had been the King's mistress, before he ascended the throne ; and was, not long after, created Countess of Dorchester. Sir Charles Sedley, her father, looked upon this title as a splendid indignity, purchased at the expence of his daughter's honour. The King continued frequently to visit her, which gave great uneasiness to the queen, who employed her friends, and especially the priests, to persuade him to break off this amorous correspondence. They remonstrated to him the guilt of such a commerce, and the reproach it would bring on the Catholic religion. She, on the contrary, employed the whole force of her ridicule against the priests and their counsels ; but without success. They, at length, prevailed with him to forsake her ; and he is said to have " sent her word, either to retire into France, or to have her pension " of 4000*l.* a year withdrawn." It was then, probably, that she repented of having been the royal mistress :

" Yet Vane could tell what ills from beauty spring,

" And Sedley curs'd the form that pleas'd the King."

She understood dress, and was expensive in it to a degree of extravagance. She had by the King a daughter named Catharine, who was first married to James, Earl of Anglesey, and afterwards to John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire and Normandy. This lady has drawn her own character to as great advantage as that of the Duke her husband is drawn in the dedications of Dryden, and other panegyries of his cotemporary poets. The countess, her mother, espoused David, Earl of Portmore, by whom she had issue two sons. She died at Bath, 26 Oct. 1717 (i)."

(i) Biograph. Hist. of Eng. Vol. II. P. 554, 555.



The Life of ANTHONY WOOD.

ANTHONY WOOD was born in a house belonging to his father, within the city and university of Oxford, on the 17th of December, 1632. He was son to Thomas Wood, bachelor of arts and of civil law. In 1641, he was sent to a grammar-school which was kept within New College. But losing his father in 1643, he was sent, with his brother Christopher, to the free-school at Thame, the vicar of that town being related to him, and in whose house he lodged and boarded. Whilst he was here, he informs us, that he was remarkable for being first in the school, was much given to thinking and melancholy, and often disturbed the vicar's family by walking in his sleep. As he was here during the heat of the civil war, he says also in his *Diary*: 'While I and my brother continued at Thame, you cannot imagine, what great disturbances we suffered by the soldiers of both parties; sometimes by the parliament soldiers from Aylesbury, sometimes from the King's at Borsfall house, and sometimes from the King's at Oxon, and Wallingford cattle (k).'

In 1646, his mother removed him from school, which he left unwillingly, to her house in Oxford; and was now very desirous of putting him to some trade, but to this he was extremely averse. She then proposed to place him with an attorney, or solicitor; "but still (says he) I drew back, and turned my ear." He adds, "Nay, she was so silly, that she would several times forsooth propose to me the trade of a tinner, or tin-man, or a man that makes kitchen-ware, lanthornes, and such like trivial things, because she found me to have a mechanical head, and always at leisure time active in framing little baubles." However his mother at length concurred in his desire of being brought up a scholar, and in 1647, was admitted into Merton-college, Oxford (l).

He was some time under the tuition of his brother Edward Wood, who was of the same college: but it appears that they did not agree very well together. He says in his *Diary*, "My brother was peevish, and would be ever and anon angry, if I could not take or understand logical notions as well as he. He would be sometimes so angry, that he would beat me and turn
" me

[k] *Diary of the Life of Anthony Wood*, Harleian M S. in the British Museum, No. 5499. [l] *Diary* as before.

" me out of his chamber ; of which complaining to my mother, " she was therefore willing that I should take another tutor." His next tutor was Clinton Maund, an Irishman, though born of English parents ; but he seems to have had some dislike to him, because he was, as he expresses it, " a grand Presbyterian, " always praying in his chamber."

In 1652, he took the degree of bachelor of arts. In 1653, he " says, being a constant student in the public library, I became " acquainted with the places in the Arts Library (for no further " could bachelors of arts then go) where the books of English " History and Antiquities stood. I lighted upon the Description " of Leicestershire, written by William Burton, (m) and being " exceedingly delighted with the performance, I did this, as in " the year following, take notes thence, and make collections " from it ; which I have laying by me at this time. I took " great delight in reading the Display of Heraldry, written by " Joh. Guillim, and other books of that faculty, written by " Joh. Bostewell, Joh. Ferne, &c. and endeavoured to draw out, " and prick arms with my pen. And afterwards, when I came " to full years, I perceived it was my natural genius, and I could " not avoid it ; but my brother Edward was against these studies, and advised me to enter on those that were beneficial, as " my mother did." At his leisure hours, he often diverted himself, as he informs us, with playing on the violin.

In 1654, he took the degree of master of arts. And this year, he says, " Coffee, which had been drank by some persons in Oxon, 1650, was publickly sold at or near the Angel, within the " east-gate of Oxon ; as also chocolate, by an Outlander, or a " Jew."

In 1656, Sir William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire made its appearance at Oxford. And this (says Mr. Wood) " being accounted the best book of its kind that hitherto was made " extant, my pen cannot enough describe how my tender affections, and insatiable desire of knowledge, were ravished and " melted down by the reading of that book. What by music, " and rare books that I found in the library, my life at this time " was a perfect Elysium." He further informs us, that in the latter

[m] It is observed by Mr. Granger, that " we owe much to this eminent antiquary (WILLIAM BURTON) for his own merit ; but are more indebted to him for his being the occasion of Sir William Dugdale's writing his excellent " History of Warwickshire," which he undertook upon reading this work. Lambard's " Perambulation of Kent," Carew's " Survey of Cornwall," and Burton's " Description of Leicestershire," were the first histories of particular districts

in the English language. The high price that books of this kind bear, shews how much they are esteemed. The catalogue of religious houses in England, with their valuation, &c. in Speed's " Chronicle," is attributed to our author Burton. He presented Leland's " Collectanea," and his " Itinerary," to the Bodleian library. Ox. 1645. &c. 70. Bishop Kennet styles him the best topographer since Camden."

Biog. Hist. of Eng. Vol. I. P. 301.

latter end of October, this year, he began " to survey and transcribe the monumental inscriptions and arms in the several parochial churches and college-chapels, within the city and university of Oxon."

In 1657, he says, " I began to peruse and run over all the manuscript collections of the great Antiquarian John Leiland (*n*) that are repositied in the archives of Bodley's library. —I was exceedingly delighted with them, was never weary of them, but collected much from them."

Under the year 1658, we find the following passages in his *Diary* " Aug. 30. Monday, a terrible raging wind happened, which did much hurt. Dennis Bond, a great Oliverian, and Antimonarchist, died on that day; and then the Devil took bond for Oliver's appearance. Sept. 3. Oliver Cromwell, the Protector died. This I set down, because some writers tell us, that he was hurried away by the Devil in the wind before mentioned."

Under the year 1659, he says, " My thoughts were strangely distracted, and my mind overwhelmed with a great melancholy by reading a book, called, *A true and faithful relation of what passed for many years between Dr. JOHN DEE and some spirits*, which was published in folio by Mr. Meric Casaubon about the beginning of this year." The distraction of mind occasioned in Mr. Wood by the perusal of this strange book, will probably not be thought any great proof of the strength of his understanding. However, it appears that he came to himself again; but was afterwards much disturbed by some pictures of prophets, apostles, saints, &c. in Merton college, being daubed over with paint; and also by the defacing some inscriptions which had been placed over grave stones, &c.

In the year 1667, Mr. Wood went to London, carrying letters of recommendation with him from Dr. Thomas Barlow, provost of Queen's College, to Sir William Dugdale, by which means he obtained leave to peruse some manuscripts in the Cotton-library, and the records in the Tower. He did not, however, make any long stay in London; but returned to Oxford, where he continued to prosecute his studies. For he had now been some years employed in compiling his History and Antiquities of that University.

In January, 1669, he was suddenly dismissed from his lodging without sufficient warning, which reduced him to such straits as greatly impaired his health, and a noise came into his ears, which brought a deafness the next year that continued till his death. About this time he went again to London, on account of the installation of the Duke of Ormond into the chancellorship of the university; upon which occasion he was introduced to the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth by Dr. Fell, with this compliment:

[*n*] See his life in Vol. II. P. 392 -- 393.

compliment : ‘ If it please your Grace, here is a master of arts that you must take notice of. He hath done the university a great deal of honour by a book that he hath written.’ To which the Archbishop replied, ‘ He was glad there was such a person in the university, that had a generous mind to such a work.’ He also desired him to proceed in his studies, and told him, “ that he should be encouraged, and want nothing that was equal to “ his deserts.” (o)

After his return to Oxford, the university offered him an hundred pounds for the copy of his *History and Antiquities of the University*, which he had now completed. This was a very inconsiderable sum for so laborious a work ; however, Mr. Wood accepted it. This purchase was made with the design of translating it into Latin, and the version was accordingly performed under the inspection of Dr. Fell, and published, in 1674, in folio, under the title of “ *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis “ Oxoniensis, duobus voluminibus comprehensa.*” The first volume contains the antiquities of the university in general, and the second those of the particular colleges.

It has been observed by the ingenious Mr. Warton, that it is much to be regretted, ‘ that Dr. Fell ever proposed a translation of Wood’s English work, which would have been infinitely more pleasing in the plain natural dress of its artless but accurate author. The translation in general, it is allowed, is full of mistakes ; it is also stiff and unpleasing, perpetually disgusting the reader with the affected phraseology. Dr. Fell’s reason for procuring it to be translated was, that a complete account of the university might be circulated abroad. But there are many particulars unavoidably arising from the subject, which read ridiculous, and are sometimes unintelligible in Latin. Besides, the circumstantial minuteness of local description, with which the work abounds, so interesting and agreeable to an English reader, and to persons familiarly acquainted with the spot, all appear superfluous, insignificant, and tedious to foreigners. A more general and compendious detail might have been abstracted from it, and translated for the purpose of foreign readers ; while the author’s original English should have been published, in conformity to his first idea, not only for the universal convenience, but the more particular and critical information of his countrymen.’

As to the manner in which his work was translated into Latin, Mr. Wood has himself given us an account. He tells us, that Dr. Fell, having provided one Peers, a bachelor of arts of Christchurch, to translate it, sent to him for some of the English copy, and set the translator to work ; who, however, was some time before he could make a version to his mind. ‘ But at length having obtained the knack, (says Mr. Wood) he went forward
‘ with

* with the work ; yet all the proofs, that came from the press, * went through the doctor's hands, which he would correct, alter, * or dash out, or put in what he pleased : which created a great * deal of trouble to the composer and author, but there was no * help. He was a great man, and carried all things at his pleasure so much, that many looked upon the copy as spoiled and * vitiated by him. Peers was a sullen, dogged, clownish, and * perverse fellow ; and when he saw the author concerned at the * altering of his copy, he would alter it the more, and study to * put things in that might vex him, and yet please his dean Dr. * Fell.' And he afterwards complains, that ' Dr. Fell, who printed the book at his own charge, took so much liberty of putting in and out what he pleased, that the author was so far from dedicating or presenting the work to any one, that he would scarce own it.'

Among the *Genuine Remains* of Dr. Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, published by Sir Peter Pett in 1693, 8vo. are two letters of that prelate, relating to this work. In the first letter we have the following passage : ' What you say of our late antiquities, * is too true. We are alarmed by many letters, not only of false * Latin, but false English too, and many bad characters cast on * good men ; especially on the Anti-arminians, who are all * made seditious persons, schismatics, if not heretics : nay, our * first reformers are made fanatics. This they tell me ; and our * judges of assize, now in town, say no less. I have not read one * leaf of the book yet ; but I see, I shall be necessitated to read * it over, that I may with my own eyes see the faults, and (so far * as I am able) endeavour the mending of them. Nor do I know * any other way, but a new edition, with a real correction of all * faults ; and a declaration that those miscarriages cannot justly * be imputed to the university, as indeed they cannot, but to * the passion and imprudence, if not impiety, of one or two, * who betrayed the trust reposed in them, in the managing the * edition of that book.' In the second letter, after taking notice that the translation was made by the order and authority of the Dean of Christ-church ; that not only the Latin, but the History itself, is in many things ridiculously false ; and then producing passages as proofs of both, he concludes thus : ' Mr. Wood the * compiler of those Antiquities was himself too favourable to * Papists ; and has often complained to me, that at Christ-church * some things were put in, which neither were in his original * copy, nor approved by him. The truth is ; not only the Latin, but also the matter of those Antiquities, being erroneous * in several things, may prove scandalous, and give our adversaries some occasion to censure, not only the university, but the * church of England, and our Reformation. Sure I am, that the * university had no hand in composing or approving those Antiquities ; and therefore the errors which are in them, cannot * *de jure* be imputed to the university, but lie upon Christ-church, * and the composer of them.'

Mr. Wood afterwards undertook another very considerable work, which was published in 1692, intitled, “*Athenæ Oxonienses* : an exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford, from the fifteenth year of King Henry the Seventh, *Dom.* 1500, to the end of the year 1690. Representing the birth, fortune, preferment, and death of all those authors and prelates, the great accidents of their lives, and the fate and character of their writings. To which are added, The Fasti, or Annals, of the same University, for the same time.” In two volumes, folio. A second edition was published in 1721, with very considerable additions.

Mr. Wood has prefixed to this work the following short account of himself, which deserves to be here inserted. “As to the Author himself, says he, he is a person who delights to converse more with the dead, than with the living, and has neither interest nor inclination to flatter or disgrace any man, or any community of men of whatever denomination. He is such an universal lover of all mankind, that he could wish there was such a standing measure of merit and honour agreed upon among them all, that there might be no cheat put upon readers and writers in the business of commendations. But since every one will have a double balance herein, one for himself and his own party, and another for his adversary and dissenters ; all he can do is to amass and bring together, what every side thinks will make best weight for themselves. Let posterity hold the scales and judge accordingly : *sum cuique decus posteritas rependat.* To conclude : the reader is desired to know, that this Herculean labour had been more proper for a head or fellow of a college, or for a public professor or officer of the most noble university of Oxford, to have undertaken and consummated, than the author, who never enjoyed any place or office therein ; or can justly say, that he hath eaten the bread of any founder. Also, that it had been a great deal more fit for one, who pretends to be a virtuoso, and to know all men, and all things that are transacted ; or for one who frequents much society in common rooms, at public fires, in coffee-houses, assignations, clubs, &c. where the characters of men and their works are frequently discussed : but the author, alas ! is so far from frequenting such company and topics, that he is as it were dead to the world, and utterly unknown in person to the generality of scholars in Oxon. He is likewise so great an admirer of a solitary and retired life, that he frequents no assemblies of the said university, hath no companion in bed or at board, in his studies, walks, or journeys ; nor holds communication with any, unless with some, and those very few, of generous and noble spirits, that have in some measure been promoters and encouragers of this work : and, indeed, all things considered, he is but a degree different from an ascetic, as spending all or most of his
time

‘ time, whether by day or night, in reading, writing, and divine
‘ contemplation. However, he presumes, that the less his com-
‘ pany and acquaintance is, the more impartial his endeavours
‘ will appear to the ingenious and learned, to whose judgments
‘ only he submits them and himself.’ But though Mr. Wood
represents himself to be so entirely unconnected with all hu-
man things and persons, it has been justly observed, that he had
his prejudices and attachments, and strong ones too, for certain
notions and systems : so that his partiality is often very con-
spicuous.

Some passages in this work subjected him to a severe and un-
expected prosecution. In particular he had observed, in his ac-
count of Sir John Glynn, “ that after the restoration of King
“ Charles II. he was made his eldest serjeant at law, by the
“ corrupt dealing of the then chancellor ;” who was the Earl
of Clarendon : for which expression chiefly the succeeding Earl
preferred an action in the vice-chancellor’s court against him,
for defamation of his deceased father. The issue of the process
was a hard judgment given against the defendant ; which, to be
made the more public, was put into the Gazette in these Words :
‘ Oxford, July 31, 1693. On the 29th inst. Anthony Wood
‘ was condemned in the vice-chancellor’s court of the university
‘ of Oxford, for having written and published, in the second vo-
‘ lume of his book, intitled, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, divers infamous
‘ libels against the right honourable Edward late Earl of Claren-
‘ don, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the
‘ said University ; and was therefore banished the said university,
‘ until such time as he shall subscribe such a public recantation,
‘ as the judge of the court shall approve of, and give security
‘ not to offend in the like nature for the future : and his said
‘ book was therefore also decreed to be burnt before the public
‘ theatre ; and on this day it was burnt accordingly, and public
‘ programmes of his expulsion are already affixed in the three
‘ usual places’ (a). Bishop Kennet, who has recorded this cen-
sure, says, that it was the more grievous to the blunt author,
because it seemed to come from a party of men, whom he had
the least disoblged. His bitterness had been against the Dis-
senters ; but of all the zealous Churchmen he had given characters
with a singular turn of esteem and affection. Nay, of the Jaco-
bites, and even of Papists themselves, he had always spoken the
most favourable things ; and, therefore, it was really the greater
mortification to him, to feel the storm coming from a quarter,
where he thought he least deserved, and might least expect it.
For the same reason, adds the historian, this correction was some
pleasure to the Presbyterians, who believed there was a rebuke
due to him, which they themselves were not able to pay.

Mr. Wood died at Oxford, on the 29th of November, 1695 ;
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(a) Vid New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo.

and the circumstances of his death are recorded in the following letter of Dr. Arthur Charlett, rector of University-college to archbishop Tennison, which was first published by Mr. Hearne.

University-college, Dec. 1, 1695.

May it please your Grace,

Having been absent some days from this place, I crave leave now to give your grace an account of the death of our laborious antiquary, Mr. Anthony Wood. Having missed him for several days (more particularly because he had left several queries with me to answer, which I knew he very impatiently desired) upon enquiry I was surprized to hear, that he lay dying of a total suppression of urine. Immediately I sent to see him, which was the 22d of November. His relations sent me word, there was no hopes of his recovery, being the 11th day; but that he apprehended no danger, was very froward, that they durst not speak to him; that therefore they did very much beseech me to come to him, being the only person they could think on, that probably he would hearken to. I was very sensible of the difficulty, but having been so long and familiarly acquainted, I thought myself obliged to go without delay. His relations ventured to leave his doors unlocked; so I got up into his room, which he never let me see before. At first sight, poor man, he fell into a fit of trembling and disorder of mind as great as possible. I spoke all the comfortable words to him, and complained that he would not send for me. After he had composed himself, I then began to be plain with him. He was very unwilling to believe any thing of it, insisting that he was very well, and would come to see me at night. I was forced to debate the point with him, till at last, upon mentioning a parallel case of a common acquaintance, with whom I was conversant every day, he yielded, and said, *The Lord's will must be done: what would you have me do?* I desired him to lose not a minute in vain complaints and remonstrances, but proceed directly to settle his papers, that were so numerous and confused. He then asked, *Who he could trust?* I advised him to Mr. Tanner of All-Souls, for whose fidelity I could be responsible. His answer was, he thought so too, and that he would in this, and all the other particulars, follow my advice; promising me immediately to set about his will, and prepare for the sacrament the next day, he having otherwise resolved to receive on Christmas-day. I was extremely glad to find him in so good temper, and having discoursed with him about several things, I told him I never expected to see him again, and therefore took my last farewell; telling him, I should hear constantly by Mr. Tanner. After I came home, I repeated all that I had said in a long letter to him, being somewhat jealous of him, and sent it by Mr. Tanner. He kept his word punctually, and immediately sent him to a very good man, his confidant, to pray with him, appointing his hours, received the sacrament the next morning very devoutly.

voutly, made his will, went into his study with his two friends, Mr. Bisse and Mr. Tanner, to sort that vast multitude of papers, notes, letters, &c. About two bushels full he ordered for the fire to be lighted, as he was expiring, which was accordingly done, he expressing both his knowledge and approbation of what was done by throwing out his hands. He was a very strong lusty man, aged sixty-five years. He was twenty-two hours a dying. God Almighty spared him so long, that he had his senses entire, and full time to settle all his concerns to his content, having writ the most minute particulars under his hand about his funeral. He has given his books and papers to the university, to be placed next his friend Sir William Dugdale's manuscripts, which are very valuable to any of his own temper. His more private papers he has ordered not to be opened these seven years, and has placed them in the custody of Mr. Bisse and Mr. Tanner, of whose care, I am told, he makes me overseer. The continuation of his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, in two volumes, folio, which he had carried on to the 19th of October last (Dr. Merret and Dudley Loftus being the last) he gave the day before he died with great ceremony to Mr. Tanner, for his sole use, without any restrictions. His behaviour was very well during his illness; he was very patient and quiet, especially towards the latter end. He asked pardon of all that he had injured, and desired the prayers of all the public congregations. The last night he was very decently buried; all the particulars were prescribed by himself. He has given great charge to burn any loose reflecting notes. I beg your grace's pardon for this long hasty letter, and crave leave to remain,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most obedient,

And most dutiful Servant,

AR. CHARLETT.

Mr. Wood's chief recommendations as a biographical writer, were industry in collecting fact, and exactness in ascertaining dates, and other circumstances of that kind. But he was extremely deficient in point of style, and possessed very little judgment; so that his remarks will often extort a smile from the gravest reader. He was most zealously attached to the established hierarchy, and to the highest claims of regal prerogative. He had, therefore, the most violent prejudices against all who had made any opposition to the civil or ecclesiastical tyranny of the Stuarts. However, he seems to have had too much honesty to relate any facts which he did not himself believe to be true; though allowances must be made for his manner of relating them. His character of Milton is a remarkable proof of the strength of his party prejudices. After speaking very highly of his learning, he says, "he was so rarely endowed by nature, that had he been but *basely* *principled*, he might have been highly useful to that party against which he along appeared, with much malice" and

"and bitterness." He had no evidence whatever of any want of honesty in Milton ; but the Oxford historian seems to have had no conception, that it was possible for a man to be *honestly principled*, whose sentiments relative to civil and ecclesiastical matters were so entirely different from his own. However, with all their imperfections, the labours of Mr. Wood have been of considerable service to the republic of letters, and his memory is therefore entitled to regard.



The Life of Dr. SOUTH.

ROBERT SOUTH was son of Mr. South, an eminent merchant in London, and born at Hackney in the year 1633. In 1647, after he had gone through the first rudiments of learning, he was entered one of the King's scholars at Westminster-school, under the care of Dr. Busby; and the following year he made himself remarkable, by reading the Latin prayers in the school, on the day in which King Charles the First was beheaded, and praying for that Prince by name. He continued at Westminster-school about four years, during which time he acquired an uncommon share of grammatical and philosophical learning, "but more (says Mr. Wood) of impudence and sauciness." In 1651, he was elected student of Christ church college in Oxford. In 1655, he took his first degree in arts, having written an elegant copy of Latin verses, congratulating Cromwell, the Protector, upon the peace concluded that year with the Dutch (6).

In 1655, he wrote a Latin poem, intitled, "*Musica Incantans: five Poema exprimens musicae vires, juvenem in insaniam abigentis, et musici inde periculum.*" This was then highly applauded for the beauty of the language, and the quickness of its turns, and it was printed at the request of Dr. Fell; but it is said that South to his dying day, regretted the publication of it, as a juvenile and trifling performance. He commenced master of arts on the 12th of June 1657, after performing all the preparatory exercises for it with the highest applause, and such a peculiar turn of wit and humour, as justly intitled him to represent the *Terra Filius*, in which character he spoke the usual speech at the celebration of the act the same year.

In 1658, he entered into holy orders, being ordained by one of the deprived bishops according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England. He now became a frequent preacher; and we are told, that he appeared at St. Mary's the great champion for Calvinism against Socinianism and Arminianism; and his behaviour was such, and his parts esteemed so exceedingly useful and serviceable, that the heads of that party were considering how to give proper encouragement and proportionable preferment to so hopeful a convert. In the mean time, the Protector Cromwell died, and then the Presbyterians prevailing over the Independents, South sided with them. He began to contemn,
and

(6) Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Robert South, prefixed to his Posthumous Works, 8vo. ed. 1717. P. 3, 4, 5. and Biograph. Britan.

and in a manner to defy, the Dean of his college, Dr. Owen, who was reckoned the head of the independent party; which occasioned the doctor to tell him, that he was one who "sat in the seat of the scornful." In July, 1659 Mr. South preached the assize-sermon at Oxford, in which he inveighed vehemently against the Independents; and by this, it is said, he greatly pleased the Presbyterians, who thereupon made him their acknowledgments. However, in the latter end of the same year, when there was reason to believe that the King would be restored, he was somewhat at a stand; yet was still reckoned a member of the fanatic ordinary, as Mr. Wood expresses it; but when the King's restoration could not be withstood, he then began to exercise his pulpit-talents, which were very considerable, as much against the Presbyterians, as he had done before against the Independents.

On the 10th of August, 1660, he was chosen public orator of the University; and at the same time 'tugged hard,' says Mr. Wood, such was the high conceit of his worth to be Canon of Christ-church, as belonging to that office; but was kept back by the endeavours of the Dean. This was a great discontent to him; and not being able to conceal it, he clamoured at it, and shewed much passion in his sermons till he could get preferment, which made them therefore frequented by the generality, though they were shunned by some. This person, though he was a junior master, and had never suffered for the royal cause, yet so great was his conceit, or so blinded he was with ambition, that he thought he could never be enough loaded with preferment; while others, who had suffered much, and had been reduced to a bit of bread for his majesty's cause, could get 'nothing.'

However, South's talents were such as soon recommended him to the people in power; so that in 1661, he became domestic Chaplain to Lord Clarendon, Chancellor of England, and of the University of Oxford; and in March, 1663, was installed Prebendary of Westminster. On the first of October following, he was, in consequence of a letter for that purpose from Lord Clarendon, created Doctor in Divinity, though not without a considerable opposition, as being then a master of arts of only six years standing. And the Chancellor some time after gave him a sine-cure in North-Wales.

The sentiments for which Dr. South was now a zealous advocate, were such as were very acceptable to those who presided both in church and state. In a sermon preached at Oxford on Ecclesiastical Constitutions, published in his Posthumous Works, he endeavoured to establish this proposition: 'That the best and most apostolical way to establish a church, and to secure it in a lasting continuance of the truth and purity of the Gospel, is for the Governors and Ministers of it not to give place at all, or yield up the least received constitution of it to the demands or pretences of such as differ or separate from it.'

In another sermon, preached by him on the 30th of January, and published also in his Posthumous Works, are the following extraordinary passages. ‘ He that suffered (Charles I.) was a King, and what is more, such a King as was not chosen, but born to it ; owing his kingdom, not to the voice of popularity, but *the suffrage of nature*. He was a David, a Saint, a King, but never a shepherd. All the royal blood in Christendom ran in his veins, *i. e.* many Kings went to the making up of him, and his improvement and education fell in ways not below his extraction.——Look we next on his piety and incomparable virtues, though without any absurdity I may say, that his very endowments of nature were *supernatural* ; so pious was he, that if others had measured their obedience to him, by his to God, he had been the most absolute Monarch in the world.’——‘ He could defend religion as a King, dispute for it as a Divine, and die for it as a Martyr. I think I shall speak a great truth in saying, That the only thing that makes Protestantism considerable in Christendom, is the Church of England, and the only thing that does now cement and confirm the church of England, is the blood of that blessed Martyr.’——‘ Look over the whole race of our Kings, and take in the Kings of Israel to boot, and who ever kept the bonds of conjugal affection so inviolate ? David was chiefly eminent for repenting in this matter ; Charles for not needing repentance.’——‘ In short, he was a Prince whose virtues were as prodigious as his sufferings ; a true father of his Country, if but for this only, that he was Father of such a son.’ This excellent son, of whom he in another place speaks as “ the *Ne plus ultra* of all regal excellencies,” was Charles II. whose open and shameful debaucheries, and iniquitous administration, could not prevent his receiving the most extravagant praises from many of the clergy. Dr. South also observes in this sermon of Charles I. that ‘ the truth is, his *conscience* uncrowned him, as having a mind too *pure* and *delicate* to admit of those maxims and practices of state, that usually make Princes great and successful.’ It is, however, certain, that the *purity* and *delicacy* of Charles’s mind, did not prevent him from injuring and oppressing his subjects, seizing their property in the most illegal manner, and trampling on their most important rights. But those Princes who have been ready to support the exorbitant claims of the church, have always had the most extravagant encomiums lavished on them by ambitious ecclesiastics.

After the banishment of the Earl of Clarendon, in 1667, Dr. South was appointed Chaplain to James Duke of York ; and in 1670, he was collated by King Charles to a canonry of Christchurch. In 1676, he attended Laurence Hyde, Esq; younger son of the Earl of Clarendon, in the quality of chaplain, on his embassy to Poland. And during his stay there he sent an account of the state of that country, and the manners of its inhabitants, to his friend Dr. Edward Pococke, then regius professor of He-

brew, and one of the canons of Christ-church (*f*). He gives the following characters of the King and Queen, then upon the throne of Poland. ' This King is a very well spoken Prince, very easy of access, and extreme civil, having most of the qualities requisite to form a complete Gentleman. He is not only well versed in all military matters, but likewise through the means of a French education, very opulently stored with all polite and scholastical learning. Besides his own tongue the Sclavonian, he understands the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkish languages: he delights much in natural history, and in all the parts of physic; he is wont to reprimand the clergy for not admitting the modern philosophy, such as Le Grand's and Cartesius's into the universities and schools; and loves to hear people discourse of those matters, and has a particular talent to set people about him very artfully by the ears, that by their disputes he might be directed, as it happened once or twice during this embassy; where he shewed a poignancy of wit on the subject of a dispute held between the Bishop of Posen, and Father de la Motte a Jesuit, and his Majesty's confessor, that gave me an extraordinary opinion of his parts.

' As for what relates to his Majesty's person, he is a tall and corpulent Prince, large faced and full eyes, and goes always in the same dress with his subjects, with his hair cut round about his ears like a monk, and wears a fur cap, but extraordinary rich with diamonds and jewels, large whiskers, and no neck-cloth. A long robe hangs down to his heels, in the fashion of a coat, and a waistcoat under that of the same length tied close about the waist with a girdle. He never wears any gloves, and this long coat is of strong scarlet cloth, lined in the winter with rich fur, but in summer only with silk. Instead of shoes he always wears both abroad and at home Turkey leather boots with very thin soles, and hollow deep heels made of a blade of silver bent hoop-wise into the form of a half-moon. He carries always a large scimitar by his side, the sheath equally flat and broad from the handle to the bottom, and curiously set with diamonds.'

' The Queen is now about thirty-three years of age, though she appears not to be much above twenty. She is always attired after the French mode, as all the Polish ladies are, and speaks the Polish language full as well as her own natural tongue; which with her sweet temper, refined sense, and majestic air, has since her accession to the throne gained her such affection with the Poles, such influence over the King, and such interest lately among the Senators, that she manages all with a great deal of prudence, and that to the advantage of her native country, France, who is very much indebted to her for the backwardness

(*f*) This Account of Poland is inserted in the Memoirs of Dr. South, prefixed to his Posthumous Works.

wardness of the Poles in taking part with the Emperor, and their forwardness in striking up the late peace with Turkey, and its dependants.'

Soon after Dr. South's return to England, he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in 1678, to the rectory of Islip in Oxfordshire, a Living of considerable value, out of the income of which, it is said, he allowed an hundred pounds per annum to his curate, and expended the rest in educating and apprenticing the poorer children of the parish.

In 1681, being one of the King's Chaplains in ordinary, he preached before his majesty upon these words: "the lot is cast" into the lap, but the disposing of it is of the Lord." Wherein having spoken of the various changes and dispensations of Providence, and the unaccountable revolutions in human affairs, he introduces three examples of unexpected advancements, in the following manner:

'Who that had looked upon Agathocles first handling the clay, and making pots under his father, and afterwards turning robber, could have thought that from such a condition, he should come to be King of Sicily?

'Who that had seen Massaniello, a poor Fisherman, with his red cap and his angle, would have reckoned it possible to see such a pitiful thing within a week after shining in his cloth of gold, and with a word or a nod absolutely commanding the whole city of Naples?

'And who that had beheld such a bankrupt beggarly fellow as Cromwell, first entering the parliament house with a threadbare torn cloak, greasy hat, (perhaps neither of them paid for) could have suspected that in the space of so few years, he should, by the murder of one king, and the banishment of another, ascend the throne?' At which the King fell into a violent fit of laughter, and turning to Dr. South's patron, Mr. Hyde, now created Lord Rochester, said, "Odds fish, Lory, your chaplain must be a bishop, therefore put me in mind of them at the next death!" (g)

But notwithstanding this, Dr. South never attained the episcopal dignity, though he was a warm defender of the highest claims both of the church and of the crown. But it has been observed, that "South's nature and temper was violent, domineering, and intractable to the last degree; and it is more than probable, that his patrons might not think it expedient to raise him higher, and by that means invest him with more power, than he was likely to use with discretion." (b)

It has, indeed, been said, that Dr. South refused some offers of considerable promotion that were made to him; but the truth of this has been disputed, and not without reason. After the revolution, he took the oath of allegiance to King William and

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Queen

Queen Mary ; though he was still attached to his former opinions relative to civil and ecclesiastical government : and accordingly was a zealous opposer of the act of Toleration ; and in the reign of Queen Anne a warm advocate for Dr. Sacheverell. He engaged also in a controversy with Dr. Sherlock concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. He lived to a very advanced age, and died on the 8th of July, 1716 ; and was interred in Westminster-abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory.

Dr. SOUTH was a man of great abilities, and considerable learning. He was much distinguished for his wit ; which he sometimes employed very happily in support of religion, but too frequently in a manner very incompatible with the real spirit of Christianity. He was extremely deficient in point of charity and candour to those who differed from him ; and his zeal in support of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny was certainly not much to his honour. He was very eminent as a preacher ; but it has been said of his discourses, that they were not Sunday, but Week-day Sermons ; many passages in them being thought too light and ludicrous for the solemnity of the pulpit.——His sermons have been often printed in six volumes, 8vo. and in 1717 his *Opera Posthuma Latina*, consisting of Orations and Poems ; and his “ Posthumous Works ” in English, were published in two detached volumes in 8vo,



The Life of Dr. E D W A R D P O C O C K E.

EDWARD POCOCKE was born in the city of Oxford, on the 8th of November, 1604. He was educated at the free-school at Tame in the same county, and in 1618, was entered a Commoner of Magdalen-hall in Oxford; but about two years after was removed to Corpus Christi-college. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1622; but applying himself soon after to the Eastern languages, he acquired such a relish for that branch of learning, that it became the chief object of his studies during the remainder of his life. His first master was Matthias Pasor, (*i*) who, having been Professor of the Mathematics at Heidelberg, from whence he was driven by the troubles in the Palatinate, came and settled in Oxford, where he taught that science and the oriental languages. Soon after Mr. Pococke had taken his degree of Master of Arts, which was in 1626, leaving Mr. Pasor, he applied himself to Mr. William Bedwell, Vicar of Tottenham-high-crofs near London. This gentleman had been of service to Erpenius at Oxford in 1606, and was esteemed almost, if not altogether, equal to him in oriental learning, and the only person in England, as Mr. Wood observes, with whom the profession of the Arabic then remained (*k*).

In 1627, Ludovicus de Dieu published a Syriac version of the Apocalypse at Leyden, Mr. Pococke, after his example, began to prepare those four apostolical epistles, which were still wanting to a compleat edition of the New Testament in that language, having met with a manuscript in the Bodleian library proper to his purpose. He had nearly finished this work, when he was admitted fellow of his college in 1628; though when he had entirely compleated it, he was too diffident to resolve upon a publication till the fame of it, in 1629, introduced him to the acquaintance of the learned Gerard John Vossius, who being then at Oxford, obtained his consent to carry it to Leyden, where it was printed that year in 4to. under the immediate care and inspection of Ludovicus de Dieu. And Vossius conceived such an esteem for Mr. Pococke, that though he was thirty years older, and a sort of dictator in the commonwealth of learning, he treated him with

(*i*) Son of George Pasor, author of the Lexicon to the New Testament.
(*k*) Vid. Biograph. Britan.

with all the kindness and familiarity of a friend. He corresponded with him by frequent letters, some of which have been made public; and he presented him with the books he published, and as long as he lived made honourable mention of him on all occasions (1).

On the 20th of December, 1629, he was ordained priest, having entered into Deacon's orders some time before: and being appointed chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, he arrived at that place on the 17th of October, 1630. He quitted Oxford with great regret: for it appears that he was of a meek and humble temper, and being therefore naturally in love with retirement and peace, had little curiosity to travel or see foreign countries. Not long after his arrival at Aleppo, in a letter to Mr. Thomas Greaves, then scholar of Corpus Christi college, he writes thus: 'My chief happiness is the remembrance of my friends, and my former happiness when I was among them. Happy you that enjoy those places, where I so often wish myself, as I see the barbarous people of this country. I think that he that has been once out of England, if he get home, will not be easily persuaded to leave it again.'

However, as his situation in the East furnished him with an opportunity of advancing his skill in the Arabic tongue, he omitted no means of compassing that end. He also improved himself in the Æthiopic and Syriac languages, of which last he made a Grammar, with a praxis for his own use. He likewise applied to one Rabbi Samuel for improvement in Hebrew, but soon found it fruitless, both this, and all the other Jews there being very illiterate.

Among other methods of increasing his skill in Arabic, he agreed with a Shaich, or Doctor, called Phataillah, to attend him frequently. And this old Arabian grew so fond of his scholar, that when he saw him resolved to return home, he not only offered his service, but even expressed a very earnest desire to accompany him to England. He likewise procured Mr. Pococke a large parcel of manuscripts, when he was afterwards at Constantinople. Nay, the kindness he retained for him was still so great, that he was even transported with joy that his beloved scholar was again returned into the east, and resolved immediately on a journey from Aleppo to the Porte on purpose to see him; which he performed accordingly, before Mr. Pococke left that city; where, out of the like affection and respect, he staid some time longer to receive him. Nor did this Mahometan doctor ever forget his excellent scholar to the last moment of his life. In 1670, Mr. Huntington, in a letter from Aleppo to Mr. Pococke, writes thus: 'Your old Shaich, who died several years since, was always mindful of you, and expressed your name with his last breath. He was still telling the good opinion he had of you,

you, that you were a right honest man, and that he did not doubt but to meet you in Paradise, under the banner of our Jesus.'

Mr. Pococke also entertained one Hamet, as a servant by the year, that he might on every occasion converse familiarly in the Arabic language. And this servant appears also to have conceived a great affection for him; for several letters were found among Pococke's papers, subscribed the poor Devise and Ahmed, supposed to be the same servant, telling him, that his love for him, was it embodied, would fill a thousand rivers; that though absent from his eyes, he should be still present in his heart, from which no distance should remove him, and wishing and praying the peace of God to be with him, as long as the east wind blows. And the following letter from the same Ahmet shews, that he was also serviceable in the procuring manuscripts for our author. 'To the presence of the eminent scholar Pococke the honoured. Very fair are the ornaments of paper enriched with the embroidery of words, and very beautiful is that, which the point of the pen draws forth from the minds of souls. Let peace spread its sweet smell like amber, and display its favour like jessamine, toward the tract of that country whither he goes. Let God give success to what he delights in and desires. Besides this, there came to us a much desired letter, fairly written after the best manner, and we were revived at its coming, and satisfied at its sweet aspect, beyond the spring and smell of flowers, and we know the matter it contained, and what answers you desired in it. And if you enquire concerning us, God be praised we are well and safe; and we trust in God you are in like manner: only since you left us, we have been as though our brother had left us, or the spirit which is in the heart. And, therefore, we had sincere joy, when we heard the news of your health, and of your arrival in your country; and we praise God, who brought you to your people in health and safety, for his mercy is plentiful. We also give you to understand, that we have taken to wife a camel woman, riding on a camel, that she may look after our affairs. We have also gotten *Ecuan Sepha*, which you saw formerly, fairly drawn for sixty garshes, we had not gotten it for that price, unless Hieronymo had gotten it for us, for how we could buy that, which I saw the day you went from Aleppo, you know. And as for the history of Al Jaanabi, the Kadi, of which I saw some pieces, you told me that we should tarry, till the transcribing it was finished; and when it was finished, we should buy it, if the most high God please. The Commentary on Gulistan is also finished, which we will send you; and if it please God, we will do our endeavour to send you the History of Ebn Chalezen, and any book that we shall see, if it is convenient for you, we shall send you; and you must needs send us an answer to these letters, and some little token of what your country affords.

Send

‘ Send us also a printed Geography, and whatever business you shall have in these parts, send, and let me know, that I may enjoy the performance of it. The poor Dervise AHMED.’

During his stay in the East, Mr. Pococke translated several Arabic books, and amongst others, a collection of six thousand proverbs, containing the wisdom of the Arabians, and referring to the most remarkable occurrences in their history. He intended to have published this Collection of Proverbs, but something or other prevented him from doing it. In October, 1631, he received a commission from Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, to buy for him such antient Greek coins, and such manuscripts either in Greek, or the oriental languages, as he judged most proper for an university library. Mr. Pococke used his utmost endeavours to oblige the Bishop; and indeed this was an employment to which he was particularly prompted by his own inclination.

None of his other pursuits did, however, prevent Mr. Pococke from a most faithful discharge of every part of his duty as chaplain to the factory. This he ceased not to perform with the utmost diligence and piety, even at a time when it was attended with imminent danger of his life. This was particularly the case in the year 1634, when the plague raged so furiously at Aleppo, that many of the merchants fled two days journey from the city, and dwelt in tents on the mountains. But Mr. Pococke had so much confidence in the providence of God, that though he visited those who were in the country, he for the most part continued to assist and comfort those, who had shut themselves up in the city. But it happened, that though the pestilence wasted beyond the example of former times, not ceasing as usual, in the entrance of the dog-days, all the English were preserved, as well those that continued in the town, as those that fled from it.

In 1636, he received a letter from Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, informing him of his design to found an Arabic lecture at Oxford, and of naming him to the university for his first professor. Upon this agreeable news, he presently settled his affairs at Aleppo, and took the opportunity of returning home by the first ship that sailed for England.

Soon after his arrival at Oxford, Mr. Pococke took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; and the archbishops nomination of him for his lecturer in the Arabic tongue, being confirmed on the 8th of August, 1636, he opened his lecture on the 10th of that month, with an excellent speech in Latin, containing an account of the nature and usefulness of the Arabic tongue, and performed it afterwards in such a manner as shewed a conscientious resolution to make the design really useful. The book he first read upon, was the Proverbs of Ali, the fourth Emperor of the Saracens, and cousin-german and son-in-law to Mahomet: a man of such account with that impostor, not only for his valour, but knowledge also, that he often declared, if all the learning of the Arabians were

were destroyed, it might be found again in Ali, as a living library. Upon this book, observing the directions of the archbishop in the statutes he had provided, he spent an hour every Wednesday in vacation-time, and also in Lent, explaining the sense of the author, and the things relating to the grammar, and propriety of the language; and also shewing the agreement it hath with the Hebrew and Syriac, as often as there was occasion. Besides, he usually tarried for some time in the public school after the lecture, to resolve questions, and satisfy the doubts of his auditors; and always in the afternoon, gave admittance in his chamber from one o'clock till four, to all who would come to him, for further conference and direction.

Mr. Pococke was discharging the duties of his new post with great reputation, when his friend, Mr. John Greaves having projected his intended voyage to Egypt, (*m*), resolved, if possible, to have Mr. Pococke's company to Constantinople; and this proposal being approved of by Archbishop Laud, that prelate agreed to allow him the stipend of his lecture during his absence, which, together with the like revenue from his Fellowship at Corpus Christi-College, and an estate of some value, which was lately fallen to him on the death of his father, enabled Mr. Pococke to bear the expences of another journey to the East. He arrived at Constantinople, with his companion, Mr. Greaves, (who some time after left him, to proceed on his journey to Egypt) about the middle of June, 1637. And he here met with several Jews who were both learned and civil, and who assisted him in buying and transcribing books, particularly Jacobo Romano, the author of an *Auctuarium* to Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca*, *Rabbinica*, and one of the most learned Jews in his time.

He was also favoured with the friendship of the venerable Cyril Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, who was very serviceable to him, till by the malice of the Jesuits Cyril came to an untimely end, which was about a year after Mr. Pococke's arrival at Constantinople.---This famous Greek patriarch in his youth travelled into several Parts of Europe; and besides Latin, he understood several modern languages, by which means he became acquainted with the religion both of Papists and Protestants; and approving the latter, conceived a peculiar regard for the church of England; and when he first composed his piece of the confession of the Christian faith, he dedicated it to King James the First, and designed to get it printed in England. Afterwards, when he ventured upon that bold attempt of ordering Nicodemus Metaxa to set about printing it at Constantinople, in the Greek press which he had brought thither from London, it had a dedication to King Charles the First, to whom he presented the famous Alexandrian manuscript of the Bible, printed by Dr. Grabe. But the good old patriarch fell a sacrifice to the malignity of the Jesuits: for as he boldly asserted the truth in opposition to the corruption of the church of Rome, so the missionaries

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(*m*) Vid. Vol. V. p. 166.

of that order continually persecuted him almost twenty years, from his first coming to the patriarchate of Constantinople. They had more than once, by their interest with the ministers of state, gotten him deposed; and they had also caused him to be banished. Among other accusations, they represented the arguments he made use of to prove Christ's divinity against the Jews, and the Greek Press which he had provided to print Catechisms and other useful books for the instruction of the Christians under his care, as evidences of a seditious design against the government. However, by the interest and zeal of the English and Dutch ambassadors, these attempts upon his life were for a long time defeated; but when he had even obtained such an interest in the Prime Vizier, as seemed a sufficient fence against all future trouble, a bargain was privately struck up with the great Bashaw to take the opportunity of the Vizier's absence, and fill the ears of the Grand Signior Sultan Morad, (then on the borders of Persia, in order to proceed to the siege of Bagdad) with the great danger that his empire was in from the Patriarch Cyril, a popular man of a vast interest, and kept, as this informer pretended to be well assured, a close correspondence with Christian princes. This pretence succeeded according to their wishes, and a written order was immediately dispatched for taking away his life, which was soon after executed with great barbarity.

During Mr. Pococke's stay at Constantinople, he became for some time chaplain to Sir Peter Wych, then the English ambassador to the Porte. But in 1639, receiving several letters from his friends, and particularly the archbishop, pressing his return home, he embarked in August the following year on board the *Morgaret*, which bringing him to Italy, he passed from thence to Paris, where meeting with the famous Hugo Grotius, he acquainted him with a design he had of translating his treatise concerning the truth of the Christian religion into Arabic. The proposal was received with much satisfaction by that great man, who was then ambassador at the court of France from the crown of Sweden. Mr. Pococke, had long resolved, as soon as he should be at leisure, to do something towards the conversion of some of the Mahometans, having, whilst he lived in the East, observed in many of them much justice, and candour, and benevolence, and other excellent qualities which seemed to prepare them for the kingdom of God; and therefore he could not but persuade himself, that were the doctrines of the Gospel proposed to them, not a few might open their eyes to discern the truth. For this purpose, he could not think of any thing more likely to prove useful, than translating into Arabic, the general language of the East, Grotius's excellent discourse on the truth of Christianity; and in this proposal he did not scruple to take notice to that great author of some things towards the end of his book, which he could not approve, as advancing opinions, which, tho' they were commonly in Europe charged upon the followers of Mahomet, yet had no foundation in any of their authentic writings; and were such, as they themselves were ready on all occasion

casions to disclaim. With this freedom, Grotius was so far from being displeased, that he heartily thanked him for it, and gave him authority, in the version he intended, to expunge and alter whatever he should think fit. This work was accordingly published in 1660, at the sole expence of Mr. Robert Boyle. Mr. Pococke also translated afterwards, for the use of the young Christians in the East, the Catechism of the English church into Arabic; and Mr. Huntington, to whom some copies were sent when it was printed, returned a letter in answer, in which was the following passage. ‘ Really, if you will believe the people, they wonder that a Frank should understand their tongue better than the most learned amongst themselves; and they rejoice to see the two tables [of the commandments] once more entire and perfect, not abused and broken, as in all the methods and systems of divinity that the Romanists have hitherto conveyed, for ought I know, into these places.’ He likewise translated some other parts of the Liturgy into Arabic, which were also printed (*n*).

When Mr. Pococke arrived in London, he found his great patron, archbishop Laud, a prisoner in the Tower; and when he repaired to Oxford, though he found his lecture settled by the founder to a perpetuity, yet the confusion occasioned in the kingdom by the civil war, prevented him from proceeding to any considerable purpose, either in that or the other designs in Arabic and Rabbinical learning, which he had undertaken through a willingness to answer the expectations that were now every where entertained of him, as the first person in Europe for oriental learning. In what a high degree of estimation he stood among the learned, some idea may be formed from a letter which he received at this time from John Gerard Vossius, in which that celebrated writer thus expresses himself. ‘ I give thanks unto God for your safe return, as upon the private score of our friendship, so upon the public account; because I well perceive, how great advantage the republic of letters and the church of God may receive from you. For, if more than fifteen years ago, you could acquit yourself so well, what may we not hope from you now? that age, and the industry of some years, have much increased your knowledge and ripened your judgment. Your return therefore, I congratulate to yourself, to Oxford, and to all England; yea, and to the whole world.’

In 1643, Mr. Pococke was presented by his college to the rectory of Childry, a Living of very good value in Berkshire; and the military state of Oxford rendering it impracticable for him to attend to the business of his professorship, he was the better enabled to attend to his duties as a parish-priest. He had always been led, both by genius and inclination, to spend his life in the study of the most abstruse literature; and his sermons at the university were full of critical and other learning. But his sermons to his country parishioners were in a plain stile, and up-

on practical subjects, he carefully avoiding all shew and ostentation of learning. But his solicitude to instruct his hearers, and not to amuse them with what they could not understand, which was very fashionable in that age, occasioned some of them to entertain very contemptible thoughts of his learning, and to speak of him accordingly. So that one of his Oxford friends, as he travelled through Childrey, enquiring for his diversion, of some of the people, who was their minister, and how they liked him, received this answer: "Our parson is one Mr. Pococke, a plain "honest man; but, master, (said they) he is *no Latiner*."

In 1645, soon after the death of Archbishop Laud, the profits of Mr. Pococke's professorship were seized by the sequestrators, as part of that Prelate's estate. Being thus obliged to pass his time altogether in the country, he turned his thoughts to matrimony; and, in 1646, concluded a marriage with Mary, daughter to Thomas Burdet, Esq; of West Wortham in Hampshire. As his extraordinary merit procured him friends on all sides, so, in 1647, he was restored to the salary of his lecture by the interest of Mr. Selden; and, to preserve him from the outrage of the soldiery, he obtained a protection under the hand and seal of General Fairfax, by the application of Dr. George Ent. And in 1648, at the recommendation of Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, he was nominated Hebrew Professor at Oxford, with the Prebend of Christ-church annexed thereto, by the King, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and was soon after voted into the same lecture by the committee of Parliament. But about a year after he was deprived of his prebend by another committee of parliament, for not subscribing the engagement.

In 1649, he published his *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*; which is highly esteemed by those who are conversant in oriental learning, and has been particularly applauded by Dr. Humphry Prideaux, Simon Ockley (o), and Adrian Reland. In 1650, another vote was passed by a committee of parliament to deprive him of both his lectures, and turn him out of the university. But he was saved from the effects of this vote by a petition in his behalf to the committee, signed by many of the heads of colleges in Oxford, and by thirty-eight masters of arts and bachelors of law. In 1652, he was one of those who were concerned in preparing the edition of the Polyglott Bible.

About this time Mr. Pococke underwent a prosecution of

a

(o) SIMON OCKLEY was born at Exeter in 1678. In 1693, he was sent to Queen's college in Cambridge, where he soon distinguished himself by great quickness of parts, and intense application to literature, and more particularly to the oriental languages; for his uncommon skill in which he afterwards became famous. He took at the usual time the degrees in arts, and also that of bachelor in

divinity; but by marrying very young, he was precluded from a fellowship in his college, which he would otherwise have obtained. However, in 1705, he was through the interest of Bishop Patrick, presented by Jesus College to the vicarage of Swavesey in the county of Cambridge; and, in 1711, chosen Arabic professor of the university.

Mr. Ockley had the study and culture

a very unexpected nature. A charge was brought against him before the Berkshire committee of the commissioners for ejecting scandalous and insufficient ministers with a design to eject him from his Living of Childrey; and some of his parishoners were prevailed on to appear against him on this occasion. No proof could be brought of any thing unfavourable to his moral character, which was extremely amiable; but he was not much versed in the enthusiastic mode of preaching, or the absurd doctrines, which were then very prevalent. One of the witnesses against him therefore declared, that 'he believed Mr. Pococke to be destitute of the spirit, though he preached saving truths according to the letter;' and another deposed, that he 'sometimes preached pretty well, but at other times not so well; and that his deadness and dulness drove people from hearing him.' In consequence of these weighty allegations, the commissioners thought of

culture of oriental learning greatly at heart; and the several publications which he made were intended solely to promote it. In 1706, he printed at Cambridge an useful little book, intitled, "*Introductio ad linguas orientales: in qua iis discendis via munitur, et earum usus ostenditur, &c.*" In 1708, he published, in 8vo. 'The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan, written above 500 years ago by Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail, translated from the Arabic, and illustrated with figures.'

But the most considerable of Mr. Ockley's performances is, "*The History of the Saracens; begun from the death of Mahomet, the founder of the Saracenic empire, which happened in 632. and carried down through a succession of Caliphs, to the beginning of the year 705.*" This history, which illustrates the religion, rites, customs, and manner of living of that warlike people, is very curious and entertaining, and the public were much obliged to Mr. Ockley for it, since he was at the vast pains of collecting his materials from the most authentic Arabic authors, especially manuscripts not hitherto published in any European language; and for that purpose resided a long time at Oxford, to be near the Bodleian library, where many Arabic manuscripts were deposited. It is in two volumes, 8vo. the first of which was published in 1708, the second in 1718, and both of these were soon after republished. A third edition was printed in the same size at Cambridge in 1757, with additions.

Mr. Ockley's application to oriental literature, however it might extend his fame, contributed very little to the advancement of his fortune. On the contrary, it seems to have been a means of involving him in great difficulties. In his inaugural oration, printed in 1711, he calls fortune "*venefica*" and "*noverca*," and speaks of "*mordaces curæ*," as things long familiar to him; and in December, 1717, we find him actually under confinement for debt; since, in the second volume of his *History of the Saracens*, he not only tells us so, but even sticically dates from Cambridge castle. As he was married very young, he was encumbered with a family early in life; and his preferment in the church was not answerable to his reputation as a scholar. He was indeed in some degree patronized by the Earl of Oxford, who made him his chaplain; but that nobleman fell into disgrace when he wanted it most. Add to this, that Mr. Ockley was, as men of learning frequently are, somewhat negligent in matters of economy. How long he continued in confinement, we meet with no account; but it appears that he died at Swavesey, on the 9th of August, 1720. He was possessed of uncommon skill in antient languages, particularly the oriental. He was likewise very conversant in modern languages, as in the French, Spanish, Italian, &c. but he was chiefly distinguished for the extent of his knowledge in oriental literature, in which few have excelled him.

of proceeding to deprive Mr. Pococke for ignorance and insufficiency. But this extraordinary attack against him excited great indignation in several learned men of much fame and eminence at that time in Oxford; and they resolved to go to the place, where the commissioners were to meet, and expostulate with them about it. In the number of those that went, were Dr. Seth Ward, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Wallis, and Dr. Owen; who all laboured with much earnestness to convince those judges of the strange absurdity of what they were undertaking. But particularly Dr. Owen, who proceeded with some warmth to make them sensible of the infinite contempt and reproach which would certainly fall upon them, when it should be said, that they had turned out a man for insufficiency, whom all the learned, not of England only, but of all Europe, so justly admired for his vast knowledge and extraordinary accomplishments. And being himself one of the commissioners appointed by that act, he added, that he was now come to deliver himself, as well as he could, from a share in such disgrace, by protesting against a proceeding so strangely foolish and unjust. The commissioners being very much mortified at the remonstrances of so many eminent men, especially of Dr. Owen, in whom they had a particular confidence, thought it best for them wholly to put an end to the matter, and so discharged Mr. Pococke from any farther attendance. However, this persecution, which lasted many months, had been the most grievous to him of all he had undergone; rendering him, as he declared some time after, utterly incapable of study, it being impossible for him, when he attempted it, duly to remember what he had to do, or to apply himself to it with any attention.

In 1655, he published his *Porta Mosis*; a work containing six prefatory discourses of Maimonides, which relate in a very clear method the history and nature of the Talmud, and the Jewish faith and discipline. The original was written in Arabic; but, as was usual among the Jews, expressed in Hebrew characters. Mr. Pococke added a Latin translation, and a very large appendix of miscellaneous notes. It was printed at Oxford, and was the first fruits of the Hebrew press there.

In 1658, he published "the Annals of Eutychius." And at the Restoration of King Charles II. he was re-instated in his canonry of Christ-church; and on the 20th of September, 1660, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. He continued from this time without interruption to read his Hebrew and Arabic lectures constantly and diligently; and was consulted as a master in oriental literature by the most learned men in Europe. In 1663, he published at Oxford in 4to. *Gregorii Abul Farajii Historia Dynastiarum*. This is a compendium of the general history of the world, from the creation to about the end of the thirteenth century and is divided into ten dynasties.

About this time time Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christ-church, having concerted a scheme for a Commentary upon the Old Testament, to be written by some learned hands in that univer-

fly, engaged by Dr. Pococke to take a share. This gave occasion to his commentaries upon Micah and Malachi, published in 1677; after which he finished those upon Hosea and Joel, which were published in 1691. His commentary upon Hosea is pretty large; occasioned by the then late repeated attempts of Isaac Vossius to depreciate the Hebrew text, which our author defends with great learning. These commentaries, with the *Porta Mosis*, were republished, in 1740, in two volumes, folio, by Dr. Leonard Twells.

Dr. Pococke died on the 10th of September, 1691, in the eighty-seventh year of his age; and was interred in the cathedral of Christ-church, where a monument with an inscription is erected to his memory. As to his person, he was of a middle stature, and slender; his hair and eyes black; his complexion fresh; his look lively and chearful; and his constitution sound and healthy. His learning was very extensive; he was profoundly skilled in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac tongues; and was well acquainted with the Persian, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Turkish; and in Greek and Latin he was critically conversant. But he was not more distinguished for his abilities and uncommon learning, than he was for his piety and exemplary manners. He was of a very kind and benevolent disposition; and his charity brought such numbers of necessitous objects to him, that Dean Fell used to tell him, that he drew all the poor of Oxford into the college. He was extremely humble and modest; so that Mr. Locke, who was intimately acquainted with him, observes (o) that 'his other virtues and excellent qualities had so strong and close a covering of modesty and unaffected humility, that tho' they shone the brighter to those who had the opportunities to be more intimately acquainted with him, and eyes to discern and distinguish solidity from shew, and esteem virtue that sought not reputation, yet they were the less taken notice of, and talked of, by the generality of those to whom he was not wholly unknown.' Mr. Locke also says, 'that though he was not a forward, much less an assuming talker; yet he was the farthest in the world from sullen or morose, and that he would talk very freely and very well of all parts of learning, besides that wherein he was known to excel. That he was not at all close and reserved; but on the contrary, the readiest to communicate to any that consulted him. Indeed, he was not forward to talk, nor ever would be the leading man in the discourse, though it were on a subject that he understood better than any in the company; and would often content himself to sit still and hear others debate in matters which he himself was not a master of. He had often the silence of a learner, where he had the knowledge of a master; and that not with a design, as is often done, that the ignorance any one

* betrayed

(o) In a Letter dated July 23, 1703, to Mr. Smith of Dartmouth, who was then collecting materials for writing Dr. Pococke's life. This letter was dated in the year 1714.

' betrayed, might give him the opportunity to display his own
 ' knowledge with the more lustre and advantage, to their shame,
 ' or censure them, when they were gone; but these arts of triumph
 ' and ostentation frequently practised by men of skill and ability,
 ' were utterly unknown to him. It was very seldom that he
 ' contradicted any one, or if it were necessary at any time to in-
 ' form any one better, who was in a mistake, it was done in so
 ' soft and gentle a manner, that it had nothing of the air of
 ' dispute or correction, and seemed to have little of opposition
 ' in it. That in company he never used himself, nor willingly
 ' heard from others, any personal reflections on other men, though
 ' set off with a sharpness that usually tickles, and by most men
 ' is mistaken for the best, if not the only seasoning of pleasant
 ' conversation; yet he would often bear his part in innocent
 ' mirth, and by some apposite and diverting story continue and
 ' heighten the good humour.' Mr. Locke likewise observes,
 ' that though he was a man of the greatest temperance in himself,
 ' and the farthest from ostentation and vanity in his way of living,
 ' yet he was of a liberal mind, and given to hospitality; which
 ' considering the smallness of his preferments, and the numerous
 ' family of children he had to provide for, might be thought to
 ' have outdone those who made more noise and shew. His
 ' name, which was in great esteem beyond sea, and that deserv-
 ' edly, drew on him visits from all foreigners of learning who
 ' came to Oxford to see that university. They never failed to
 ' be highly satisfied with his great knowledge and civility,
 ' which was not always without expence.'——' I don't remem-
 ' ber that in all my conversation with him I ever saw him once
 ' angry, or to be so far provoked as to change colour, or coun-
 ' tenance, or tone of voice; displeasing accidents and actions
 ' would sometimes occur, there is no help for that; but nothing
 ' of that kind moved him, that I saw, to any passionate words,
 ' much less to chiding or clamour. His life appeared to me one
 ' constant calm. To conclude, I can say of him what few men can
 ' say of any friend of theirs, nor I of any other of my acquain-
 ' tance; that I don't remember I ever saw in him any one action,
 ' that I did, or could, in my own mind blame, or thought amiss
 ' in him.' After so great a character of Pococke, from one of the
 ' most illustrious men which that age produced, it would be
 ' superfluous to add more.

Dr. Pococke had nine children, but we have no account of any
 of them, but his eldest son Edward Pococke, who was a man of
 learning, and prosecuted the same studies for which his father had
 been so eminent. In 1671, he published in 4to. with a Latin
 translation, an Arabic piece, intitled, *Philosophus Autodidactus*,
 &c. Mr. Pococke also prepared an Arabic history, with a Latin
 version, and put it to the press at Oxford, but not being worked
 off when his father died, he withdrew it, upon a disgust at not
 succeeding his father in the Hebrew professorship. It appears
 that he was rector of Minal in Wiltshire in the year 1711.

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